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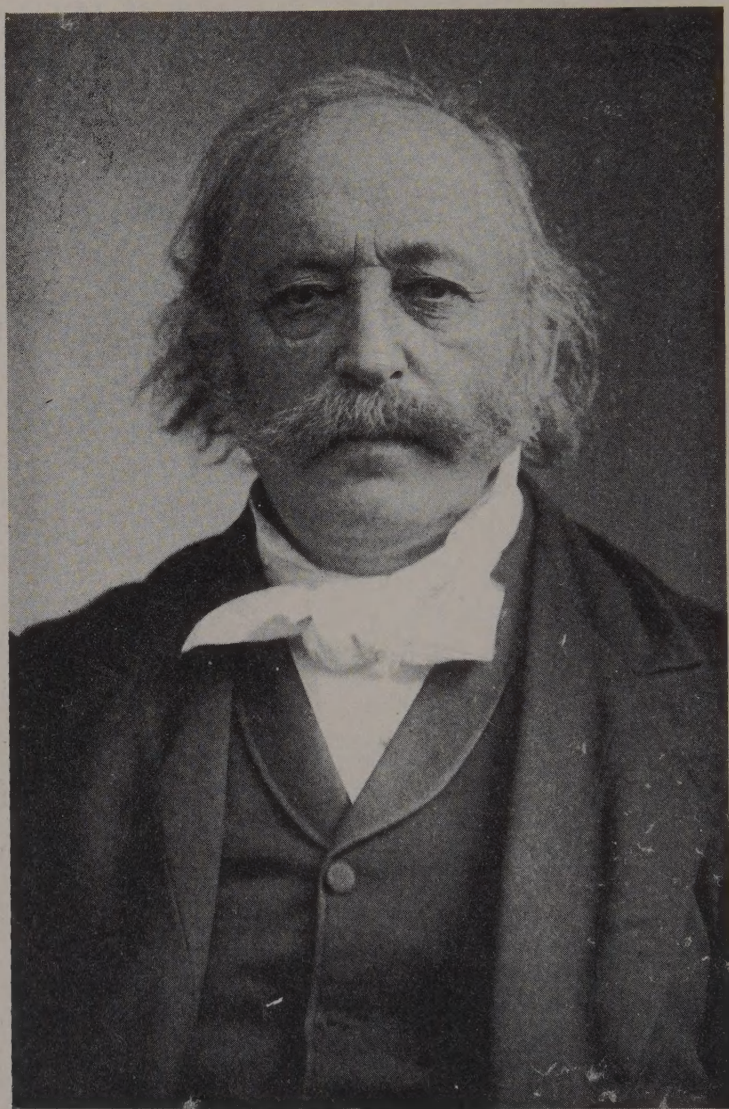


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THE DISSIDENT LAITY IN EARLY JUDAISM

SHELDON H. BLANK, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati

INTRODUCTION

THE goals of this investigation are the discovery and the organization of the biblical evidence for the existence, in the early postexilic period, of dissident elements within the Jewish population. The study is limited to material which concerns not the doctrinal but the organizational aspects of religion. It concerns the *place* of worship, the *modes* of service, the *persons* with ecclesiastical authority, and other such external phases of religion.

A survey of the material leads to the conclusion that the dissident elements in early Judaism were more numerous and more articulate than is ordinarily recognized. To be sure, the Jerusalem priests and the Temple cult dominated the scene, but not to the exclusion of all others and all else. The laity was not placid and submissive.

The extent of the dissention is obscured in our sources. This is not surprising if we have in mind the fact that the sources for the period are largely the product of the dominant party. In them one can scarcely hope to find the voice of the opposition. But this opposition must indeed be postulated because of the polemical tone of these same sources. And it is our object to detect, frequently by inference, the character of this opposition, and thus to gain a clearer picture of the religious life in the formative period of Judaism.

I

THE DEMAND FOR LOCAL AUTONOMY

The supposition that the Deuteronomic reform, several decades before the Exile, gave the Jerusalem sanctuary such prestige that local shrines must and did lose all their authority and

appeal, and that, following the Exile, the Second Temple enjoyed this same unquestioned and unrivalled prestige, is not borne out by facts. On the contrary, the Deuteronomic reform appears to have been only an incident in a struggle between Jerusalem and powerful centrifugal tendencies, with which the Second Temple had continually to contend — a struggle which was settled only when the Romans destroyed the Temple leaving the synagogues in undisputed control.

A number of considerations lead to the conclusion that the Deuteronomic reform was only partially successful. It did not succeed because of the persistent demand of the scattered cult centers for local autonomy.

If, with the promulgation of the law in Deut. 12.13 f., Jerusalem had become in fact the religious center and not merely the center by priestly decree, we would not have either the many hortatory additions to the original kernel of Deuteronomic legislation which propagandize for its acceptance, the secondary Deuteronomic laws designed to implement and enforce its provisions, or the tendentious Deuteronomistic historical writings which were meant as object lessons on its importance.

Deut. 7.1-5 is an example of such hortatory additions to Deuteronomy. It purports to be a paragraph in an address by Moses before the conquest. It orders the annihilation of the seven Canaanite nations and the destruction of their cult objects. It warns specifically against alliances leading to intermarriage and religious assimilation. It is, however, clearly a post-Josianic product — in fact a product of the time of Nehemiah.¹ What, then, is its pertinence, and against what conditions prevailing in the time of Nehemiah was it directed? Obviously, in the first place, against intermarriage with the foreign peoples then within the boundaries of Canaan, here *symbolized* only, by the seven Canaanite nations. But likewise, as v. 5 indicates, against the prevailing religious syncretism which the author regards as the result of such intermarriages.² But what is it

¹ Cf. Blank, "Studies in Post-Exilic Universalism," *HUCA*, XI, 1936, p. 170.

² Cf. also 7.16, 23-26, the secondary war legislation 20.15-18, and *op. cit.*, p. 168 ff.

about this syncretism that is particularly offensive to the author of this passage? Is it the invasion of the Jerusalem Temple by heterodox cult practices?³ Apparently not; the plurals in this verse (7.5): *מזבחתיהם, מוצבתיהם, אשיריהם, פסיליהם*, do not suggest a single temple complex containing a multiplicity of altars and cult symbols but rather a wide-spread practice of an unorthodox cult in local shrines, the offensive, in fact sinful nature of which shrines the writer intends to suggest when he makes Moses the author of the law demanding their destruction. In other words the author of Deut. 7.1-5 is disturbed at the prevalence *in his own day* of local cult centers.

Neh. 13.23-27 is a vivid illustration of the reforming zeal of Nehemiah. Recognizing the prevalence of mixed marriages in his day he takes measures to put an end to them. However, it is not the marriages themselves that give him cause for concern but the effects of the marriages. This is brought out clearly by his words in v. 26b, where, after praising Solomon for his many virtues, he concludes: *גם אותו החטיאו הנשים הנכריות*, i. e. him too, as well as you, foreign wives induced to sin. This word, *החטיאו*, is almost a technical term here and in related literature.⁴ It refers to the act of Jeroboam I, who "caused the people to sin" by worshipping at the cult centers which he favored. It is quite conceivable that Nehemiah means just this, and that his campaign against mixed marriages was actually directed against the local cult centers which the foreign wives appeared to encourage.⁵

•

³ Cf. Ezek. 8.

⁴ Cf. 2 Ki. 10.29 and 17.21 in the Deuteronomic edition of Kings, and below, n. 134.

⁵ Oesterley (*The People and the Book*, ed. Peake, Oxford, 1925, p. 349) cites Ezra 9.1 in support of his view that the objective of Deuteronomy was not fully attained by the time of Ezra. He holds that "Ezra's polemic against his people was not confined to the mixed marriages." Though this is no doubt correct the evidence of Ezra 9.1 is dubious since it depends upon the one word *בְּהוֹרְתָם*, which is syntactically awkward in the verse and for which Ehrlich, e. g., would read *הִתְעַרְבוּ* *כִּי* (cf. *Randglossen* VII, 1914, p. 176). — Cf. also Hölcher, *Geschichte der israelitischen u. jüdischen Religion*, Giessen, 1922, pp. 120, 138-140; Morgenstern, "Supplementary Studies in the Calendars of Ancient Israel," *HUCA*, X, 1935, p. 37 f.

Jer. 44.16 ff. lends support to this conclusion. More than a century before Nehemiah but a full generation after Josiah's reform, Jeremiah finds it necessary to chide the community of Judean refugees in Egypt for their idolatrous practices there, and receives from the women among them a surprisingly self-righteous answer. The women appear to feel that they have been accused, because it is they who answer the charge. They announce their intention to continue in their old ways. They prospered, they declare, and had food in abundance and escaped disaster⁶ as long as they and their fathers, their kings and their princes, offered to the "queen of heaven" in the cities of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem.⁷ They speak quite as if there had never been any Deuteronomic reform to purge those cities of Judah and the streets of Jerusalem of all such rites and holy places.

Incidentally this same passage contains a clue as to the reasons for the stubborn persistence of the local cult centers despite the law. When these women describe the benefits which they suppose accrue to them from the worship of the "queen of heaven" they are not thinking of security from major national disasters, war and deportation and the like — such disasters had not been averted; they are thinking of much homelier things, of crop failures (ונשבע לחם), of poverty, and perhaps of personal griefs, of illness, childlessness, miscarriage, and the effects of evil charms.⁸ Among the factors which encouraged the persistence of local shrines were doubtless: religious conservatism (These places have always been considered holy; how should they suddenly become profane?), laxity (Why go all the way to Jerusalem when we can fulfil our religious obligations right here at home?), and superstitious fear (If we slight the spirit of this place what evils may not overtake us!).

No doubt, also the professional priests in the provincial centers were as vigorous in their opposition to the law of centralization as were the lay elements in those communities. Their livelihood was at stake. To be sure, provision had been made

⁶ ונשבע לחם ונהיה טובים ורעה לא ראינו.

⁷ Jer. 44.16 f., cf. v. 9.

⁸ Cf. Ezek. 13.17-23; Deut. 7.13-15.

in the original law⁹ for the reception of these Levites at the central sanctuary. But, on the one hand, as is well known, such as took advantage of this offer were not received graciously at Jerusalem¹⁰ and, on the other hand, this offer itself appears to have been only half-hearted, because other provisions in the law seem to assume that not all the Levites will take advantage of it. It is presumed that they will be available in their home towns to perform certain local functions,¹¹ and that, denied the fees of priestly office, they will be in need of charity.¹² If they did not leave their homes to associate themselves with the Jerusalem priesthood they surely sought to perpetuate their professional functions in the cult centers hitherto entrusted to them.

Other passages in the literature strongly suggest that many Levites remained at the provincial shrines after Josiah's reform. Kittel's surmise¹³ is plausible that the marked discrepancy between the number of priests and the number of Levites that returned from Babylon as a result of the edict of Cyrus¹⁴ has at least its partial explanation in the supposition that it was the Jerusalem priests rather than the provincial Levites whom Nebuchadrezzar deported in 597 and 586.¹⁵ In spite of the very small number of returning Levites these appear in postexilic times in the cities of Judah,¹⁶ probably just because their families before them had continually resided there, had not moved to Jerusalem after 621, and had not been deported when Jerusalem fell.

It is not clear whether Neh. 11.20 has reference to the population in the time of Zerubabel or the time of Ezra and Nehemiah,

⁹ Deut. 18.6-8.

¹⁰ 2 Ki. 23.9; cf. Morgenstern, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

¹¹ Deut. 21.5; 24.8.

¹² Deut. 12.18 f.; 14.27-29; 16.11, 14; 26.12 f. At least the last of these passages is later than the original Deuteronomic legislation; see below, p. 9.

¹³ Rud. Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, III, Stuttgart, 1927-29, p. 394 f.

¹⁴ Ezra 2.36-40; Neh. 7.39-43.

¹⁵ 2 Ki. 24.14; 25.9-12, 18 f.

¹⁶ For example, in Keilah; cf. Neh. 3.17 f., E. Meyer, *Die Entstehung des Judenthums*, Halle, 1896, p. 178; Kittel, *op. cit.*, p. 104, n. 1. Cf. also Neh. 3.22; 12.27-29.

or whether it concerns returned Exiles or the native population.¹⁷ If it refers to the native population it is probably of interest here as evidence for the continued presence of Levites in the "cities of Judah."¹⁸

The opinion is gaining ground that much, if not all, of the program for the Second Temple in Ezek. 40-48 is a product of the 5th century.¹⁹ If it is so to be dated its provisions concerning the non-Zadokite Levites²⁰ appear to point to the existence of extra-Jerusalem cult centers served by these Levites long after the Deuteronomic reform. For, if these chapters come from the beginning or the middle of the 5th century, and if Josiah's reform actually abolished the local cult centers and transferred their personnel to Jerusalem, then the author of these chapters takes the almost ridiculous position that his Levitic contemporaries are to suffer for the practices of their assumed ancestors some four or five generations removed. It is highly improbable that this author went back so far in time — into a different age in fact — for the pretext on account of which he would limit the functions of these Levites. It is as if an American of to-day were to propose the disqualification of a contemporary professional group because of the unprofessional behavior of their presumed pre-Revolutionary ancestors — though neither these professionals themselves nor the intervening generations had given

¹⁷ This verse appeared to Meyer (*op. cit.*, p. 102; cf. Kittel, *op. cit.*, p. 399, n. 1) originally to have been the continuation of 11.1 f. and, with these two verses, to have concluded the list in Neh. 7.6-72 of the Exiles who returned with Zerubabel. Kittel, however, regarded the three verses as from the time of Ezra and Nehemiah (*op. cit.*, pp. 331, 355). Morgenstern (*op. cit.*, p. 40, n. 60) appears to regard 11.20 as a reference to the native population, and the term הכהנים הלויים there as a reference to native non-Jerusalem Levites.

¹⁸ We should probably read והכהנים, adding the conjunction. The uncertainty as to both text and context lessens the value of this reference. It may mean no more than that the priests and Levites connected with the Jerusalem Temple had possessions in the country and lived there, coming to Jerusalem only when their services were required (cf. Kittel, *op. cit.*, p. 355 f.). Cf. also Neh. 13.10-13.

¹⁹ See the recent commentaries.

²⁰ Ezek. 44.9 ff.; 48.11 ff.

similar cause for complaint.²¹ If the author of these chapters is not to appear absurd the offense must be of more recent date; it must indeed be continuing into the present. These Levites must still, i. e., in the 5th century, be ministering to the people "before their idols" — which phrase is obviously the author's²² invidious description of the worship at the local cult centers;²³ and the effect of this observation is again the conclusion that as late as the 5th century the local centers had not been entirely abandoned in favor of the Jerusalem sanctuary.²⁴

²¹ Note that, according to the wording, e. g., of 44.10, it is not because of the behavior of their "fathers" that the Levites are denied priestly office but, apparently, because of their own conduct.

²² The ascription of these chapters to Ezekiel would mean no more than that their author, bent on correcting what he regarded as a contemporary evil, sought to lend to his words the authority of the earlier prophet.

²³ Herrmann (in Sellin's *Komm. z. A. T., Ezechiel*, 1924, p. 287) says of these Levites: "das sind die bisherigen Priester der 'Höhen,' was sich aus dem Wortlaute zweifellos ergibt."

²⁴ That the author of the pertinent passages in Ezek. 40-48 is himself a Zadokite priest legislating *pro domo* appears obvious. It remains uncertain, however, whether he and his fellow priests are already established in office in the Jerusalem Temple or whether they are only now making a bid for such office. The programmatic character of these chapters suggests the latter alternative — namely that they are either bent on obtaining the priestly office or desirous of supplanting the incumbent priests. And so these passages are frequently interpreted. Yet, if we have in mind their probable date the former alternative remains possible — namely that the Zadokites themselves are already the incumbent priests. If this is so (and it is here tentatively proposed) then their program, attributed to Ezekiel, is their charter, to be sure, but, more than this, it is a proposal as to the status of the *extra*-Jerusalem Levites. The proposal is that these Levites should replace certain other persons, even less acceptable than they, who were then doing service in the Temple — persons described in 44.7 and 9 as . . . כל בן נכר ערל לב וערל בשר . . . כל בן נכר אשר בהוך בני ישראל. Perhaps the Gibeonites (cf. Josh. 9.27) were among the Temple servants whose removal is here projected. Cf. also Zech. 14.21 (cited in Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, Berlin, 1883, p. 127 but omitted in 5th edition, 1899, p. 120) and contrast Isa. 66.21. The words נכר מכל וטהרתם, employed by Nehemiah (13.30), with the priests and Levites as the object of the purge, appear to point to a similar situation. Much more radical is the law in Deut. 23.4 which denies Ammonites and Moabites admission even into the religious community (the קהל 'י) — a law which comes from the time of Nehemiah (cf. Blank, *op. cit.*, p. 159, n. 4; p. 184, n. 38; Kittel, *op.*

The three stages in the law of sacrifice represented by Deut. 12.13 f., 12.15, and Lev. 17.1-9 point to the same conclusion. Deut. 12.13 f. is the original Deuteronomic law prohibiting the slaughter of animals at any place other than the central sanctuary. Apparently this law could not be enforced and a compromise was adopted resulting in the addition of v. 15. This compromise permitted the slaughter anywhere of animals for food (but not as a sacrifice). This compromise seems to have amounted in practice almost to a nullification of the original law. So the Holiness Code in turn cancels the compromise and reaffirms the original (Lev. 17.1-9). The reason in v. 7: "They shall *no more* sacrifice their sacrifices unto the satyrs, after whom they go astray," indicates clearly what the effect of the compromise had been. In the rural areas, beyond the supervision of the authorities in Jerusalem, the local cults had gone their own way. From the point of view of the Holiness

cit. p. 647). Isa. 52.1: ערל וטמא כי לא יוסיף יבא בך עוד ערל וטמא may be practically contemporary with the Ezekiel program.

Then, in place of the foreign Temple servants, whose expulsion from the Temple precincts was contemplated, the 5th century Zadokite author of the Ezekiel references planned to install the Levitical priests even then functioning at the local shrines. His proposal was similar to that of the author of Deut. 18.6 f. but with the difference that he was less generous. He was willing to accept them only as subordinates, and he justified his ungenerous stand with the invidious language of, for example, 44.10: אשר חעו מעלי אחרי גוליהם.

Thus it may be that the spirit of the program in Ezek. 44 has been quite generally misunderstood. The "Levites in the gates" in Deuteronomy are, in several instances, necessitous persons, objects of charity along with the נזיר, the יחוס, and the אלמנה (cf. 26.12 f.; 12.19; 14.27-29; 16.11, 14); and this may well have been the condition of many of them when Ezek. 44.9 ff. was written. Apparently, being without landed possessions, they were also free to move about and to seek a livelihood where opportunity might offer. Possibly at this time many of them were knocking at the doors of the Temple (cf. 1 Sam. 2.36). The proposal in Ezek. 44 might then be an attempt to make room there for these exigent Levites and, at the same time, to eliminate the alien elements whom the incumbent Zadokites considered unclean. This would be an advantage — but against it would weigh the fear that the newly installed Levites might become rivals for the priestly office. Therefore, perhaps, the emphatic repetition of the thought that they had disqualified themselves for such an office by their conduct in the local cult centers, the existence of which, at any rate, this legislation demonstrates.

writer these were "heathenish" cults. And it is not surprising that, in conclusion (v. 8), he should attach the penalty for the unauthorized sacrifice not only to the men of the household of Israel but also to *הגור אשר יגור בתוכם*. Perhaps he, too,²⁵ somehow associated the persistence of the local shrines with the foreign elements in the population of Judea.²⁶

Somewhat earlier than this Holiness legislation, but reflecting the same dissatisfaction because the goal of the Deuteronomic law of centralization was not attained, are the secondary Deuteronomic attempts to enforce the law: Deut. 26.1-11 and 12-15. In the latter paragraph the declaration in v. 14a: *לא אכלתי באני ממנו, ולא בערתי ממנו בטמא ולא נתתי ממנו למח*, bears a close resemblance to Lev. 17.7 and shows what the Jerusalem priestly author of this paragraph had reason to believe was happening in connection with the tithe in the rural areas.²⁷

The polemical tone of the Deuteronomistic edition of the book of Kings again suggests the persistence of rival cult centers for some time after 621.²⁸ The estimate herein of the kings of Israel and Judah, based upon the degree to which they acted in accord with the Deuteronomic law of centralization, and the illustrations drawn from the experience of these kings for the doctrine that such as respect this law succeed but its violators are punished, are clearly intended to point a moral for the contemporaries of the Deuteronomist who wrote this "history" — to persuade them of the evil of their ways — to warn them of impending calamities if they go on refusing to abandon their local cult centers.²⁹

²⁵ Cf. above p. 2 f. and n. 24.

²⁶ Cf. also Lev. 17.10, 12, 13, 15.

²⁷ The *ger* in v. 12 f. is, however, one of the needy objects of charity — a ward and not, as in Lev. 17, a possibly influential member of the community.

²⁸ This edition is commonly dated cir. 600, and it is recognized that it was supplemented some 50 years later in a second Deuteronomistic edition; cf., e. g., Pfeiffer, *Introduction to the Old Testament*, N. Y., 1941, pp. 378 f., 410.

²⁹ The following examples suffice to illustrate this teaching: 1 Ki. 11.1-6, 33; 12.31 f.; 13.33 f.; 14.22-24; 2 Ki. 16.3 f.; 21.2 f. Note, incidentally, the conclusion that foreign marriages are largely responsible for heterodox cult practices and the survival of unauthorized cult centers; cf. above p. 2 f.

The Deuteronomistic edition of the book of Judges, though later than that of Kings,³⁰ still recognizes the same evil. National calamities are explained in the same fashion,³¹ and the same lesson is drawn from history. The disaster of 586 was uppermost in the minds of the generation for whom this history was written and the lesson of the book for them is that true penitence coupled with a belated acceptance of the Deuteronomic principle would restore Israel to God's favor.³² In general it may be said that the Deuteronomistic historians propagandized, even as did the authors of the hortatory frame of Deuteronomy and of its secondary legislation, for the abolition of the persisting rival cult centers even into postexilic times.

Whatever may have been the real reasons for the perpetuation of the extra-Jerusalem places of worship there were some who gave the fact a philosophic interpretation and integrated it with their universalism.

While the first Temple still stood but after the Deuteronomic reform, at least one voice, the voice of Jeremiah in his "Temple sermon" (ch. 7), had been raised in ardent disapproval of the Temple and its cult. But he was probably, for his generation at least, in a class by himself, because his opposition, like that of Amos, Isaiah, and Micah before him, was on ideological grounds. He did not reject the Jerusalem Temple and its cult because of a stronger attachment to the cults of the local shrines, as did the anonymous opponents of centralization.³³

While the Temple lay in ruins after 586 the local centers probably flourished. For it is now quite generally recognized that, although the deportations of 597 and 586 materially reduced the population of Judah, they did not make of the land a *tabula rasa*; and yet the not inconsiderable, largely rural, population which then remained, apparently took no steps to

³⁰ It is commonly dated during the Exile; cf., e. g., Pfeiffer, *op. cit.*, pp. 315, 333.

³¹ Cf., e. g., Ju. 2.11-14, 19; 10.6 f.

³² Cf. Ju. 10.10-16. — Philosophically, a second hand, in Ju. 2.22; 3.1a, 3 f., opines that foreign influences serve the purpose of measuring the strength of Israel's faith.

³³ Cf. above p. 4 f.

restore their official religious center. That they did not do so, strongly suggests that they had not been convinced that the Josianic reform was justified. Not even when, by the royal decree of Cyrus, fifty years after its destruction, all official barriers had been removed and the project even encouraged, did they take any recorded steps to restore the Temple. Almost twenty more years had to elapse and Haggai and Zechariah had to offer their best arguments before the indifference (or hostility) of the people was overcome — and then the work dragged on for a space of four years.³⁴

It is probable that by this time the dissenters had somewhat rationalized their opposition. It is not quite clear what the people mean when, replying to Haggai's demand, they state: "The time is not come, the time that the Lord's house should be built." Haggai rejects their argument with the words: "Is it time for you yourselves to dwell in your paneled houses, while this house lies waste?"³⁵ His reply suggests that the people were excusing themselves by claiming that the times were bad — that they could not *afford* to undertake the restoration of the Temple. Haggai points to their paneled houses and calls their words a poor excuse. But, since they are thinking in these terms, he assures them that they will know real prosperity only when they have restored the Temple.³⁶

A second excuse (possibly also a rationalization but on a higher plane) is offered by the author of 2 Sam. 7.6 f. His argument is that Jahveh does not intend to be worshiped at one place only — does not desire a fixed abode. The chapter is not a unit. Verses 2-17 are made up of the addition of three independent thoughts: 1) David's dynasty will be eternal; 2) not David but his son Solomon will build the Temple; 3) Jahveh does not desire a fixed abode. These three thoughts are all artificially connected with Nathan's rhetorical question in v. 5: *האחז חבנה לי בית לשבתי*; but the writer who develops each thought

³⁴ Ezra 6.14 f.

³⁵ Hag. 1.2-4.

³⁶ Hag. 1.6, 9 (7 f. are out of place). Haggai's reasoning here is typically Deuteronomistic. It is the obverse of the argument that the disaster resulted from the wilful neglect of the law of centralization.

emphasizes a different word or words in the query. The first interprets the question to mean: Shall *you* build *me* a house? and answers: No, *I* will build *you* a house, i. e., an eternal dynasty. The second interprets: Shall *you* build me a house? and replies: No, not you but your son. The third interprets: Shall you build me a *house*? and answers (v. 6 f.): No. It does not comport with my nature or agree with my desire to be limited to a fixed abode.³⁷

It is the idea that Jahveh shall, as it were, be confined to a permanent structure which is repugnant to this writer.³⁸ He is opposed to the idea of the single sanctuary. It is his thought that Jahveh is everywhere accessible.

³⁷ The material in these verses is repeated with variants in 1 Chron. 17.1-15 and partially paralleled in Ps. 89. The Chronicles text is an aid in establishing the correct text in Samuel. In 2 Sam. 7.7 we should read שפטי for שבטי, and in v. 11: ואנדרלך ובית מעשה לך. The last word of v. 11 should be joined with v. 12 in the form והיה. These are the more important corrections. Opinions vary as to which, 2 Sam. 7 or Ps. 89, is dependent on the other. Two recent opinions (Buttenwieser, *The Psalms*, Chicago, 1938, p. 250 f., and Pfeiffer, *op. cit.*, p. 371 f.) based on convincing arguments see in the Psalm the earlier composition. But, since the Psalm is, at the earliest, exilic, the Samuel passage is late exilic or postexilic.

Actually, of the three ideas combined in 2 Sam. 7 it is only the one — the idea of the permanence of the Davidic dynasty — that this chapter and Ps. 89 have in common. It is quite possible and even likely that this thought was added, after the composition of Ps. 89, to an earlier narrative which formed the nucleus of this chapter. Ps. 89 offers no evidence to discredit this assumption. Verses 2-7 in the Samuel chapter may well be this original narrative kernel. Only the emphatic אמת in v. 5b looks beyond v. 7 to the other two thoughts in the expanded chapter; and this word may have been added along with one or both of these thoughts. With אמת omitted the words התבנה לי בית לשבתי well express the author's dismay at the idea of a fixed abode to house the Deity. He opposes this thought to the words of David to Nathan in v. 2: "See now, I dwell in a house of cedar-wood, but the ark of God dwelleth within curtains." And these words are strikingly similar to Haggai's reproach: "Is it a time for you yourselves to dwell in your paneled houses, while this house lieth waste?" (Hag. 1.4). The narrative in 2 Sam. 7.2-7 appears to have been written to counter just such an argument as Haggai presented — if not indeed in answer to Haggai himself.

³⁸ Cf. the term מטהלך (v. 6) and the parallel in 1 Chron. 17.5: מטהל אל אהל, וממשכן (אל משכן).

This is probably the thought of the author of Ex. 20.24b in its original form. Unquestionably Ex. 20.24–26 contains pre-Deuteronomic altar laws. The singular of מוֹבַח and עָלָיו in v. 24a can not mean “only one” but must be generic. V. 25, which permits the substitution of stone for earth in the construction of an altar, is proof that “*My* altar” and “*the* altar” in this legislation means “*any* altar.” This is not “the altar of Jahveh thy God” of Deut. 12.27. It obviously antedates Deut. 12.13 f. where we read: בַּמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר יִבְחַר י' בְּאַחַד שְׁבִטֶיךָ שֶׁם תַּעֲלֶה עֹלֹתֶיךָ. But Ex. 20.24b interrupts between 24a and 25 f. which clearly belong together, and appears to be an intrusion. It is a statement which has played an important role in the history of Pentateuchal criticism, but hardly justifiably. It means very much what it is usually taken to mean but its historical context has been misapprehended. It is almost uniformly thought to be contemporaneous with the context in which it appears and with the narratives of J and E in which the patriarchs build altars here and there throughout the land. But is it likely that, in an age when it was the natural thing to establish or maintain cult centers in any populated area, a law like this should have been formulated to legalize the practice? We must look for the origin of such a formulation to a time when the legitimacy of the institution of local shrines was being challenged. The statement in v. 24b is actually a protest against the already published program of Deut. 12. Its presence in its context is natural; it was added where it stands because its author noted correctly that the surrounding altar legislation also negates the Deuteronomic principle and it was his purpose to bring this fact to the attention of any who might read these laws. This is the form in which he clothed his protest against the Deuteronomic principle of centralization.

He did not, however, write the sentence exactly as we have it in the MT. In contrast with בַּמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר יִבְחַר י' in Deut. 12.14 he probably wrote בְּכָל מָקוֹם (the text preserved in the Peshitta). And the definite article in the present text is the result of a still later attempt to harmonize 20.24b with Deut. 12, with which it can not be harmonized because it is its refutation. In another respect also v. 24b is not the original text. For אֲזִכִּיר the Peshitta,

again, reads **תוֹכִיר**, and this is probably original. Thus, what the polemically minded glossator represented Jahveh as saying is this: "(Not in Jerusalem alone, but) wherever you invoke me I will graciously respond to you."³⁹

This ideological opposition to the central sanctuary is reflected also in such passages as Jer. 29.12-14; Mal. 1.11 (cf. v. 5 and 14b); Isa. 66.1; 1 Ki. 8.27. Before 586 Jeremiah wrote an enheartening letter to the Babylonian exiles of 597 in which among other things he said: "Call upon me . . . and pray to me and I will hear you. Seek and you will find me. If you seek me wholeheartedly I will be available to you, saith the Lord." The significant feature of these words is that they are addressed to the Jews in Babylonia — even "beyond the borders of Israel." Malachi takes up this thought and carries it further (1.5): "God is great beyond the borders of Israel" and (1.14): "My name is revered among the nations." Indeed (1.11) "From East to West my name is great among the nations and *everywhere* offerings are presented to my name, even pure oblations . . ." That this expansive spirit is the counterpart of a narrow attachment to the Temple and its cult may be seen from the context. Impatiently Malachi has said in the preceding verse (10): "Oh that there were one among you that would shut the doors [of the Temple], that you might not kindle fire on my altar in vain!" The Temple came in postexilic times to be regarded as the residence of God. Psalm 132 is a choice sample of this kind of thinking. The Temple is a **מִקְוֶה לִי** (v. 5); it is the **מִשְׁכָּנוֹת לְאֵבִיר** (v. 5, 7), the **הֵרוֹם רִגְלִיו** (v. 7), his **מְנוּחָה** (v. 8, 14).⁴⁰ It is with this view that the polemic in Isa. 66.1 takes issue, using the very same words but denying that any structure can contain God: **הַשָּׁמַיִם כִּסְאִי וְהָאָרֶץ הֵרוֹם רִגְלִי. אֵי-זֶה בַּיִת אֲשֶׁר תִּבְנוּ לִי וְאֵי-זֶה מִקְוֶה**

³⁹ For this meaning of **תוֹכִיר** cf. Ex. 23.13b; Isa. 12.4; 62.6b; 1 Chron. 16.4; also Josh. 23.7; Isa. 48.1b; Amos 6.10b. For a similar thought: Isa. 58.9a. Perhaps the word **שֵׁם** has also fallen out by haplography after **שְׁמִי**. This would yield as the original text: **בְּכָל מָקוֹם אֲשֶׁר תוֹכִיר אֶת שְׁמִי שֵׁם אֲבוֹת אֱלֹהִים וּבְרַכְתֶּיךָ**. — Cf. also Morgenstern, "The Oldest Document of the Hexateuch," *HUCA*, IV (1927), p. 93.

⁴⁰ Incidentally, this Psalm affirms the eternity of the Davidic dynasty (v. 11 f.) and is related to 2 Sam. 7 and Ps. 89. — With Ps. 132.7 cf. Ps. 99.5.

מנוחה, "The heavens are my throne, the earth is my foot-stool. What house that you might build for me, what sanctuary, could serve as my resting place?" The author of Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the first Temple (1 Ki. 8.23 ff.) takes cognizance of this criticism ("But will God in very truth dwell on the earth? behold, heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain Thee; how much less this house that I have builded!" — v. 27), but seeks, somewhat artificially, to reconcile the divergent philosophies by making the Temple a kind of forwarding station through which the prayers of Israel (and even of the "stranger" — v. 41) must pass on their way to heaven where, in reality, God resides (29-49). This prayer can hardly be earlier than the two doctrines which it seeks to reconcile⁴ — hardly older than the end of the 5th century. And the passages here cited are evidence of an ideological conflict centered on the Temple and lasting at least two centuries beyond Jeremiah's letter to the Exiles.

II

DISSATISFACTION WITH THE MODE OF WORSHIP

A: unbiased reading of the relevant passages in the authentic writings of the pre-exilic prophets leads to the conclusion that these men rejected ritual without qualification, whether that ritual took the form of animal sacrifice or prayer and song. A merely conditional rejection of ritual is irreconcilable with their theology and logic. Yet it was (and is) popularly believed that those prophets opposed only the sacrifices of unrighteousness — that they rejected, not sacrifices *per se* but only the combination of sacrifices with unrighteousness. This interpretation of the prophetic attitude had the advantages enjoyed by all harmonizations and compromises: It made for unity, in that both the "prophetic" party and the "priestly" party in

⁴ The manner in which, in this⁴¹ chapter, Solomon is apparently made to refer to 2 Sam. 7 indicates that the latter was among the sources known to the author of 1 Ki. 8. With 1 Ki. 8.27, 17-21, and 23-25 cf. 2 Sam. 7.6 f., 13, and 16, respectively. It is significant that reference is made here to all three of the thoughts now combined in 2 Sam. 7.

Judaism could find some satisfaction in it, and it made for doctrinal harmony, in that it avoided the need to posit conflicting revelations.

Postexilic Judaism was acquainted with both the absolute rejection of the sacrificial system and the popular harmonization. The one is illustrated by certain passages in the Psalms, the other in the Wisdom literature. The pre-exilic rejection of the ritual of song and prayer is not, however, continued in post-exilic times; on the contrary, song and prayer are by some regarded as the acceptable substitute for the sacrificial system.

These observations and a more detailed examination of the material on which they are based are relevant because a rejection, qualified or unqualified, of the sacrificial system, or a tendency to favor a substitute for the sacrificial system, is a heterodoxy in an age when it was normal to regard the Temple cult as the accepted ritual mode.

The one passage in Deutero-Isaiah where this prophet appears to concern himself with the sacrificial system (43.22-25), leaves considerable doubt as to his attitude. The passage seems to mean that God forgives the sins of Israel, not because of their sacrifices but because, for reasons of his own, he desires to forgive them. If this is the meaning of the passage, Deutero-Isaiah here neither condemns nor approves the sacrificial cult but regards it as irrelevant. The passage cited above from Trito-Isaiah (66.1), in which the ubiquity of God is opposed to the thought that he resides in the Temple, is followed, in v. 2, by the democratic theme that God has regard for "him that is poor and of a contrite spirit and trembleth at" his word. This same democratic spirit is associated not infrequently in the Psalms with the rejection of the sacrificial cult (see below), and its enunciation here may shed some light on the immediately following verses (3 f.). The interpretation of these verses is not without its difficulties. They *may* be an outright rejection of the Temple cult — and, if they are a unit with v. 1 f., probably are. If vv. 1-4 form a unit their author combines in them three of the major themes of the heterodox elements in early Judaism: depreciation of the Temple, disapproval of its cult, and the affirmation of religious democracy. In this combination v. 3 f.

would mean: Such as kill oxen, sacrifice lambs, make meal-offerings, and burn incense might as well be killing men, breaking the neck of dogs, offering swine's blood, and worshiping idols (?);⁴² these acts are as abominable and reprehensible in God's sight as those. Then it is the sacrificial ritual which is described in v. 3b as שְׁקוּצִים and in 4b as הָרַע בְּעֵינַי and חֲפָצָי. But the intention of 3 f. is not certain and the connection with 1 f. not beyond doubt and it remains quite possible that these verses contain a condemnation not of the sacrificial cult in general but of the corrupt cult of some unnamed sect.⁴³

There can be little question, however, as to the intention of the authors of Psalm 40.7; 50.9, 12 f.: "Sacrifice and meal-offering Thou hast no delight in; . . . Burnt-offering and sin-offering hast Thou not required." "I will take no bullock out of thy house, nor he-goats out of thy folds." "If I were hungry, I would not tell thee; for the world is Mine, and the fulness thereof. Do I eat the flesh of bulls, or drink the blood of goats?"⁴⁴

Another idea is associated with the rejection of sacrifice in Ps. 69.31 f.; 141.2, and 51.17-19, and in the last passage still another. First there is the idea that not sacrifice but prayer and song are the acceptable mode of worship.⁴⁵ It may be that the greater part of the book of Psalms owes its existence to this very thought — which fact would add materially to the evidence for the growth of an alternative mode of worship in the Persian

⁴² Cf. 1 Sam. 15.23a.

⁴³ If Mic. 6.1-8 is a postexilic product, as it may well be (cf. Pfeiffer, *op. cit.*, p. 592 f.), its author is in complete accord with the pre-exilic prophets who opposed the sacrificial system. With Mic. 6.8 cf. 1 Sam. 15.22, which may come from the same period.

⁴⁴ Two postexilic prophetic utterances which are closely allied in their logic with the pre-exilic prophetic rejection of the sacrificial cult concern the related ritual of fasting. These are Isa. 58.1-12 and Zech. 7.4-14. With Zech. 7.5 f. cf. Ps. 50.12 f.; God is not such as to derive benefit from a man's fasting or from his sacrifices.

⁴⁵ Cf. also 19.15; Hos. 14.2 f.; and S. Mowinckel, *Psalmenstudien*, II, Kristiania, 1922, p. 148: "Die Opfer werden immer mehr als direkte Gaben oder schliesslich gar als symbolische Zeichen der inneren Gesinnung aufgefasst, ja mitunter sogar im Bewusstsein einzelner Kreise von dem Opfer der schönen Psalmen und Gebete in den Hintergrund gedrängt (Ps. 40; 50; 51; 69)." Cf. *Psalmenstudien* I, 1921, p. 144; Kittel, *op. cit.*, III, p. 699.

period; but a consideration of this complicated question is not possible within the limits of this essay.⁴⁶

The substitution of song and praise is paired in Ps. 51.19 with an allusion to what the Psalmist appears to regard as another acceptable offering to God in the place of sacrifice, namely: the "broken spirit" and the "contrite heart."⁴⁷ We have this same theme in Ps. 34.19 and in Isa. 57.15. It is closely related to the idea of *הצנע לכת עם אלהיך* in Mic. 6.8 and the thought of 1 Sam. 15.22. Now, because of the obvious personal, private, inner, nature of the "broken spirit" or "contrite heart" the thought that *this* is what God requires is practically anarchic as concerns cult practice. It is a total negation of ritual. It is, at the same time, a religiously democratic idea. It recognizes no religious authority other than God, who makes himself known in the heart.

From the point of view of quantity the material in the book of Psalms which dissents from the majority opinion as regards the mode of worship is certainly slight. Its importance can not be judged by its extent — there is enough to indicate a clearly defined minority attitude rejecting the sacrificial cult, advocating prayer and praise, favoring "personal" religion.⁴⁸

There is even less heterodoxy in the Wisdom literature.⁴⁹ Yet we do find a somewhat critical attitude toward the Temple cult. Gordis lists six references to sacrifices in Proverbs, "one urging the payment of dues (3.9), a note struck by Koheleth

⁴⁶ Nor is the bearing of this thought upon the origin of the Synagogue and its ritual.

⁴⁷ Cf. above p. 16.

⁴⁸ Cf. Kittel, *op. cit.*, III, p. 712: "Es ist die Frage, ob es sich nicht geradezu zum Teil um *separatistische Elemente* handelt, denn wo das Opfer so deutlich verworfen wird wie in Ps. 40, kann man sich kein positives Verhältnis zum Tempel und zu dessen Priesterschaft mehr denken." — On Ps. 40.7 cf. G. Quell, *Das kultische Problem der Psalmen* (Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom A. T., NF, 11, Berlin, 1926), p. 133 f.

⁴⁹ Robert Gordis ("The Social Background of Wisdom Literature," *HUCA* XVIII, 1944, p. 77 ff.) reasonably concludes (pp. 108, 116) that the wisdom literature (Prov., Eccles., Job, Ben Sirach) reflects the teachings of schools attended by children from upper-class families, evidences satisfaction with the status quo, and is, doctrinally, proto-Sadducean.

as well (5.3 f.), three stressing the importance of righteousness above sacrifice (15.8; 21.3, 7 [a misprint for 27]), and two purely incidental (7.14; 17.1)."⁵⁰ The very paucity of these references is indicative. It shows what an unimportant role the Temple played in the lives of these Wisdom teachers and their schools. The three passages: 15.8; 21.3, 27, are not given their full value in Gordis' cautious generalization that the Wisdom writers, though convinced of the need to maintain the accepted ritual, expressed "little fervor or enthusiasm for religious exercises."⁵⁰ The author or authors of these verses do more than display little enthusiasm — they react negatively to the sacrificial system in that they emphasize righteousness. The clearest expression of this negative attitude is 21.3: עֲשֵׂה צְדָקָה וּמִשְׁפָּט נִבְחַר לִי מִזֶּבֶחַ. The words בַּחֲסֵד וְאֱמֶת יִכְפֹּר עֵינִי in 16.6 are likewise heterodox. However it must be admitted that this negative is not as strong as the prophetic rejection of sacrifice. It is the kind of compromise between prophecy and ritualism which characterizes the popular interpretation of the prophetic stand against ritual. This interpretation appears to have been gaining ground at the time of the writing of Proverbs. Never-the-less, behind the compromise we can detect a note of protest.⁵¹

The attitude of Proverbs towards prayer is similar: Only the prayers of the righteous are acceptable (cf. 15.29; 28.9). But it is not quite the same; there is no questioning of the validity of prayer as such.

Proverbs does urge the payment of dues to the Temple (3.9) in (partial) agreement with Eccles. 5.3 f., as Gordis notes. In this connection it is pertinent to observe that the Bible contains a number of such admonitions. The authors of these admonitions do not dissent — quite the contrary — they urge the ob-

⁵⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 110. Cf. H. W. Hertzberg's opinion (in Sellin's *Komm. zum A. T.*, XVI, 4, *Der Prediger*, 1932, p. 41) "dass die gesamte Weisheitsliteratur mit dem Kultus nicht viel anzufangen wusste."

⁵¹ Cf. Pfeiffer, *op. cit.*, p. 655: "To identify Judaism during the Persian and Greek periods with the teaching of the Priestly Code would be an error." Cf. also Kittel, *op. cit.*, III, p. 726: "Gewiss mögen sie (i. e., cult matters) in manchen Kreisen der Laien nicht so streng genommen worden sein wie in denen der Priester."

servance of the law. But by their admonitions they reveal the presence among their contemporaries of dissident elements. Deut. 26⁵² is an attempt to enforce the law requiring the bringing of the first-fruit offerings to the central sanctuary and the proper disposition of the tithe of the third year. Mal. 3.7-10 condemns the populace (הגוי כלו) for laxity in the payment of the tithes.⁵³ Also in Nehemiah's time the authorities had difficulty in collecting the tithe.⁵⁴ Prov. 3.9 acquiesces in and commends the bringing of tithes and like gifts. The author of Eccles. 5.3 warns against laxity in the matter of vows;⁵⁵ he does not insist that vows be made — only that once made they should be honored.⁵⁶

Ecclesiastes also alludes to sacrifice, in 4.17 and 9.2. The text of 4.17 is not above suspicion⁵⁷ but the intention of the words: וקרוב לשמע מתח כסילים זבח appears to be about the same as that of 1 Sam. 15.22b, Hos. 6.6, and Prov. 21.3. Obedience ranks higher than cult. Commenting on the words ולזבח ולאשר איננו זבח in 9.2 Hertzberg states:⁵⁸ "Dass dem Opfernden der Nicht-opfernde gegenübergestellt ist, zeigt, dass es zu Qohs Zeit Kreise gab, die eine freiere Stellung zum Opfer einnahmen. Aus späteren Zeit wissen wir das von den Essenern."⁵⁹

⁵² See the discussion of this chapter above, p. 9, in connection with the argument that the Deuteronomic reform was only partially effective.

⁵³ Popular indifference in Malachi's time took the form also of the bringing of blemished animals for sacrifice, Mal. 1.8.

⁵⁴ Neh. 10.36-40; 12.44-47; 13.10-13; cf. Kittel, *op. cit.*, III, p. 647.

⁵⁵ Cf. Deut. 23.22.

⁵⁶ Eccles. 5.4; cf. Deut. 23.23. Cf. also Wildeboer (in Marti's *Kurzer Hand-Commentar, Die Fünf Megillot*, Freiburg i. B., 1898, p. 139: "Wahrscheinlich kam solches zu seiner Zeit (i. e., the time of the author of Eccles.) häufig vor als Frucht der Geistesrichtung, die schon Mal 1 und 2 gestraft wird.")

⁵⁷ Cf. the discussion of the text and meaning of the verse in Ehrlich, *Randglossen*, VII, Leipzig, 1914, p. 72 f. and in Volz, *Die Schriften des Alten Testaments, Hiob und Weisheit*, Göttingen, 1921, p. 245 f. Also Hertzberg's opinion (*op. cit.*, p. 104): "Allerdings hat Qoh gewiss nicht gegen das Opfer an sich polemisieren wollen; wie der Gottestatsache überhaupt, so steht er auch dem Kult unkritisch gegenüber."

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 156.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* p. 41: "Es gab also Kreise . . . die dem Kultus gegenüber solch ein unbeteiligte Haltung einnahmen."

The "compromise" attitude towards the sacrificial cult finds further expression in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, especially in Ecclesiasticus.⁶⁰

To the biblical data reflecting an aloof or hostile attitude toward the institution of animal sacrifice data drawn from another, practically contemporaneous, civilization may be added for the sake of the light they shed upon the biblical material. Greek literature contains some thoughts which partially parallel

⁶⁰ Ben Sirach's stand in the matter of sacrifices approaches closely that of Proverbs. In 35.4 he quotes Ex. 23.15, an indication that he regards the offerings as mandatory. But in 35.1, for example, he says: "He sacrificeth a peace-offering that heedeth the commandments." This and similar sentiments, mainly in 34.18-35.11, phrase his opinion that "the best sacrifice is a moral life." (So Box, in Charles, *Apocrypha*, Oxford, 1913, p. 437 n. to 35.5, who further observes: "This was the position later of the conservative Hellenistic Jews such as Philo." Cf. also, p. 306 of his "Introduction.")

Another early extra-canonical composition, the Third Sibylline Book, endorses the sacrificial system without qualification. Cf. Charles, *Pseudepigrapha*, Oxford, 1913, p. 389, ll. 573-578. The book was "either composed or incorporated by a Jew, probably living in Egypt about 140 B. C." (Lanchester, *ibid.*, p. 372).

In the first half of the first Christian century, i. e., while the Temple was still standing, the orthodox Hellenistic Jewish author of the Book of the Secrets of Enoch (according to Charles, *Pseudepigrapha*, p. 429) "believed in the value of sacrifices . . . ; but he is careful to enforce enlightened views regarding them." The "enlightened views" are illustrated by 45.3: "When the Lord demands bread, or candles, or flesh (*sc.* cattle), or any other sacrifice, then that is nothing; but God demands pure hearts, and with all that *only* tests the heart of man." Charles (p. 458, nn.) compares Ps. 40.6 [7]; 51.16 [18]; Isa. 1.11; Mic. 6.6-8; ben Sir. 35.1-3. "This is not Essenism," he notes, and refers to 59.1-3 where the value of sacrifice is affirmed: "Man brings clean animals to make sacrifice for sin, that he may have cure of his soul."

But the Fourth Sibylline Book, dated by Lanchester (in Charles, *Pseudepigrapha*, p. 373) about the year 80 A.D., i. e., *after* the destruction of the Temple, contains a vehement rejection of animal sacrifices: "Happy shall those men be throughout the earth . . . who, when they see them, shall disown all temples and altars, vain erections of senseless stones, befouled with constant blood of living things and sacrifices of four-footed beasts" (p. 393 f., ll. 24-30). Lanchester observes that this fourth book is "tinged with Essene thought" (p. 375) and states: "The abhorrence of temples and animal sacrifice is specifically Essene" (p. 393, n. to 4.27).

this biblical material. Plato and Theophrastus⁶¹ dealt with this theme; and a digression presenting their attitudes is justified, because it suggests probable motives behind the opposition to the sacrificial cult evidenced by a portion of the postexilic Jewish population.⁶²

Plato expressed opposition to the sacrificial system for reasons closely related to those of the pre-exilic prophets. Like those prophets he found sacrifices abhorrent because they entailed a false estimate of the nature of Deity. His polemic against the cult was animated by his desire to establish a less anthropopathic and more moral concept of the gods. To him it was inconceivable that the gods could be pleased with the homage or a share in the spoils of an unjust man.⁶³

In the *Republic* Plato describes the situation with earnest humor: "If the poets speak truly, why then we had better be unjust, and offer the fruits of injustice; for if we are just, al-

⁶¹ [The writer wishes to acknowledge the kindness of Dr. Werner Jaeger for suggesting, and the assistance of Dr. E. Täubler in locating the Theophrastus material.]

Theophrastus (d. 288 B. C.) was "Aristotle's greatest pupil and his successor in the leadership of his school" (cf. Werner Jaeger, "Greeks and Jews, The First Greek Records of Jewish Religion and Civilization," in *The Journal of Religion*, XVIII, Apr. 1938, p. 131; Windelband, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Philosophie*, Tübingen, 1924, p. 134). His book which contained his polemic against animal sacrifice is not extant, but extensive quotations from that book are contained in the treatise *De abstinence* of the Neo-Platonist Porphyrius (cf. Jaeger, *op. cit.*, p. 131; for Porphyrius, 230-300 A. D., cf. Windelband, *op. cit.*, p. 182). These quotations from Theophrastus' work are available in Jacob Bernays' essay *Theophrastos' Schrift über Frömmigkeit*, Berlin, 1866 (cited here from the *Jahresbericht des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars "Fraenkel'scher Stiftung"*, Breslau, 1866, in which the same essay appeared). The lengthy Bernays essay contains a detailed treatment of this polemic by Theophrastus.

⁶² It is not suggested in what follows that either of the two civilizations influenced the other in this particular. The intention is merely to note an instructive parallel.

⁶³ Plato (427-347) was not the first Greek philosopher who was critical of the sacrificial cult. Bernays (*op. cit.*, pp. 104-107, 129 f.) refers also to Heraclitus of Ephesus (cir. 540-475) and Empedocles of Agrigentum (cir. 490-430). On p. 129 he connects Heraclitus' rejection of sacrifice with his "Streben nach Läuterung des Gottesbegriffs."

though we may escape the vengeance of heaven, we shall lose the gains of injustice; but, if we are unjust, we shall keep the gains, and by our sinning and praying and praying and sinning, the gods will be propitiated, and we shall not be punished."⁶⁴ When, with philosophic detachment, he rejects the view "that expiations and atonements for sin may be made by sacrifices and amusements which fill a vacant hour,"⁶⁵ he does not, indeed, speak with the emotions of a prophet, but his reasoning closely approaches that of Isaiah, for example, in 1.10-17. In the tenth book of the *Laws*,⁶⁶ among other things Plato vigorously opposes the view that the gods are "easily appeased by sacrifices, or turned from their course by prayers."⁶⁷ It is, he says, "as if wolves might be supposed to toss a portion of their prey to the dogs, and they, mollified by the gift, suffered them to tear the flocks."⁶⁸ And here his satire is comparable to that of Ps. 50.12 f. As a moral philosopher, however, he is most nearly akin to the author of the almost contemporary passages from the book of Proverbs cited above.⁶⁹

The argument of Theophrastus takes a somewhat different course.⁷⁰ The origin of his opposition is his extension of the principle of equal rights for all men to the whole of the animal kingdom as well.⁷¹ He opposes animal sacrifice because such a sacrifice unjustly robs an animal of its life. Such an offering can not be pleasing to the gods, he argues, because it entails an

⁶⁴ *Republic*, book II, 366; cited from *The Dialogues of Plato*, transl. Jowett, Scribners, N. Y., 1901, vol. II, p. 187.

⁶⁵ *Republic*, Book II, 365; in Jowett, II, p. 186.

⁶⁶ This work is one of Plato's last, i. e. *cir.* 350; cf. Windelband, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

⁶⁷ *Laws*, Book X, 885; Jowett, IV, p. 396.

⁶⁸ *Laws*, Book X, 906; Jowett, IV, p. 419.

⁶⁹ P. 18 f.

⁷⁰ Here, in part, he seems to have been anticipated by Empedocles (cf. n. 63, above). Cf. Wellmann in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, V, 1905, p. 2511, art. "Empedokles": "Er fordert Reinheit der Sitten, aber auch würdige Verehrung der Götter, denen blutige Opfer darzubringen nicht nur eine Torheit sondern auch eine Versündigung gegen die in den Tierleibern wohnenden uns verwandten Seelen ist."

⁷¹ Bernays, pp. 80 f. and 102. — Should we compare Isa. 66.3: שוחט חסור לטובה איש?

unrighteous act, namely the taking of the life of the sacrificial victim, the greatest possible injustice to the animal.⁷²

From his reasoning it becomes apparent that it was specifically animal sacrifices which Theophrastus rejected. Ritual offerings as such are not the butt of his polemic. We do feel ourselves impelled, he says, to bring offerings to the gods⁷³ and both the natural world and human nature approve the offering, not of animals but of the produce of the field.⁷⁴ Theophrastus favors this bloodless offering not only because it involves no injustice but for another significant reason: a sacrifice, he says, must be such that *every single man* is capable of offering it in fulfillment of his ritual obligations, that he may merit divine favor.⁷⁵

This related, but differently pointed, argument does shed some new light upon the biblical condemnation of animal sacrifices. It was surely not within the means of every Israelite (even as it was not within the means of every Greek) to offer costly animals; accordingly the sacrificial system was to some extent discriminatory. The enviable possessors of flocks and herds in abundance, and the wealthy whose gold might readily provide them with sacrificial victims, had an advantage over their poorer brothers. In itself this difference is not unusual but it appears in an exacerbated form when it seems to give the possessing class an "advantage with God" over the less privileged.⁷⁶ According to the Priestly theory of sacrifice, for example, they could, with relatively less personal disadvantage, do atonement for their sins than could persons for whom the expenditure of the cost of "a lamb or a goat for a sin-offering" (Lev. 5.6) constituted a real "sacrifice."

⁷² Bernays, pp. 82 f., 103: "...die gutartigen Thiere... können ohne Verletzung des alle lebende Wesen umfassenden Naturrechts nicht getötet werden."

⁷³ Bernays, p. 82.

⁷⁴ Bernays, p. 88.

⁷⁵ Bernays, pp. 92 and 127; cf. also p. 64 f. ll. 162-174, p. 67 l. 251, p. 68 ll. 261-265, and pp. 74 f., 130.

⁷⁶ That the poor might be religiously disadvantaged was recognized by Jeremiah (cf. Jer. 5.4 f.). In his expression *אך דלים הם נוֹאֲלוּ* Jeremiah leaves the consequence of "folly", namely "sin," to be inferred (cf. Nu. 12.11).

Now, it is probably against this background that such legislation as Lev. 5.7-13; 12.8; 14.21-32 is to be interpreted. These passages have in common the provision that a person who can not afford the animal sacrifices ordinarily prescribed for atonement and purification may bring a less costly offering. But it is only the first of these passages which goes the whole way and meets the requirements for an offering commended by Theophrastus. Presumably few were so poor that they could not bring at least "the tenth part of an ephah of fine flour for a sin-offering."⁷⁷

The same effect is obtained by the law in Ex. 30.11-16 concerning the poll tax. Of particular significance is v. 15 which specifically names the "rich" and the "poor,"⁷⁸ but allows no distinction between them as regards this atoning gift to the sanctuary.⁷⁹

The inclusion in the Priestly document of these concessions to the poor made for a broadening of the base and democratization of cult practice. They appear all to be secondary in P⁸⁰ and it is not hazardous to suggest that popular dissatisfaction among postexilic Jewry was responsible, in part at least, for the modifications produced by their addition to P, and that in the current criticism of the sacrificial cult as such this popular dissatisfaction was involved. The concessions are, then, only compromise measures; rather than exempt the poor from their duties towards the cult the priests made its demands upon them less exacting. One result of the review of Theophrastus' polemic against animal sacrifices is the recognition that among the motives behind the opposition to the cult was the democratic urge.

The tendency noted in Plato to give primacy to moral living above cult practice is not indeed lacking in Theophrastus. In a

⁷⁷ Cf. also Deut. 16.17.

⁷⁸ הרל — cf. Lev. 14.21.

⁷⁹ The permanent, annual character of the institution of a poll tax is indicated in Neh. 10.33. — The polemical declaration in Nu. 16.3 (כל העדה כלם קדושים ובתוכם י), with its emphatically repeated "every last one of them," is clearly related to this legislation — possibly as an evidence of the popular temper which occasioned its formulation. See further, below, p. 31 f.

⁸⁰ See the commentaries and introductions.

beautiful epigram he states: "The deity regards rather the quality of the offerer (τὸ τῶν θιόντων ἥθος) than the quantity of the offerings (τὸ τῶν θυομένων πλῆθος)," ⁸¹ and continues: "It behooves one therefore, before one brings an offering, to purge the spirit."⁸² Porphyrius' fourth excerpt from Theophrastus closes with a sentence which appears to be the transition to the development of this theme⁸³ but, unfortunately Porphyrius quotes no further. Thus, after the words: "... although we do not all feel wholly worthy to bring offerings to the gods," the end of the excerpt reads: "For, just as not every sort of offering so not every *person's* offering is pleasing to the gods."⁸⁴ It is not far-fetched to assume that the point of the missing argument so introduced by Theophrastus was closely related to the thought of Prov. 15.8 and 21.27: "The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination to the Lord."

In one of the sentences just cited from Theophrastus further significance attaches to the words: "one must purge the spirit (καθηραμένους τὸ ἥθος)."⁸⁵ This expression adds to the idea of moral conduct as superior to sacrifice the further idea of purity of heart. The conjunction of purity of heart with rejection of sacrifice occurs also in Ps. 51.⁸⁶ For sacrifice, in this Psalm, prayer seems to be the preferred substitute⁸⁷ — the appropriate expression of the inner purification.⁸⁸ Although there is no clearer articulation in the extant fragments of Theophrastus' writings of the thought that prayer is to be preferred above sacrifice as the acceptable mode of worship, the importance he here attaches to the katharsis, the purging of the heart, evidences this trend in his thinking — even as in postexilic Judaism.

⁸¹ Bernays, p. 65 l. 181 f., transl. p. 66. With this epigram compare Prov. 21.3: "To do righteousness and justice is more acceptable to the Lord than sacrifice."

⁸² Bernays, p. 67 l. 249 f.; developed further in ll. 251-260, and cf. Bernays' discussion, p. 76 f.

⁸³ Cf. Bernays, p. 93.

⁸⁴ Bernays, p. 92 ll. 498-500.

⁸⁵ Bernays, p. 67 l. 250; cf. pp. 75-77.

⁸⁶ Cf. vv. 8, 12, and 19; also Ps. 19.15.

⁸⁷ Cf. v. 17.

⁸⁸ Cf. above, n. 45.

Prayer, or devotion, or the cleansing of the heart, or whatever we may term this inner experience, is, like moral conduct, a definitely individual matter. It may, indeed, be evoked and furthered by the dramatization and community of cult practice, but cult practice is not indispensable therefor. And the trend toward the emphasizing of these two phases of the religious life, discernible in postexilic writings, is (like distrust of animal sacrifice) a manifestation of the democratic tendency of certain elements in early Judaism.

III

CRITICISM OF THE TEMPLE PERSONNEL

Jeremiah's doctrine of the "new covenant" (31.30 ff.) is anti-clerical. It makes priests superfluous. Though priests are not specifically mentioned this is the implication of the words: ולא ילמדו עוד איש את רעהו ואיש את אחיו לאמר דעו את י' כי כולם ידעו אותי (1). נחתי את חורתי בקרבם ועל לבם אכתבנה. Professional teachers of Torah have no further function when Torah is intuitively known by all. Of the two functions of the Levitical priests detailed in Deut. 33.10 the one, *ישימו קטורה באפך וכליל על מובחך*, is eliminated by the rejection of the sacrificial cult, the other, *יורו משפטיך ליעקב ותורתך לישראל*, by the "new covenant." Even the prophetic stand becomes *de trop*. Its concern has been the inculcation of *דעת אלהים*.⁸⁹ But when *כולם ידעו אותי* there is no longer any need for prophets.⁹⁰

There are numerous and varied indications that this doctrine captured the imagination of exilic and postexilic Jewry and threatened vested interests. There are passages in the Pentateuch which seem rather to be the outgrowth of this teaching than its antecedents. Jeremiah (or whoever was the author of the idea of the new covenant) was apparently convinced that he was propounding something new: "They shall not *any more* teach, etc." At any rate it was in exilic and postexilic times that,

⁸⁹ Cf. Hos. 4.1; 6.6; Isa. 5.13; Jer. 22.16.

⁹⁰ Cf. Isa. 11.9 (not by Isaiah).

in some circles, emphasis was laid upon the individual rather than the community, and upon the *layman* as against the constituted religious authorities. It is during this period that spokesmen demand recognition of the autonomy of the individual — agitate in favor of religious democracy.

Indications of this trend were included under the heading "mode of worship." There the democratic implications were noted of 1) the "prophetic" preference of morality above sacrifice, and of 2) the attribution of higher value to song and prayer and "purity of heart."⁹¹ It was observed, as well, that even within the cult system concessions were obtained for the economically underprivileged.⁹² In an earlier section the evident demand for the local autonomy of scattered cult centers pointed in the same direction. To these data more may now be added.

Deutero-Isaiah's teaching reached its climax in the concept of Israel as a "prophetic people" entrusted with the mission of bringing the knowledge of God to mankind. Deutero-Isaiah thus extended the idea of the prophet sent to Israel to articulate God's message. A prophet — one man — is sent to a people; to mankind a whole people bears witness. This appears to be his reasoning. He personified Israel, the *'ebed*; for him all Israel, God's servant, is as a prophet, and is privileged to bear witness to the nations that He is the Universal Lord.⁹³ But this means that, worthy or not, each one within the servant people is an agent of God. The earlier prophets' task was done; they served their purpose and were required no more. Now all the Lord's people were prophets.

This thought lies behind the Eldad and Medad narrative in Nu. 11.⁹⁴ Moses there enunciates the democratic sentiment: *ומי יתן כל עם י נביאים*, "Would that all the Lord's people were prophets!" (v. 29). Joshua represents the narrower, professional view (v. 28). Indeed, the entire incident of the appointment of seventy lay leaders from the "elders of Israel" to assist Moses

⁹¹ Cf. above, pp. 17 f. and 26 f.

⁹² Cf. above, p. 24 f.

⁹³ A detailed development of this theme in Blank, "Studies in Deutero-Isaiah," *HUCA*, XV, 1940, p. 18 ff.

⁹⁴ Cf. vv. 14-17, 24-30.

in his administrative duties, has a democratic color. Perhaps, therefore, Ex. 18, where at the suggestion of Jethro a whole net-work of lay officials taken from among the people at large is installed, is also an attempt to give the sanction of antiquity to a later institution (or the desire therefor) based upon the democratic principle.⁹⁵ But the idea of "every Jew a 'prophet'" broached in Nu. 11 is particularly instructive. And the eschatological expression of this hope in Joel 3.1 f.: "Afterwards I will pour out My spirit upon all flesh⁹⁶ and your sons and daughters shall prophesy; your old men shall dream dreams, your young men see visions . . ." is a later development of the thought of Nu. 11.29.⁹⁷

The narrative which follows, in Nu. 12, also reflects a spirit of impatience as to religious authority. Two narratives are combined in the chapter. The one concerning Moses' Cushite wife is not relevant. But the other, in which Aaron (originally, perhaps, without Miriam) is rebuked for questioning the prophetic authority of Moses,⁹⁸ contains an expression of the principle of individual religious autonomy. It is not this narrative as a whole which is so pointed; quite the contrary, the narrative rejects the principle and defends the constituted authorities.⁹⁹ But in doing so it betrays the presence in Israel of dissident elements who, like Aaron (and Miriam) in v. 2, questioned the authority of the leaders: "Hath He not spoken also with us?" It does not seem that Aaron here symbolizes the priesthood or a group within the priesthood, and this narrative does not appear to be the precipitate of an inner-Levitic struggle as do some other Pentateuchal narratives (see below). It antedates P. Aaron ap-

⁹⁵ Cf. B. Baentsch, in Nowack's *Handkommentar, Ex., Lev., Nu.*, Göttingen, 1903, p. 505.

⁹⁶ כל בשר, according to the context, means no more here than "every Israelite"; cf. Marti, in *Kurzer Hand-Commentar, XIII, Das Dodekapropheton*, Tübingen, 1904, p. 136.

⁹⁷ Cf. Sellin's *Komm. zum A. T.*, XII, 1, *Das Zwölfprophetenbuch*, Leipzig, 1929, p. 170.

⁹⁸ This narrative is contained in 12.1aα, 2-8, although parts of these verses are redactorial.

⁹⁹ Joshua's attitude in Nu. 11 (cf. Moses' rebuke in v. 29: הֲמִקְנָא אֹהֶה לִי) is that of the author of this narrative in Ch. 12 (cf. 12.8b).

pears rather to be speaking as a lay leader, representing a lay element resentful of authoritarianism and claiming that the "Torah" is inscribed on each man's heart. Indeed, the presence of Miriam in what is either the original form of this narrative or an edited form, extends the "us" to include women as well as men. In this form the bid for religious democracy does not discriminate against women.

In the primary stratum of Nu. 16 the situation is similar. It is generally recognized that this chapter is composite, resulting from the combination of two narratives, one of which appears in a double recension. The Dathan and Abiram story, which is the older, is pertinent at this point. It also was intended as a rebuke to dissident elements who questioned the authority of contemporary leaders, symbolized by Moses. The dissidents (Dathan and Abiram) complain against Moses. "Is it a small thing," they ask, "that you have brought us up out of a land flowing with milk and honey, to kill us in the wilderness, but you must needs *make yourself also a prince over us*? Moreover, you have not brought us into a land flowing with milk and honey, nor given us inheritance of fields and vineyards. Will you put out the eyes of these men (i. e., try to hide your tyranny from us)?" Moses counters their argument with the denial that he has appropriated any of their belongings — and his denial suggests that this is what the dissidents had in mind when they accused him of tyrannical misrule. The narrative justifies Moses, or better, such contemporaries of the writer as Moses represents; the writer intends to establish their authority as of divine origin.¹⁰⁰ But the fact remains that their authority was being challenged.

Not improbably this narrative was composed shortly after the dedication of the Second Temple — perhaps in the time of Malachi. The unfulfilled promises of prosperity here may be equated with the blessings anticipated by Haggai (2.7-9, 15-19) once the Temple was rebuilt, or by Malachi (3.10-12), or in such hortatory exilic or postexilic passages in Deuteronomy as 8.6-10 and 11.13-15.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. vv. 12-15, 28-32a, 33 f.

In another group of passages it is the authority of the Levites which is challenged. If Nu. 11.29 ("Would that all the Lord's people were prophets!") expresses the theme of the foregoing, Ex. 19.6a: "Ye shall be unto Me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation" is the theme of what follows. This theocratically colored ideal is a later version of the same religiously democratic motif. In a "kingdom of priests" *all* citizens would be priests and a special priestly class would have no function. According to this ideal the ordinary Israelite would serve the nations of the earth as the single *kohen* had served Israel. "Would that all the Lord's people were priests!" is here the sentiment.

The second stratum of Nu. 16 appears to have been written in opposition to the implications of this wish. It is probable that the Korach story, in its original form, told how divine judgment befell a *lay* group¹⁰¹ which had the temerity to claim an authority equal to that of the Levites. This lay group is represented as saying: "You take too much upon you, you sons of Levi, seeing *all* the congregation are holy, *every one of them*, and the Lord is

¹⁰¹ This conclusion is based on the assumption that the primary Korach narrative was altered slightly when the secondary Korach material (8-11, 16 f.) was added. In this secondary matter Korach and his company are addressed as Levites, who are not satisfied with their status and are seeking authority equivalent to that of the Aaronic priests. This recension of the Korach narrative mirrors a struggle between priests and Levites — an "intramural" incident — and serves as a warning to contemporary Levites desirous of improving their condition. For the purpose of its author it was necessary that Korach and his followers be Levites. But it is clear that in the original Korach narrative the 250 men were *not* Levites. V. 2aβb cannot possibly be so understood. And when the daughters of Zelophehad in Nu. 27.1-3 insist that their *Menassite* father was not one of Korach's band they prove incidentally that other Menassites at any rate were among the dissidents. It is likely that originally Korach himself was not described as a Levite, and that the genealogy in 16.1a is also secondary. Similarly v. 7b, where Korach and his followers are addressed as בני לוי; it appears to have been removed from its original connection with v. 3. If it is restored there (reading רב לכם בני לוי instead of the present רב לכם) then the lines are clearly drawn between the non-Levitical, lay party of Korach, and the Levites, symbolized by both Moses and Aaron; and v. 3, the contention of the anti-clerical party, appears in its full and original significance.

among them; wherefore then do you lift yourselves up above the assembly of the Lord?" The horrible fate of Korach and his followers is, of course, intended as a warning to any of the contemporaries of the author who might harbor such thoughts. Apparently, then, at the time of the composition of this narrative (which is certainly no earlier than the early postexilic period) the priestly authorities were finding it necessary to defend their prerogatives.

In its original form the narrative in the following chapter, that of the blossoming rod in Nu. 17.16-26, had the same significance as the first Korach story; and it has been similarly glossed by priestly writers to make it appear to concern an inner-Levitic struggle. Originally it told how lay non-Levites who questioned the authority of the Levitic priests¹⁰² were silenced by a sign from Heaven. The need for such a sign is indicated in v. 20b, where God declares: "I will make to cease from me the murmurings of the children of Israel, which they murmur against you." Again at the time of the composition of this narrative (later rewritten by P), it appears that the Levitic priests were having to defend themselves against widespread¹⁰³ criticism and complaint.

When, as in this chapter (Nu. 17.25), one of the disputing parties stoops to name-calling, emotions seem to be replacing reason. Impatiently, here, the authorities apply to the people the term *בני מרי*, "rebels" — a variant of the expression *בית מרי* which (an editor of?) Ezekiel employs with such evident pleasure.¹⁰⁴ This name-calling by one side should make it clear

¹⁰² The Priestly rewriting of this narrative was more thorough than the revision of the Korach story, and it is not clear just what was added and what alterations were made in the older text. But it appears that in the original form of this story the twelve rods represented twelve tribes, the one now designated the rod of *Aaron* representing the tribe of *Levi*. When this rod blossomed it was not Aaron but the Levitic priests who were "chosen" (*כל שבט לוי* of Deut. 18.1) — not a man, or a family, but a tribe. No other explanation accounts for the number twelve.

¹⁰³ It is not Korach and his 250 followers but *כל בני ישראל* who here complain (cf. vv. 20, 24 f.).

¹⁰⁴ The idea occurs nearly 20 times in the book of Ezekiel; cf., e. g., 2.6-8; 3.4-9.

that the other side was uncomfortably powerful and articulate. It is probably against this background of conflict that the term ערף קשי is to be understood. Israel is several times invidiously described as a "stiff-necked people."¹⁰⁵ The pre-exilic prophets accused the people of stubbornness and spiritual blindness because they followed the lead of the priests; the Jerusalem priests after the Exile called them a stiff-necked people for the opposite reason — for *failing* to accept their authority.¹⁰⁶

The passages which refer directly or indirectly to a covenant between God and the tribe of Levi are relevant in this context. References to such a presumed charter would be made by a group whose authorization is being challenged, and certain of the references to this covenant appear actually to be Levitic attempts to confirm the authority of the Levites.

Jer. 33.14-26 alludes to this supposed covenant with the Levites. The section is unmistakably composite and allusions to the Levitic covenant appear as additions to the primary stratum, which concerns the covenant with David.¹⁰⁷ The Levitic

¹⁰⁵ Ex. 32.9; 33.3, 5; 34.9; Deut. 9.6, 13; cf. Deut. 10.16; 31.27; 2 Ki. 17.14; Neh. 9.16 f.; 2 Chron. 30.8; 36.13. — A chapter could be profitably devoted to these verses and their contexts. They reveal the growing impatience and annoyance of the religious authorities whose words fall on deaf ears and who then resort to scolding. The passages appear without exception to come from exilic and postexilic times. Several of them are related to the golden calf episode, which serves the writers as a choice example of heterodoxy. Continued popular preference for local cult centers, the persistence of non-Jahvistic cult practices, and related themes, appear also and reveal what it was that bothered the Jerusalem authorities. 2 Chron. 30.1a and 8 are particularly instructive.

¹⁰⁶ Deutero-Isaiah may be the originator of the term (cf. Isa. 48.4); but he does not apply it in quite the same manner as the authors of the passages cited in the preceding note.

¹⁰⁷ The following analysis is proposed: 1) The original kernel, promising the permanent restoration of the Davidic line: 14 (omitting בית יהודה), 17, 20-21a, 22abα, 25-26a; 2) the extension of the covenant with David to include the Levites: 18, 21b, 22bβ; 3) editorial additions: a) ועל בית יהודה in v. 14 (which incorrectly assumes that Israel in the original kernel means the Northern Kingdom only) and v. 26b; b) the repetition of 15 f. from 23.5 f.; c) the ascription of the whole section to Jeremiah: 19, 23 f. (Since the שתי משפחות in v. 24 are undoubtedly David and Levi this verse was not added until after the addition of the references to the Levitic covenant; and since

covenant, being thus hooked on to the Davidic covenant, takes on the characteristics of that covenant. In other words, it is not the pre-exilic contract type of covenant (which is annulled if the one — the human — party to the contract does not fulfill its obligations); it is the postexilic, one-sided חסד-type of covenant (which presumably will never be voided — is as permanent as the laws of nature¹⁰⁸). The covenant concerns the *Levitic* priests and antedates the distinction between Levites and Zadokites or Aaronides.¹⁰⁹ These Levites are God's "ministers" (vv. 21 and 22), whose duties are "to offer burnt offerings, to burn meal-offerings, and to do sacrifice" (v. 18). It is said of them, as of David, they shall never be lacking. Now, why was this affirmation, that the Levites have the permanent, God-given, right to function at His altar, interpolated at this point? No doubt because some elements in the Judean population questioned their authority. This affirmation is made in the face of a popular view that God either has rejected or should reject them. That this is true is at least partially supported by the editorial verse 24. Here the people are blamed for saying: "These two families (Levi and David) whom God chose He has now rejected."¹¹⁰

Jeremiah is addressed in this verse it cannot be separated from v. 23. Accordingly the ascription of this section to Jeremiah belongs to the third stage of its literary history.); d) minor textual corruptions.

The original kernel is repetitious and may itself not be a unit. (Note 'נאם in v. 14, ' כי כה אמר י' in v. 17, and again ' כי כה אמר י' in v. 25.) It seems really to be a collection of brief oracles renewing the promise to David contained in one of the strata of 2 Sam. 7 (cf. above, p. 11 f.).

¹⁰⁸ Cf. vv. 17, 20-21a, 25 f.; 2 Sam. 7.13b, 15 f.; 1 Chron. 17.13b-14; Ps. 89.29 f., 34-38, and frequently. The puzzling phrase in Isa. 55.3: חסדי דוד, probably finds its explanation in this context; it amplifies the immediately preceding phrase ברית עולם, which it says is like the non-cancellable and, therefore, securely covenanted promises to David (cf. 2 Chron. 6.42). Cf. also Isa. 54.8 f. where a חסד עולם is illustrated by a reference to Gen. 8.21 f. (עד כל ימי הארץ).

¹⁰⁹ In the three references the Levites are called הכהנים הלויים (v. 18), הלויים הכהנים (v. 21b), and simply הלויים (v. 22b^β); and possibly the original text read simply הלויים in all three cases. In the editorial v. 24 they are referred to as a משפחה (cf. Zech. 12.12 f.).

¹¹⁰ The confident expectation of the author of the original kernel of this

Jer. 33.14-26 does not assign any date to this assumed divine choice of Levi. Perhaps it is thought of here as vaguely contemporary with the Davidic covenant. Two other passages do, however, date the Levitic charter. One of these apparently traces it to Sinai. This is Deut. 10.8: "*At that time* God separated the tribe of Levi to carry the ark of the covenant of God, to stand before God to minister unto Him, and to bless in His name unto this day." The words "at that time" certainly do not refer to the immediately preceding two verses of itinerary; they refer back to verses 1-5, which are introduced by the same words and have to do with the giving of the Law at Sinai.¹¹¹ This passage assumes that the Levites were commissioned at Sinai.

The other passage dates the Levitic charter even earlier, i. e., already in Egypt. This is 1 Sam. 2.27 f.¹¹² An anonymous "man of God" addressing Eli refers to a revelation to the "house of his father" in Egypt and its choice "out of all the *tribes* of Israel" for priestly duty: to ascend the altar, to burn incense, to wear an ephod, and to receive portions of the offerings of Israel.¹¹³ Here Eli's family (בית אבִיךָ) is clearly not a "family" at all but a tribe (cf. מכל שבטי ישראל), and it is only of the tribe

section that the (then vacant) throne of David will again be occupied by a Davidide makes him earlier than the authors of such passages as Ju. 8.22 f. and 1 Sam. 8, who reject the monarchy in favor of the theocracy. The interpolation of the second theme, the covenant with Levi, just at this point, makes it appear that its author, who gives *equal importance* to the Levites, is moving towards the theocratic principle, though this has not yet crystallized. The editor — the author of v. 24 — practically accuses the people of anarchy when they express their doubts concerning both the monarchy and the priesthood. It is, he says, as though they deny the nationhood of Israel: "In their eyes My people is no longer a nation" (v. 24b).

¹¹¹ Note that these verses describe the making of the ark, which, in v. 8, is committed to the care of the Levites. Cf. Morgenstern, "The Book of the Covenant," *HUCA*, V, 1928, n. 182, p. 150.

¹¹² If the rule is valid that, with the passage of time, the priests went back further and further into antiquity for the sanction of their claims (cf. the Zadokites and then the Aaronides), Jer.33.14 ff., Deut. 10.8, and 1 Sam. 2.27 ff. were composed in that order.

¹¹³ In v. 27 the interrogative particle is obviously a dittograph and should be omitted.

of Levi that such things could be said as are said in v. 28.¹¹⁴ These verses therefore allude also to the Levitic covenant.¹¹⁵ According to v. 30a it was to have been permanent. But the reference to the Levitic covenant in 1 Sam 2.27 f. is only the introduction to a denunciation of the Levitic priests and the announcement that this covenant is no longer valid.¹¹⁶

In their setting, to be sure, verses 27–34 concern the priesthood at Shilo in pre-monarchical days. But they were *written* in the early postexilic period.¹¹⁷ Why? Probably to serve as an example and a warning to the contemporary Temple personnel of whose conduct the author did not approve. He wrote a new preface to the account of the battle of Eben-ezer (Ch. 4) and worked his moral into it. His criticism of the sons of Eli (actually of his own Levitic contemporaries) is contained in v. 29 f. He accuses them of greed; he says they grow fat from the offerings of Israel; they are contemptuous of God and His service.

Now, this is remarkably similar to the critique of the priests of his day by the author of the book of Malachi. He also knows of a ברית לוי. In fact his are the clearest of all the allusions to the Levitic covenant (Mal. 2.4–9). But, like the author of 1 Sam. 2.27 ff., Malachi alludes to the covenant only to blame the priests of his day for its breach. He does not, it seems, anticipate or desire the abrogation of the priestly office. While apparently approving the institution as such he is critical of the persons that presently make up the Temple personnel. These priests

¹¹⁴ The confusion between בית אב and שבט in this passage (cf. also v. 30a) is similar to the confusion in Jer. 33.24 (משפחת בית לוי), Zech. 12.13 (משפחת בית לוי), and Nu. 17.16 ff. (see above, n. 102).

¹¹⁵ With ובוחר אחר in v. 28 cf. Jer. 33.24.

¹¹⁶ It is suggested that this denunciation originally went no further than v. 34. This verse contains the sign which will authenticate the words of the "man of God" (cf. Ex. 3.12; Deut. 13.2 f.; 18.21 f.) and its logical place is at the end of his oracle. V. 35 f. are, accordingly, a later appendix and re-interpretation of the oracle, mirroring an inner-Levitic struggle (cf. 1 Ki. 2.27). Without this addition the oracle is an attack simply upon the Levites. — The words ואיש לא מכריח לך מעם מובחי in v. 33 may be a reader's ironical or incredulous comment based on Jer. 33.18. It is possible, however, that they (and v. 32a?) are a gloss based on 1 Sam. 22.20. — Minor textual corruptions cause some obscurity.

¹¹⁷ As is generally admitted.

despise God's name (1.6, 12a; 2.2a).¹¹⁸ They offer "polluted bread" on the altar, and say, "The table of the Lord is contemptible" (1.7, 12). They call it a weariness and snuff at it (1.13a). They think blind, lame, and sickly animals good enough for sacrifices (1.8, 13b).¹¹⁹ In another direction, likewise, they have abused their priestly office: they have shown partiality (2.9) and caused many to stumble in the Law (2.8).¹²⁰ So God is not pleased with them and wants no offering from their hands (1.10b, 13b). They have forfeited their rights under the Levitic covenant (2.8) and a fatal *purge* is in store for them (3.1-3).

Malachi anticipates only the elimination of the corrupt members of the Jerusalem priesthood. He advocates a reform, but he does not appear to agree with those who, on ideological grounds, reject the Temple service¹²¹ and, along with it, the Temple personnel. Yet he does say, as matters stand it were better the doors of the Temple were closed and the holy fire not enkindled on the altar (1.10a). It has been noted¹²² that Malachi speaks thus in a context of universalism. And it may be that, if not hostile to the Temple cult and priests, he at least did not think them indispensable.

The presence of anti-priestly elements is, at any rate, clearly attested by Deut. 33.11b. This is the concluding distich of the Levi strophe in the "blessing of Moses." It reads: "Smite through the loins them that rise against him — them that hate him, that they rise no more!"¹²³ These are the enemies of Levi, i. e. of the Levitic priesthood. The passage antedates P (Aaron is not involved) but can hardly be earlier than D since Levi stands for the priesthood. It is probably postexilic because of the mention of such threatening enemies of the Levitic group

¹¹⁸ Cf. 1 Sam. 2.30bβ.

¹¹⁹ Cf. 1 Sam. 2.29.

¹²⁰ With the combination of sacrificial service and priestly *torah* in Malachi cf. 1 Sam. 2.28a (לשאת אפוד לפני).

¹²¹ Otherwise he would not urge the payment of tithes (cf. above, p. 20) and would condemn the sacrificial cult itself rather than merely malpractice in conjunction with the cult (cf. Mal. 1.8).

¹²² Above, p. 14.

¹²³ With קטיו and יקטיו cf. Nu. 16.2aa.

as the foregoing passages from this period have pictured.¹²⁴ V. 11b can scarcely be separated from 11a where the wish that God may prosper Levi and find acceptable the work of his hands is itself polemical. Its apparent meaning is: let the priestly income be abundant and silence such as question the value of the priestly functions and functionaries. These functions are listed in 9b-10 and have close affinities with 1 Sam. 2.28; Jer. 33.18; Mal. 2.6-7a; Deut. 10.8, in passages where the Levitic covenant is prominently mentioned. It is possible that the Levi blessing also alludes to this covenant. V. 9b could be interpreted as a repudiation of Malachi's accusation in 2.8: שחתם ברית: הלוי.¹²⁵ And the puzzling איש חסידך in v. 8 may also have reference to the Levitic covenant. It has been noted¹²⁶ that this was thought of as a חסד-covenant, and it may be that the phrase איש חסידך here means: The man (Levi)¹²⁷ who enjoys a חסד-covenant

¹²⁴ There are obvious alternatives: 1) that this half verse (11b) is a remnant of an ancient composition in which Levi is still a secular tribe having no connection with the priesthood, or 2) that the writer has in mind such individual "enemies" of the priestly ideology as certain pre-exilic prophets. But, however it may be with this half verse (and it seems to fit best the suggested period), 9b-10 is certainly Deuteronomic if not later, and if v. 11 was older it doubtless still had some connotation for the writer who gave the blessing its present form.

¹²⁵ Though here (in Deut. 32.11) בריח might as easily refer to the covenant between God and Israel.

¹²⁶ Cf. above, p. 34, and n. 108.

¹²⁷ The איש in v. 8 is customarily understood to be Moses — or Aaron. The Moses interpretation is suggested by 8b (cf. Ex. 15.25). But it must be observed that 8b is only a vague reference to the traditions of the wilderness period, not actually in agreement with any of the received narratives. It is quite as plausible that its source is an unrecorded tradition concerning the Levites. The nearest approach to 9a is the tradition in Ex. 32.26-29 and, again, the correspondence is only approximate, which suggests that v. 9a is also based upon a tradition which has not been preserved. But as much of Ex. 32.26-29 as does correspond to v. 9a is told not of Moses but of Levi. Certainly the plural verbs in 9b-10 have the Levites as their subject, which is logical only if איש חסידך is referred to their patronymic ancestor, Levi. (This argument holds even if 9b-10 is secondary.) And the title in v. 8: ולוי obviously interprets the whole passage in this fashion. — The Aaron interpretation of the false assumption that the Urim and Tummim were an invention of P (cf. 1 Sam. 14.41 [LXX] and Morgenstern, "A Chapter in the History of the High-Priesthood," *AJSL*, LV, 1938, p. 38).

relationship with you (God).¹²⁸ If this is so, the Levi blessing is further evidence that references to the Levitic covenant in early postexilic times were attempts on the part of the Temple personnel to defend their position against elements in the Judean population who questioned their authority.

The numerous passages which reflect inner-priestly conflicts, presaging, or developing out of, the promulgation of P, are not germane in a description of the lay opposition to the religious authorities. There is, however, one passage usually reckoned among those which mirror inner-Levitic struggles which, when re-examined in the light of what has been said, seems pertinent here. It is the golden calf narrative of Ex. 32, and it concerns Aaron who there stands, not for the priesthood as against the Levites but for the Temple personnel as against the populace. The literary history of Ex. 32 is extremely complicated.¹²⁹ An originally neutral etiological saga appears to have provided the material for the polemic against idolatry which forms the literary kernel of this chapter.¹³⁰ In this polemic it is *the people* who are blamed for their part in the making of the calf,¹³¹ as also in the secondary paragraphs 7-14, 25a+26-29, and 30-34.¹³²

¹²⁸ It is not suggested that the word חסיד commonly has this meaning in the Bible — only that it could be so interpreted here. In Ps. 132.9 (cf. 2 Chron. 6.41) חסידיו stands in parallel relationship to כהניך and is possibly meant as a synonym. Cf. also Ps. 50.5 where חסידיו parallels בריתי.

¹²⁹ The statements which follow are the results of a detailed analysis of the chapter the inclusion of which would give a disproportionate emphasis to this item.

¹³⁰ Ex. 32.1-6, 15a, 19 f., 35ab.

¹³¹ Aaron's role is secondary. Not he but the people initiate the proceedings. They threaten Aaron (note the hostility implied by ויקהל העם על אהרן in v. 1) and demand that he make them a god. Not Aaron but the people are blamed by Moses (v. 20). And not Aaron but the people are punished (v. 35a). Aaron is not here the progenitor of the priesthood but merely the *locum tenens* of Moses, to whom, Moses being long absent, quite naturally (cf. 24.14) the people turn.

¹³² Deut. 9.8-21 mentions Aaron only once (in v. 20) and there he appears as an afterthought. The verse is clearly a gloss. The concluding words of v. 19, which tell the effect of Moses' intercession on behalf of the people, bring this thought to a conclusion. And it is only *after* this that Aaron is introduced — and nothing is said of the effect of Moses' intercession on his behalf. With out v. 20, Deut. 9.8-21 knows only of the sin of the people.

It is only in three glosses, which are probably as late as P,¹³³ that a spokesman for the people "talks back." These are 32.21-24, 25b, and 35b β . In 25b and 35b β the glossator takes note of Aaron's part in the preceding narrative and takes pains to point it out. His intention seems to be to shift the responsibility from the laity to the priests. And no doubt he has in mind the priesthood of his own day. The longer interpolation 21-24 is satirical. Aaron's lame and almost humorous excuse does not sufficiently justify his deed. Definitely condemnatory words are directed to Aaron by Moses in v. 21.¹³⁴ These unsavory allusions to Aaron, the hero of the Temple priesthood after the promulgation of P, attest a continuing popular dissatisfaction with the Temple personnel.

Were it not that, subsequently, and until the close of the biblical canon, the priestly authorities gained mastery and themselves authored, transmitted, and edited the most of our source material our evidence for all the facets of this disaffection would, without doubt, be more ample.

CONCLUSION

When this scattered material is assembled, organized, and viewed as a whole, it is quite impressive. Obviously, in the early postexilic period of Israel's history there were many currents which ran counter to the main stream of contemporary Judaism.

Against the trend towards the recognition, as the only legitimate sanctuary, of the *Temple* at Jerusalem, the inertia of the numbers who refused to abandon the accustomed shrines nearer home and defended the autonomy of their local cult

¹³³ But obviously not priestly in origin.

¹³⁴ מה עשה לך העם הוה כי הבאת עליו חטאה גדולה. With this compare the condemnatory phrase characteristic of the Deuteronomic edition of Kings: חטאי ירבעם בן נבט אשר החטיא את ישראל (2 Ki. 17.21) and החטיאם חטאה גדולה (2 Ki. 10.29) explained in v. b as בית-אל ואשר בדרן. For numerous other examples cf. the Hebrew Concordance s. v. חטא in the *hiph'il* (see also above, p.3). Thus, in Ex. 32.21 Aaron is boldly equated with Jeroboam I and judged by Moses as harshly for his part in the making of the calf as is the Israelite king for installing the calf images at Beth-el and Dan, in the Deuteronomic edition of Kings.

centers made itself felt. It can not be denied that, to some extent, their opposition to the Temple was motivated by religious conservatism, laxity, and even superstitious fear. Moreover, they were doubtless more receptive than the Jerusalem priests to influences which those authorities branded as "heathen." But the dissidents also produced philosophers who rationalized their motives and gave expression to an exalted theology and a noble universalism. They denied that God could be housed in any structure and insisted that His name is "great among the nations."

Also against the prevalent *mode* of worship these same or other dissident elements protested. In part they echoed the pre-exilic prophetic ideological opposition to *all* ritual as not consistent with the nature of deity. But more often their rejection of ritual was qualified. Ranking righteousness higher than ritual they condemned the combination of ritual with unrighteousness. Or they articulated a preference for the ritual of prayer and song as against the ritual of sacrifice or as an acceptable substitute therefor. (This last was a significant and portentous step forward.) The highly individualistic view that the best of all possible offerings is the contrite heart was too radical to find more than occasional enunciation. The opposition to the sacrificial cult was one of the manifestations in this period of a religiously democratic sentiment — the sentiment that in religious matters men are, or should be, equal. It was probably this attitude which made for modifications in the laws of sacrifice in favor of the economically underprivileged. At any rate, the democratic nature of the whole aversion to the prevalent mode of worship is apparent.

This democratic sentiment expressed itself even more vigorously in criticism of the *constituted religious authorities*. At times it took the form of an ideal: "Would that *all* the Lord's people were prophets!" or "Ye shall be unto Me a *kingdom* of priests and a holy nation!" At others it became a claim and a challenge: "Hath the Lord indeed spoken only with Moses? Hath He not spoken also with us?" The individual claimed religious autonomy and challenged the priests. The priests countered with intemperate accusations of rebelliousness and

religious anarchy, warned the people by describing the supposed fate of earlier rebels, and defended their authority by citing a presumed Levitic charter. But by their accusations, their warnings, and their search for legitimation, they betrayed their own insecurity and the strength of those who rose up against them.

These conclusions are important. They add to our knowledge and understanding of early Judaism. They forward our search for the roots of later Judaism. They make up a chapter in the "pre-history" of *Pharisaism*¹³⁵ and *the Synagogue*.

¹³⁵ Cf. Lauterbach, *The Pharisees and their Teachings*, New York, 1930, pp. 48-55, 64-67.

THE SECOND PSALM

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AS a *homo novus* in the field of biblical studies, I feel compelled to make the following preliminary remarks about the method adopted in this essay. In the first place, not being thoroughly versed in the vast professional literature, I could not follow the usual scientific construction which requires, as basis for one's own theory, the passing in review of all the conjectures attempted up to date and the exposure of their shortcomings. Fortunately enough, to a certain extent, this work has recently been done in a superb manner by Dr. Morgenstern in his brilliant essay on נשקן בר.¹ Our own essay in fact owes its stimulus to this work.

Secondly, I am well aware of the fact that in many respects my approach is out of date, and does not keep pace with the latest fashion;² rather it goes back to the rational-historical approach prevailing a century ago. At that time, the biblical text was considered chiefly as an old document, the genuineness and authenticity of which had to be established through a prescribed scientific procedure, in which *palaeography* and *context* are the basic tools aiding the reconstruction of the genuine text. The former tends to show the process of the alterations which unwittingly crept into the text; the latter explains the alterations introduced into it consciously. In a way, therefore, biblical criticism was considered a branch of historical studies, and the most conspicuous representatives came from the ranks of the new historical schools in Germany. In spite of all the

¹ *JQR.*, vol. 32 (1942), pp. 371-385.

² One catches a glimpse of the modern trend in the following statement: "The Messianic traits in this Psalm make its interpretation simple. What king is referred to is immaterial from the present point of view." (W. O. E. Oesterley, *A Fresh Approach to The Psalms*, 1937, p. 187).

limitations of this approach it seems to me that, under certain circumstances, especially when used with due caution, the historical method still remains the best guide for the handling of textual obscurities.

One of the features of the desired procedure consists in the temporary elimination from the text of all the passages which appear questionable, either because of their formal irregularities or because of their obscurity and the inconsistency of their contents. We simply consider all these passages as *lacunae*, or rather as so many *X*-es which have to be determined by means of the remaining unquestioned and well known parts. In other words, we proceed *more algebraico* and try to find the unknown elements on the basis of the known. It is now easy to see how essential it is for our purpose to establish the general character of the whole text in question before we try to fill the *lacunae* and to substitute our emendations for the *X*-es.

In our specific case, therefore, the first problem we have to face is whether the scene described in the first three verses of the Psalm, namely that of a gathering of nations conspiring against their ruler, reflects a real historical event or represents rather a messianic eschatological picture. The controversy on this point can be traced back to the first century and runs through the various exegetical schools of the Middle Ages down to our time. We do not intend to consider all the arguments for the one or the other interpretation, but we think that one important instance has been overlooked in the discussion. As far as I could examine the matter, those among the exegetes who maintain the messianic eschatological point of view base their opinion mainly upon v. 2c *על יהוה ועל משיחו* "against the Lord and against His anointed," v. 7: *אספרה . . . יהוה אמר אלי בני אתה אני* "I will tell . . . The Lord said unto me: Thou art My son, This day have I begotten Thee," and v. 12a: *נשקו בר* "Kiss the son." Without these passages I doubt whether so many scholars would be inclined to take into serious consideration the eschatological explanation of the Psalm.

Now even a superficial examination of our Psalm shows that none of these three passages is devoid of formal irregularities and that two of them (7, 12) offer almost insoluble difficulties

as to content. As matter of fact almost all the verses of our Psalm are composed of two parallel parts (a, b) with three beats to each. But the three verses in question form an exception and contain an additional part (c). As for vv. 7 and 12, these have always been known as a *crux interpretum* and are still awaiting a satisfactory interpretation. According, therefore, to the procedure we propose, all three passages, being questionable, have to be eliminated for the time being, so that the reconstruction of the whole text may be undertaken while practically disregarding those passages. And all the more so because our Psalm, as a whole, except for the three passages from which a messianic interpretation can be inferred, is one of the most transparent with regard both to meaning and to metrical form. Thus the fact that such clarity vanishes whenever messianic allusions appear must make us suspicious of their authenticity.

Let us therefore consider the three passages as so many X-es and try to reconstruct the text out of the remaining verses. The Psalm starts with a vivid picture of a gathering of regional vassal kings³ and princes conspiring against their sovereign ruler; they wish to cast off their bands of dependence (vv. 1-3, leaving out 2c because of its formal irregularity). In a dramatic move, the psalmist transfers us from the earthly scene to the heavens, the seat of Yahweh who alone decides the fate of nations. There Yahweh mocks at the enterprise of the

³ The usual translation of מלכי ארץ "kings of the earth" has led most of the modern commentators to the conclusion that the Psalm reflects a universalistic perspective, characteristic of post-exilic Judaism. But there exists no reason for translating the phrase otherwise than according to its earlier meaning "kings of the land," here elliptically for "kings of the land of the Philistines," after Jer. 27.21: כל מלכי ארץ פלשתים. This verse has been overlooked by Kimḥi who remarks in his commentary that the Philistine rulers were never styled *kings* (אף על פי שלא ראינו בשום מקום שקראם אלא סרני פלשתים). As matter of fact, not only at the time of Jeremiah are they called *kings* but already in the famous cuneiform inscription of Sennacherib's campaign against Palestine we find: Zidqa, *king of Askelon*; Padi, *king of Ekron*; Metinti, *king of Ashdod*; Zillibel, *king of Gaza* (cp. G. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, 1878, p. 303 ff.). Obviously the poet, a contemporary of the events, did not feel the need to mention the name of the nations in revolt; they were well known to his listeners.

rebellious kings and tells them that He has established His king upon Zion. It is His supreme decree to which they have to bow (vv. 4-6). At this point the lucidity of the text disappears and obscurity sets in (v. 7), this being the first *lacuna* in our text. When the text resumes its clarity, we realize that, in the meantime, the direction of Yahweh's speech has shifted from the rebellious kings to the king of His own choice. To him Yahweh assures the subjection of the rebellious kings and a crushing victory over them (vv. 8-9). Sure of Yahweh's decision, the psalmist returns to the earthly scene where the regional rulers are still debating and advises them to "serve Yahweh with fear, and . . ." For the second time the text becomes obscure, and the second *lacuna* sets in (11b-12a). The clarity returns when the psalmist threatens the rebellious kings saying that unless they bow to Yahweh's will they will succumb to His wrath (v. 12b).

Let us start our reconstruction with the last *lacuna*, and venture the solution of the extremely tortured phrase *ברעדה*. We shall bear in mind that the preceding verse in its second part *ונילו ברעדה* is anything but regular. It consists of only two beats, contrary to the metrical form which requires three beats. Moreover, as pointed out by modern commentators, "and rejoice with trembling" hardly constitutes the required parallelism to "serve Yahweh with fear" *עבדו את יהוה ביראה*. We therefore include 11b in the *lacuna* and try its reconstruction on the basis of 11a. In looking for the most fitting parallelism to "serve Yahweh . . ." we at once realize that the most satisfactory one would be "*And prostrate yourselves before Him . . .*" As a matter of fact the two expressions frequently occur together in the Bible. Compare for instance Ex. 23.24: *לא תשתחוה לאלהיהם ולא לעבדם*; Deut. 8.19: *ועבדתם והשתחווית להם*; Judg. 2.19: *לעבדם ולהשתחות להם*; Jer. 13.10, and especially II Ki. 17.35: *לא תיראו . . . ולא תשתחוו להם ולא תעבדום, כי אם את יהוה . . . אותו תיראו ולו תשתחוו*. Our Hebrew text in 11b would then read: *ולו ברעדה תשתחוו*.⁴

⁴ It is true, the classic style of syntax would require a.) *ולו תשתחוו ברעדה* or b.) *וברעדה לו תשתחוו*. Nevertheless, I do not consider this sufficient reason

Examining carefully the whole *lacuna*, composed of 11b and 12a ונילו ברעדה נשקו בר, and considering it as a unit, we cannot fail to realize that it still presents striking traces of the genuine text ולו ברעדה תשתחוו. Indeed, the emendation of ונילו into ולו will hardly provoke any protest, since most of the modern exegetes had to introduce לו anyway. Not so transparent, at first glance, appears the transformation of תשתחוו into נשקו בר. Not only the misreading of certain letters has to be explained but also the transposition of the word תשתחוו from v. 11 to v. 12 as well as its division into two words.

Curiously enough, by allowing for the vacant space produced by those changes of position, we gain a clear insight into the complicated process that transformed the lucid text into a puzzling riddle. As matter of fact, the transposition of the last word from v. 11b to v. 12a clearly indicates that, in the MS, after the word ברעדה preceding תשתחוו, there was a gap larger than that dividing two words of the same verse. We are led to suppose that this space originated from the fading of the right part of the first letter ת of תשתחוו. The remaining left part, which in the old Aramaic script is almost a vertical line, is identical with the letter נ in the same alphabet. And so we get נ instead of ת to start with, followed by ש. The deformation of the first ת caused the copyist to read ק instead of the second ת following ש, since נשח did not make sense. We must bear in mind that ק and ת are very similar in the old Aramaic alphabet. Thus we gain some insight into the transformation of the first three letters תשח into נשק. More difficult to explain are the alterations to which the last three letters חוו have been subjected. But again

for a further emendation of the text, because the poet might purposely have deviated from the classic pattern. As matter of fact, he seems to have ruled out a) because he wanted עבדו and תשתחוו to form the beginning and the end respectively of the verse (cp. also Ps. 72.11: וְהַשְׁתַּחֲוּ לוֹ כָּל מַלְכִים כָּל יוֹם). On the other hand, b) would make the caesura of the verse equivocal; וברעדה could be connected erroneously with the first hemistich (... ת. // בִּירָאָה וּבִרְעָדָה // לוֹ ת...). (עבדו את ה' // בִּירָאָה וּבִרְעָדָה לוֹ ת...). In order to prevent such disturbances of rhythm during the recitation, the Psalmist might have thought it advisable to make use of poetic license and to depart from the classic form, preferring the unequivocal תשתחוו וברעדה לו.

we are aided by allowing for the factor of space. For the division of the word into two entailed, of course, another vacancy. At that point there was a space larger than that dividing two letters belonging to the same word. As in the case of the transposition from v. 11 to v. 12, here too we must suppose that the additional space originated in the fading of a part of the letter ן. This time, however, the left part of the letter vanished, so that the copyist had only the remaining right part which, in the old alphabet as well as in the new, forms a perfect ן, and he thus got his first word נשקו. That ב, ר and ן are very similar in the old alphabet and therefore easily exchanged, is generally known and needs no special emphasis. Hence our copyist, having נשקו in his text divided from the following two ןו, could not help reading them בר, the only construction which made sense.⁵

We shall now endeavor to find the solution of the other X, and to fill the *lacuna* of v. 7. Our procedure will remain the same as before with the difference, however, that in this case we are unable to make as much use of the *parallelismus membrorum* and will have to fix our attention more on the whole situation in order to find the missing link. The description of the situation, as we have seen above, is clear; the only cleavage in the whole picture appears in Yahweh's speech (vv. 6–9) in which we feel the lack of transition from the rebellious kings (v. 6) to His chosen king (v. 8). This transition as well as the beginning of Yahweh's speech to His king are to be sought in our *lacuna* (v. 7). Now it is safe to assume that Yahweh's first words directed to His chosen king were somewhat parallel to those which He directed to the rebellious kings and that they consisted in the

⁵ It is worth while to note that Symmachos has here προσκυνήσατέ — סגודו (Syriac) which is the usual translation of תשתחו. Can we assume that Symmachos still had the genuine uncorrupted text תשתחו? If so, he could not, according to our conjecture, have had the word בר, and yet he renders the word בר by καθάρως — דכיאית. We may try to explain the coexistence of תשתחו and בר the following way. Symmachos' text might have come from a copy in which the corrupted text בר נשקו had been corrected on the margin and changed into תשתחו. A copyist who did not realize that the correction תשתחו was meant to take the place of two words (נשקו בר) took it as substitute for נשקו alone and consequently wrote in his copy בר תשתחו.

solemn announcement of the appointment of His king. In the one case the announcement aimed at deterring the rebellious kings from their futile enterprise and at producing their submission; in the other case the announcement sought to encourage His chosen king to remain firm in his sovereignty. Such parallelism is also indicated formally in the word **אני** which appears in v. 6 as well as in v. 7. (**וְאֲנִי נִסְכַּחְתִּי . . . אֲנִי הַיּוֹם**). Consequently in the same way as Yahweh announces emphatically to the rebellious kings: "Yet *I have anointed my king*" . . . (v. 6) **וְאֲנִי נִסְכַּחְתִּי מַלְכִּי**, we may reasonably expect Yahweh to apprise His anointed king in a similar solemn formula: "I have appointed thee king . . ." The assurance of his victory over the rebellious kings as expressed in vv. 8-9 (**וְאַתָּה גוֹיִם נַחֲלַתְךָ . . . חֲרָעַם בְּשָׁבַט** (**בְּרוּז** (**בְּרוּז**)) would then follow as the logical corollary to Yahweh's announcement in v. 7. We therefore suggest the following reconstruction of this verse: // **אֲסַפְּרָה אֵל (. . . ?) / אֲנִי יְהוָה הַמַּלְכֵתִּיךְ** . . . **וְאַתָּה גוֹיִם** "I will tell (?=the king of My choice): I have appointed thee king," followed by v. 9: "And have given nations . . ."

At first glance our suggested text appears *toto coelo* different from the masoretic text, and it seems almost impossible to think that the latter could ever have originated in the former. But upon closer examination we realize that the process of transformation followed the usual pattern of text alteration known in the scientific field of documentary research. To begin with, it should not be difficult to recognize our reconstructed text **אֲסַפְּרָה אֵל (. . . ?) / אֲנִי יְהוָה הַמַּלְכֵתִּיךְ** in the last part of v. 7: **אֲנִי הַיּוֹם יִלְדַּחְתִּיךְ**. We shall only bear in mind that the Tetragrammaton, already in ancient times, was often rendered in an abbreviated form, such as 'יה, or 'יהו, and that, in the old Aramaic alphabet, the letter ה, when the top happened to be split, could easily be misread יו. Provided the copyist believed he had **אֲנִי הַיּוֹם** instead of . . . **אֲנִי ה' הַיּוֹם** he could not help reading the remaining letters **יִלְדַּחְתִּיךְ**, כ and ד being almost identical in the old Aramaic alphabet.

Now the copyist or some reader could not fail to realize that: **אֲנִי הַיּוֹם יִלְדַּחְתִּיךְ** "This day I have begotten thee," put in the mouth of Yahweh, was too gross an anthropomorphism to be left without

further explanation. He therefore added, probably on the margin, the explanatory note **אמר אלי בני אתה** "He said unto him thou art My son." In other words: **אני היום ילדתיך** has to be taken figuratively and means that Yahweh has adopted the king as son.⁶

There still remains to be found the equation of the last *X* left in our verse, namely **אספרה אל** (חק יהוה?), indeed a *crux interpretum*. We have seen above that on the basis of the context we have paraphrased this *X* and rendered the verse: "I will tell to the *king of My choice*: I have appointed" Now if our supposition that the Psalm reflects a real historical event is true, it would be logical to look for the *name* of a king who could be meant by "the king of My choice." If we apply the palaeographical tool we shall find that the best solution of our equation is the name *Hezekiah* **חזקיהו**. As matter of fact, even a superficial examination shows how easily **חזקיהו** can be misread **חק יהוה**, the more so if we bear in mind that the letter **ח** in the old alphabet is the smallest of the letters and that it could have been easily overlooked in a somewhat faded manuscript as that of our copyist seems to have been; and also that the Tetragrammaton is often abbreviated into **יהו**. Moreover, if the copyist wrote at a time when the Psalms in general were already attrib-

⁶ It may be noted that, in his own way, already Don Isaac Abravanel sensed that the phrase **אמר אלי בני אתה** is an explanatory one, indicating the metaphorical sense of the following **ילדתיך** (Cp. *Yeshuot Meshiho*, ed. Karlsruhe, 1828, sec. III, chap. 3, p. 34a: **הנה לה שמר עצמו** **מחשבותי אמונת העו"ם במלת ילדתיך** **אמר בתחלת הפסוק אספרה אל חק ה' אמר אלי בני אתה** . . . **הנה באמרו אספרה אל חק הודיע לבני האדם שלא יאמר ה' אלי אני היום ילדתיך על צד הדיוק האמיתי** . . . **אבל שהיה ספורו ודבריו אלה (אל חק, ר"ל מנהג בני אדם וחכם שאומרים לעבדיהם הנאמנם והנאבדים בני אתה**).

Among modern scholars, I find Gunkel pointing out that the phrase **אמר אלי בני אתה** is a typical formula of adoption and is used here by the Psalmist in order to indicate that **ילדתיך** should be understood figuratively. (Cf. H. Gunkel, *Ausgewählte Psalmen*, 1911, p. 13: "Dass auch hier ein bildlicher Sinn gemeint ist, zeigt die Form des Gottespruchs: die Worte "Du bist mein Sohn" sind die Formel der Adoption." Abravanel and Gunkel, however, attributing the phrase **אני היום ילדתיך** as well as the explanatory **אמר אלי בני אתה** to the psalmist himself and not respectively to a scribal error and to a later glossator, fail to explain why the psalmist used the term **ילדתיך** at all, if he felt that it is not appropriate with reference to God and that it needed a comment.

uted to David, he could not help reading, or even correcting, חזקיהו חק יהוה instead of חזקיהו חק יהוה. The entire verse reads therefore: אספרה אל חזקיהו אני יהוה המלכותי.⁷

What historical event in Hezekiah's reign does our Psalm reflect? Obviously our first guess tends to connect it with the miraculous deliverance of Jerusalem from the siege of Sennacherib (701 B.C.). And, in fact, some of the commentators, have already referred our Psalm to Sennacherib's defeat before Jerusalem. However, upon deeper consideration of the whole picture of the Psalm, especially after our reconstruction of v. 7, such interpretation appears unsatisfactory. For one thing, the salient points in the Psalm, the two climactic verses 6-7, indicate clearly that the scene took place at the very beginning of Hezekiah's reign, yes, at his accession to the throne (720 B.C.). If so, our Psalm would indicate that after the death of Hezekiah's predecessor, King Ahaz, some of the local kings, probably petty rulers over Philistine cities subject to Judah, planned to seize the opportunity to cast off Judah's domination.

Do we have any other source corroborating such an event? We have only to read the passage in Isa. 14.28-32: בשנת מות המלך אחז היה המשא הזה. אל תשמחי פלשת כלך כי נשבר שבט מכך כי משרש נחש יצא צפע. . . . ומה יענה מלאכי גוי, כי ה' יסר ציון. "In the year that king Ahaz died was this oracle: Rejoice not, O Philistia, all of thee, because the rod that smote thee is broken: For out of the serpent's root shall come forth a basilisk What then shall one answer the messengers of the nation? That Yahweh hath founded Zion . . ." Who will deny the striking affinity of this oracle with the scene pictured in our Psalm? And is not the answer to be given to the "messengers of the nation" decidedly parallel to Yahweh's words

⁷ At first v. 7 may appear more appropriate before v. 6, in which Yahweh proclaims that He has already anointed His king. For reasons of his own, Briggs proposes the transposition of 7a before 6. But we shall bear in mind that, according to the Biblical and especially the prophetic concept, God's decision is regarded as a *fait accompli*. No wonder therefore that, in the mind of the psalmist, Hezekiah was practically anointed king before he was aware. Similarly Samuel announces to Saul that Yahweh has taken away the kingdom from him, and "has given it to a neighbour of thine" (David) long before Samuel himself knew who was to succeed Saul (cp. I Sam. 15.28: קרע ה' את ממלכות ישראל מעליך ונתנה לרעהי הטוב ממך).

directed unto the nations: "Yet I *have anointed My king upon Zion . . . ?*"⁸

Indeed, the famous cuneiform inscription which reports Sennacherib's campaign against Hezekiah, tells us that the towns captured in Judah were given to the Philistine kings who remained loyal to Assyria. There is every reason to assume that this was the general policy of the Assyrian conquerors and that Sennacherib's predecessors acted in the same way. Since Ahaz was always loyal to Assyria, he probably received some of the Philistine towns captured by Tiglath-Pileser. It now goes without saying that the rulers of these towns would not miss the tempting opportunity offered by Ahaz's death (especially if it coincided with the death of Tiglath-Pileser as many scholars maintain) of trying to regain their independence. The conspiracy referred to in our Psalm was therefore directed not only against Judah but also, or even chiefly, against Assyria, Judah's protector. This would explain the use of the plural in v. 3: . . . מוסרותימו עבותימו, which probably induced the copyist or some reader to add: על יהודה ועל משיחו in v. 2. Actually, however, the plural refers to Judah and Assyria.

⁸ True, this oracle is anything but clear, and the modern exegetes are somewhat skeptical about the authenticity of the heading: "In the year that King Ahaz died." Nevertheless, all of this does not substantially affect our suggested reconstruction of חוקיהו for חק יהוה. It would affect only our opinion about the date of the composition not our view of its meaning. Indeed, whatever we may think of the heading in Isa. 14.28, one thing is certain, namely, that at the time it was written, certain literary circles, endeavoring to collect old epic songs, especially those connected with the deeds of Hezekiah and Isaiah, had knowledge of a tradition (whether true or legendary is immaterial) of a Philistine rebellion against Judah during the interregnum between Ahaz and Hezekiah. Otherwise no one would have thought of tracing to the "year that king Ahaz died" the above mentioned oracle against the Philistines. Should therefore the heading in Isaiah prove to be a later addition, our Psalm would still refer to a rebellion of Philistines (if not a real, then a legendary one) at the time of Hezekiah's accession to the throne. We would only have to place its composition in a period when the tradition of that rebellion was widely current in the literary circles which added the above mentioned heading. If, however, the heading in Isa. 14.28 be authentic, which seems to us more likely, the composition of the Psalm might be placed in the very period of Hezekiah's accession to the throne and might even have originated in Isaiah's circle.

In the light of this consideration, the emphasis laid upon Hezekiah's appointment *by Yahweh* in the central verses of our Psalm assumes new and special significance. It is generally known that, even under the reign of Ahaz, there still was an anti-Assyrian faction in Judah. Obviously the rebellious Philistine towns tried to make common cause with that faction and pointed out that Judah, instead of remaining a vassal state and an instrument of oppression in the hand of Assyria, would do better by joining the anti-Assyrian coalition in order to regain its own independence. Our psalmist, probably belonging to Isaiah's circle opposed to any coalition, inverts the positions and the terms. Hezekiah, the king of Judah, far from being a vassal to Assyria, derives his sovereignty over Judah and the subjected kings not from Assyria but exclusively from Yahweh. Thus the emphasis: "Truly it is I that have established My king upon Zion," I Yahweh have appointed thee king" — I Yahweh and not the Assyrian ruler. Furthermore "I have given nations for thine inheritance . . ." I Yahweh and not Assyria. Far from being an instrument in the hand of Assyria, it is Assyria which is My instrument, "the rod of Mine anger," in Isaiah's language, or in the Psalmist's language "the rod of iron," with which Judah shall crush the rebellious kings (תרעם בשבט ברזל).

This may also shed light upon the obscure verse of Isa. 14.32: ומה יענה מלאכי נוג? כי יהוה יסר ציון. The meaning can be paraphrased as follows: How shall Hezekiah answer the kings of the Philistines who ask Judah's renunciation of the Philistine towns which Judah received as a vassal state of Assyria? The answer is: "Yahweh has founded the kingdom of Zion." The basis of Zion's domination is not Assyria but Yahweh.

Having reached this point, we venture to exceed the mere palaeographical limits and to embark on a question concerning the position of our Psalm in the Psalter. According to the generally accepted view, this Psalm is really the first in the entire collection, the previous one being considered an introductory Psalm added by the compiler. In view of the fact that our Psalm stands apart from the series of the so-called Davidic Psalms immediately following, modern scholars wonder what may be the circumstance to which the Psalm owes its distinguished

first place in the Book. Our suggested reconstruction enables us to advance a plausible explanation. Let us assume, with some scholars, that the Book of Psalms, in its present form, constitutes the last stage of a long process of collecting Israel's religious and national songs, the beginning of which goes back to the "Men of Hezekiah king of Judah." It certainly would not be surprising to see that a collection of religious and national songs undertaken under Hezekiah's auspices should start with a hymn celebrating this king's coronation.

Now our Psalm which, according to the suggested reconstruction, contains in its climactic verses (6-7) Yahweh's solemn announcement to Hezekiah: "I have appointed thee king," seems to be precisely such a coronation hymn. Little wonder therefore that the Psalm was put at the head of the first collection of Psalms under Hezekiah and that it has maintained its prominent position in all of the later revisions.

Since, in finding the key for our reconstruction, we were greatly aided by the formal aspect of the Psalm, we think it proper to conclude our reflections by putting in due relief another formal aspect of this Psalm, namely, the symmetrical arrangement of the verses.

Contemplating our Psalm as a whole, I am impressed by the perfectly symmetrical form it assumes after our reconstruction. The first three verses correspond to the last three. Both tercets, in fact, refer to the scene at the gathering place of the rebellious kings on earth. There is however a change in the Psalmist's attitude. In the first tercet, he appears as a mere observer of the foolish enterprise of the kings, while in the last tercet, the Psalmist assumes the stature of an active prophet, admonishing the kings to give up their foolish plans in order to avoid Yahweh's wrath. This change from poet and observer to participating prophet was brought about by the psalmist's presence at the scene in heaven described in the six verses between the two tercets. Within this section, again, the central two verses (6-7) stand out in bold relief through the emphatic "Ego" with which Yahweh's solemn announcement of Hezekiah's enthronement is introduced. The central verses are so closely connected with each other that no parallelism is to be found

within any of them but, like two parts of one and the same verse, each verse corresponds to the other. These verses form the axis of the Psalm's symmetrical structure.

תהלים ב

1. למה רגשו גוים / ולאמים יהנו ריק:
2. יתיעצו מלכי ארץ / ורוזנים נוסדו-יחד*:
3. ננחקה את מוסדותינו / ונשליכה ממנו עבתימו:
4. יושב בשמים ישחק / אדני (= יהוה) ילעג למו:
5. אז ידבר אלימו / באפו ובחרונו יבהלמו:
6. ואני נסכתי מלכי – על ציון הריקדשי:
7. אספרה אל חזקיהו* – אני יהוה המלכת יך:
8. * ואתנה גוים נחלתך / ואחותך אפסי-ארץ:
9. תרעם בשבט ברזל / ככלי יוצר תנפצם:
10. ועתה מלכים השכילו / הוסרו שפטי ארץ:
11. עבדו את-יהוה ביראה / ולו ברעדה תשתחו:
12. פן יאנף ותאבדו* / כי-יבער כמעט אפו**:

2a. Substitute for יחיצבו accepted by modern exegetes.

2*. M. על יהוה ועל משיחו — Gloss, seeking to explain the use of the plural מוסדותינו in the following verse (cp. above 52). It may be remarked that the appearance of Yahweh here in the original text would considerably deprive v. 4 of its dramatical effect.

7ab. Emendation suggested by us (cp. above 49, 50).

7*. M. אמר אלי בני אהה — Gloss, dependent on II Sam. 9.34, and seeking to define the following corrupted phrase ילדתיך (cp. above 50, note 6).

8*. M. שאל ממנו — Generally considered as a gloss, dependent on the narrative of the David-Solomon story (II Ki. 5.7), the narrative which furnished also the gloss to v. 9.

11^b. Substitute for ברעדה נשקו בר suggested by us (cp. above 46).

12*. M. דרך רשעים האבד: — Out of place, taken from Ps. 3.6.

12**. M. אשרי כל חוסי בו — Generally considered later addition.

ASPECTS OF THE RABBINIC CONCEPT OF ISRAEL¹ A STUDY IN THE MEKILTA²

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I.

THE CONCEPT OF ISRAEL³

ISRAEL designates in rabbinic literature, and to us, a specific people, the Jews. It is the concept which expressed and evoked throughout all the stages of this people's history its sense of nationhood. "Scripture," say the Rabbis, "designates them as a nation, as it says 'And who is like Thy people Israel, a nation one in the earth' (I Chron. 17.21),"⁴ the Rabbis thus adducing sound Scriptural warrant for their own national self-consciousness. In whatever respects the rabbinic concept of Israel may differ from its biblical antecedent, the core of the concept, the awareness of nationhood, remains the same. Without the concept of Israel, or some other equivalent, there would have been no Jewish people, no Bible, no rabbinic literature. It is an excellent example of the way in which an organic concept interprets, organizes and oft-times creates the facts of experience.

The rabbinic concept of Israel, however, has an individuality of its own, certain qualities which distinguish it from its biblical antecedent.⁵ The Rabbis' high regard for the dignity of Israel,

¹ I wish to thank Professor Louis Ginzberg for his annotations to these pages; like his annotations to my books *The Theology of Seder Eliahu* and *Organic Thinking*, they are marked here with his initials. *The Theology of Seder Eliahu* is referred to hereafter as TE and *Organic Thinking* as OT.

² References by volume and page are to *Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael*, ed. Jacob Z. Lauterbach (Philadelphia, 1933-1935, 3 vols.). I have also utilized the translation in this edition, though occasionally departing from it.

³ ישראל is the term used throughout in the *Mekilta*; כנסת ישראל occurs once — II, 29.

⁴ II, 206.

⁵ See OT, Chap. IV, section V.

for instance, results in a kind of equalitarianism that practically nullifies the biblical institution of the Hebrew slave. Menial personal services by the Hebrew slave, such as washing the feet of the master, or helping the latter with his shoes, or carrying him in a litter, are forbidden, though the master's son or pupil, significantly enough, are permitted to do these things.⁶ The master may not even change the trade of the Hebrew slave, let alone force him to engage in any sort of "humiliating" work.⁷ The Rabbis interpret "Because he (the slave) fareth well with thee" (Deut. 15.16) to mean that he must fare *equally* as well as the master, and this interpretation is then applied to the matters of food and drink and bed.⁸ Indeed, the question is raised whether he should be called "slave" at all, since it is a term of opprobrium.⁹ Again, to the Rabbis, love for one another is implicit in the very term "Israel" itself. "Thine enemy" (Ex. 23.4), they say therefore, cannot really apply to an Israelite at all, and if it does the enmity is such as between a father and son who have quarreled, fleeting and temporary.¹⁰ Let us present but one more indication that the rabbinic concept differs, in certain respects, from the biblical concept of Israel. The tremendous importance of Israel, in the eyes of the Rabbis, renders significant every detail of its history, and so the Rabbis endeavor to make definite and specific what may be indefinite and blurred

⁶ III, 5-6.

⁷ III, 6. The passage also discusses other conditions of labor for the Hebrew slave.

⁸ III, 14. The master must also provide food for the Hebrew slave's wife and children — III, 9-10.

⁹ III, 4. In these statements concerning the Hebrew slave, we have an illustration of the manner in which rabbinic theology is imbedded in the Halakah.

"On the Hebrew slave see my lectures on קדושין where I show that the tannaitic tradition had no longer any 'facts' about the institution of Hebrew slavery. The tannaitic statements about the עבד עברי prove nothing but that later generations tried to explain from their point of view conditions of the past" — L. G. We have been endeavoring to present "the point of view" of the "later generations" — the rabbinic — and to indicate that that point of view *differed* from the one which governed and made possible "the conditions of the past," namely, the biblical institution of the Hebrew slave.

¹⁰ III, 163-4.

in the biblical account. The year in which Israel went out of Egypt did not have to be intercalated;¹¹ they went out in the day-time;¹² they went out armed;¹³ and, the biblical "six hundred thousand. . . beside children" (Ex. 12.37) means, according to one authority, exclusive of women, children and infants whilst another takes it to be exclusive of women, children and old men.¹⁴

The rabbinic concept of Israel has a distinct individuality of its own, then, differs from the biblical concept, despite the unbroken continuity of national self-consciousness. In the preceding paragraph, we did no more than to suggest this difference, only touching on a few of the distinctive qualities of the rabbinic concept. The national self-consciousness of Israel in the rabbinic period is, however, like a texture woven of many strands, each with its own rich color yet blending harmoniously with all the rest. In other words, Israel is an organic concept. Its significance is manifold, for it takes on meanings, shadings, connotations, from the other concepts interwoven with it in the rabbinic complex of thought. More, Israel is a fundamental organic concept. It possesses, therefore, a number of aspects varied and definite enough in their own right to be crystallized into terms, which we characterize as sub-concepts.¹⁵ Only by tracing the pattern made by the interrelation of Israel and its sub-concepts with all the other concepts can we begin to grasp the meaning of the concept; but that alone is not sufficient. We must also study the *leit-motifs* running through the complex as a whole and which affect Israel as they do all the other concepts. These *leit-motifs*, or emphatic trends as we have called them elsewhere, account, among other things, for such differences between the biblical and the rabbinic concepts of Israel as we have noticed above. In sum, there can be no succinct definition of the concept of Israel. We can merely indicate its relationships and depict its qualities, and by doing this shed light on the manner of its effectiveness.

¹¹ I, 141.¹² I, 74.¹³ I, 174.¹⁴ I, 109.¹⁵ On the relation of the fundamental concept to its sub-concepts, see OT, pp. 181-4.

Nationality went hand-in-hand with universality in rabbinic thought, as the modern authorities have noticed.¹⁶ What made this "two-fold character" of rabbinic thought possible was not only the universal quality of certain rabbinic concepts but the fact that *all* the rabbinic concepts, including the concept of Israel, were organically interrelated. Rabbinic thought is a unitary complex. If, therefore, we recognize certain concepts such as God's love, His justice, Man, *Derek Erez*, to be patently universal in scope we may be sure that this universal quality is not confined to these concepts alone but affects the other concepts as well. We shall learn that Israel, the very concept expressive of nationality, is strongly affected by the quality of universality. The latter frequently acts as a check upon the former. The organic complex of rabbinic thought is extremely flexible, allowing now one concept to be stressed, now another, particularly in the case of the fundamental concepts. Thus, there are occasions when Torah, or God's love, or God's justice are stressed rather than Israel. A concept may then be so heavily accented, so distinctly individualized, that it is entirely dissociated, for the time being, from Israel. Sometimes Israel is even subordinated to another fundamental concept, or vice versa. But universality does more than act as a check upon nationality in rabbinic thought. It combines with nationality in the concept of *Gerim*, Proselytes, which is a sub-concept of Israel. Rabbinic thought, hence, owes its "two-fold character" to the organic coherence of the concepts as well as to the specific qualities exhibited by the individual concepts. The national self-consciousness, expressed through the concept of Israel, itself had the two-fold character of nationality and universality. Broad enough to take universal humanity into its orbit, it also possessed the inestimable advantages of being focussed in the common life and daily experience of a living people, the advantages, in other words, of an organic concept.

Israel is one of the four fundamental concepts of rabbinic thought, the others being Torah, God's loving-kindness and

¹⁶ See G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, Vol. I, pp. 219 ff. Cf. the references cited *ibid.*, p. 219, note 1.

God's justice. They are not fundamental in the sense of being more essential to the rabbinic outlook than the other rabbinic concepts. In an organic complex of thought, all the concepts are equally essential, for the pattern would not be the same were a single concept missing. We have called them fundamental, however, because by tracing the relationships or connections of these four concepts with each other and with the rest of the rabbinic concepts, we can demonstrate the organic interconnect-edness of all the concepts in the complex. The four fundamental concepts are constitutive of each other and of all the remaining concepts as well. Since all the concepts are thus interrelated by reason of their common constitutive elements, any concept can combine with any other concept. This interrelation of concepts makes a full analysis of our topic a very long and arduous task. The interweaving of the concept of Israel with the universal concept of God's love, for example, draws into the pattern the concepts of *Shekinah*, the righteous, the Nations of the World, God's justice — in fact all the concepts of the complex. In this essay, however, we are not offering a full treatment of the topic. We wish merely to suggest the manner in which the concept of Israel, apart from any of its sub-concepts, is affected by the quality of universality in rabbinic thought. For that purpose it is enough to demonstrate the interweaving of Israel only with the other three fundamental concepts.

II. TORAH AND ISRAEL

The Torah was given to Israel. All the other matters involving Torah and Israel flow from this essential relationship. This relationship looms large enough, indeed, to be included on its own accord in another rabbinic concept — the concept of *מתן תורה*, the giving of Torah.

The entire Torah, except for certain specific commandments first given to Adam and "the sons of Noah,"¹⁷ was given to Israel.

¹⁷ II, 211. For the six commandments given Adam and the seven given Noah see Genesis R. 16.6 (ed. Theodor, p. 149) and *ibid.*, 26.5 (ed. Theodor, p. 244). Cf. also the references cited by Theodor. Cf. also II, 235. "The *מצות*"

It was not given them at one time. Besides the revelation at Sinai, there were other occasions, both before and after Sinai, when Israel received definite laws and even religious lore. The revelation at Sinai occurred on the sixth day of the third month. The Rabbis declare, however, that "And he took the book of the covenant and read in the hearing of the people" (Ex. 24.7) refers to the fifth day, that is, to the day before the revelation.¹⁸ There was, then a "book of the covenant" before the Ten Commandments were promulgated; and in the different opinions of what this book contained, all brought forward in the same passage, we have both a summary of what the Rabbis regarded as earlier revelations and a good illustration of the non-dogmatic character of rabbinic thought. According to one authority, Moses read to Israel "from the beginning of Genesis up to here," whilst another, R. Ishmael, proves from Lev. 26.46 that the book from which Moses read contained the laws concerning "the sabbatical years and the jubilees" as well as "the blessings and the comminations."¹⁹ The third opinion, second in order in the passage, is that of Rabbi Judah, the Prince, who says, "He read to them the *mizwot* (commandments) commanded to Adam and the *mizwot* commanded to the sons of Noah, and the *mizwot* given Israel in Egypt and at Marah, and (all the rest of the *mizwot*?)." ²⁰ As

כִּי נִתַּן is an old tradition and a very important one while that concerning the commandments given to Adam is a later Haggadah (not known to the authorities of the Mishnah) of very little consequence"—L. G.

¹⁸ II, 210-11.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 211.

²⁰ *Ibid.* This opinion is rightly placed second in the passage because it represents a midway position. Like the first in following the textual order of the Bible, it is nevertheless like that of R. Ishmael in its selection of the laws and exclusion, apparently, of the lore.

"The text has וְשָׂאָר כָּל הַמִּצְוֹת כֵּן הָיָה, which cannot mean the *mizwot* which 'had already been given' (as rendered by Lauterbach). Comp. Horovitz (*Mechilta d'Rabbi Ismael*, ed. Horovitz-Rabin, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1928-31, p. 211) who calls attention to Midrash Tannaim where the reading is מְבֹרָאֵשִׁית עַד לַעֲיִי כָּל יִשְׂרָאֵל. Hoffman's emendation is not acceptable since chap. 24 of Exodus narrates that that took place after the revelation on Sinai (v. 18) and there can be no doubt that according to רַבִּי the Torah was completely known to the Patriarchs and Moses before it was revealed — but it was *not given* up to a later day."—L. G. But see Horovitz-Rabin, *ibid.*, note 13.

to the nature of the *miṣvot* given in Egypt²¹ and at Marah,²² — at Marah “He made for them a statute and an ordinance” (Ex. 15.25)—, there was again no consensus. But besides the laws given before the revelation at Sinai, there were also laws given in “the tent of meeting,” after Sinai, and these are also characterized as *diberot*, the very term used to designate the Ten Commandments.²³ Similarly, “the giving of Torah,” an expression usually reserved for the Sinaitic revelation, is also employed to describe the imposition of the Sabbath before that revelation.²⁴ The occasions, both before and after Sinai, when Israel received Torah were thus, in rabbinic thought, of the same nature as the revelation at Sinai — were, indeed, regarded as so many revelations. That these revelations could be subject to widely differing opinions is of no little significance. It emphasizes that we have to do here not with religious dogmas but with a pattern of religious thought which encouraged differences of opinion.

How did the Rabbis regard the revelation at Sinai? We have just learned that it was by no means regarded as the only revelation of Torah to Israel. This conclusion is confirmed by a closer examination of the term, “the giving of Torah.” True, this term (with the necessary grammatical variations) ordinarily refers to the Sinaitic revelation. Jethro heard of “the giving of Torah” and thereupon came to Israel in the Wilderness;²⁵ the earth trembled, and the kings of the Nations of the World were greatly frightened until Balaam assured them God was bringing upon the world neither a flood of water nor a flood of fire but was simply “giving Torah to His people Israel”;²⁶ it was on the sixth

²¹ I, 33-4 and 36-8.

²² II, 94. According to R. Joshua, the Sabbath was among the commandments imposed upon Israel at Marah (cf. also II, 121). An anonymous opinion has it, however, that it was first imposed on the twenty-second day of Iyyar and after Marah though before the revelation at Sinai.

²³ II, 215.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 99 — שנתנה להם תורה לישראל. “Reading very doubtful and Lauterbach had no right to put it into the text.” — L. G.

²⁵ II, 162 — מתן תורה; *ibid.*, 174 — שנתן תורה לעמו ישראל. See Zebahim 116a for the opinions as to whether Jethro came before or after the revelation at Sinai. Cf. also Ibn Ezra and Nahmanides on Ex. 18.1.

²⁶ II, 233-34 — נותן תורה לעמו ישראל; *ibid.*, 162-3 — תורה נותן לעמו; cf. also *ibid.*, 198.

day of the third month, *Siwan*, which fell on a Friday, that "Torah was given to Israel."²⁷ In these and in other passages²⁸ the term refers to the revelation on Sinai; indeed, in the passages concerning Jethro the term actually stands for, without any additional hint, that revelation. We must not fail to notice, however, that our term does not read "the giving of the Torah" but just "the giving of Torah," that the word "Torah" is *not* preceded by the definite article.²⁹ It is a general term, not the designation of a single, particular event. Even when standing for the Sinaitic revelation, the term implies, then, that this revelation is only one of a number of revelations of Torah to Israel.³⁰

There was a distinction, nevertheless, between the revelation at Sinai and all the other revelations. At Sinai, according to both the Bible and rabbinic theology, Torah was not only revealed to Israel but in the presence of Israel; the revelation was thus experienced by the entire people. The Rabbis, as usual, enlarge upon the biblical narrative. The earth shook, and all the Nations of the World were frightened.³¹ The people of Israel, too, stand-

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 99 — נִתְּנָה תּוֹרָה לְיִשְׂרָאֵל. "The day of the giving of Torah" — יוֹם יוֹרָה — *ibid.*, 202.

²⁸ II, 198, 236.

²⁹ See the term as given in the preceding references. Lauterbach, reflecting the common conception, always translates the term as "the giving of the Torah."

The Rabbis use the definite article הַתּוֹרָה (the Torah), only when they wish to convey the idea of the Torah as a whole. Examples: "They will neglect the Torah" (בְּטָלִים מִן הַתּוֹרָה) — I, 171; "they will absorb the Torah" (וְהִתּוֹרָה) (וְנִלְלָה בְּנוֹפֶן — *ibid.*; R. Simon ben Yoḥai's statement — *ibid.*; "will you accept the Torah" (מִקְבָּלִים אַתָּם אֶת הַתּוֹרָה) — II, 234 (*bis*). I do not think that there is any violation of the rule in the phrase "for the purpose of giving them the Torah" (כְּדֵי לִיתֵּן לָהֶם אֶת הַתּוֹרָה) — I, 174. This phrase does not have reference to the Sinaitic revelation only but to all the other revelations in the Wilderness, as well. R. Joshua, its author, insists that the commandments to observe the Sabbath and to honor one's parents were given at Marah, a revelation that preceded the one on Sinai — II, 94.

³⁰ "Comp. however: אִמְרָה תּוֹרָה — without the definite article though it means Scripture. This shows that תּוֹרָה is sometimes treated as personified, and hence no article is added." — L. G. But is it found here as a personification? Is it active in any way? When the Rabbis wish to convey the idea of the Torah as a whole, they do employ the article, as demonstrated in the previous note.

³¹ See above.

ing huddled together, were terrified by the earthquakes, thunder and lightning.³² The thunder and lightning were not of the ordinary kind but were heard by each Israelite according to his own powers.³³ The people stood literally "below the mount" (Ex. 19. 17), for "the mount was pulled up from its place and the people came near and stood under it."³⁴ Again, "stood afar off" (Ex. 20. 18) is to be taken literally, for they moved backward twelve miles and then forward again twelve miles as each Commandment was pronounced.³⁵ So overpowering was the whole experience that more than the Ten Commandments — given in ten sounds "mouth to mouth"³⁶ — the people simply had not the strength to receive.³⁷ Conceived as the great spiritual experience in which the *entire* people shared and hence depicted in the most vivid and dramatic imagery, the revelation at Sinai was the most memorable of all the revelations. In contrast to all other revelations, says Ginzberg, it was a *direct* revelation.³⁸ All this implies, obviously, that the Sinaitic revelation possessed, for the Rabbis, a significance greater than that of the other revelations of Torah;³⁹ and that would account for the fact that when the term "the giving of Torah" is used it ordinarily refers to the Sinaitic revelation. The term is essentially, however, of a general character, inclusive of all the occasions when, according to the Rabbis, there were revelations of Torah to Israel.⁴⁰

³² II, 219.

³³ *Ibid.*, 266-67.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 219.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 269; cf. also *ibid.*, 202.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 95.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 269-70.

³⁸ "The revelation on Sinai was, in contrast to all other revelations, a *direct* one. The Rabbis insisted that this revelation was *not* through an angel; comp. my remarks in *Eine unbekannte jüdische Sekte* (New York, 1922), p. 246 f." — L. G.

³⁹ This bears out the analysis of the relation of significance to the emphatic trends in OT pp. 246-7. Here there is a combination of emphatic trends.

⁴⁰ חיות in his (ולקוח, חקצ'ו) Chap. 11, seeks to demonstrate the thesis that all the *mizvot* previously revealed were again confirmed on Sinai. Even according to Chajes' reasoning, however, the revelation at Marah apparently possessed a character similar to that of the revelation on

Israel accepted the commandments of God, again not at one time but on the various occasions when these were revealed. They accepted the Sabbath when it was given them sometime before the revelation at Sinai.⁴¹ When Moses finished reading the book of the covenant to them, on the day before the revelation on Sinai, the people declared, "We accept upon ourselves." Thereupon, Moses sprinkled on the people from the blood of the sacrifice and uttered the formula, "Now you are bound, held and tied," and told them to come on the morrow and receive "all the *mizvot*."⁴² The people accepted the Ten Commandments by responding to each one as it was given.⁴³ The whole-hearted acceptance of Torah by Israel is contrasted with rejections just as positive by the Nations of the World, none of them being willing to obey any of the Ten Commandments that forbade their ordinary mode of living.⁴⁴ Logically, of course, the acceptance of God's decrees or commandments presupposes the awareness or acceptance of God's sovereignty, and this logical procedure is, in fact, attributed by the Rabbis to Israel.⁴⁵ Obviously, having accepted the Torah, Israel was henceforth committed to the practice of it. "The words of Torah are obligatory upon you."⁴⁶

The revelations of Torah but gave Israel the possibility, afforded the people the opportunity, to acquire Torah. Actual acquisition of Torah was achieved only through the process of laborious and painstaking study. Moses was told by God that

Sinai, for, as Chajes points out, the Rabbis say that at Marah certain *mizvot* previously given were confirmed again.

Chajes' approach to the entire question is decidedly rationalistic. The corner-stone of his argument is the view of Maimonides, and he utilizes again and again the latter's statement that the Patriarchs and the others vouchsafed divine commandments prior to the revelation on Sinai, attempted to impart these *mizvot* to mankind, not on the basis that they were divine commands, but by means of argumentation, teaching, reason.

⁴¹ II, 122-3; cf. II, 119.

⁴² II, 210-11. "נעשה ונשמע" (Ex. 24.7) means according to the Rabbis: "We shall do what we shall hear" — L. G.

⁴³ II, 229. "'Let me hear thy voice' (Song of Songs 2.14), that is, (when responding to) the Ten Commandments" — II, 219.

⁴⁴ II, 234-5.

⁴⁵ II, 237-8.

⁴⁶ III, 179.

it was not sufficient simply to present the Torah with its ordinances to Israel but that, instead, he must teach it to them a second, a third, and a fourth time until they learned it. Nor was this sufficient: they must not only learn the Torah but must be able to repeat it. Nor was even this sufficient: they must be taught until everything is clear to them, orderly, "like a set table."⁴⁷ It was that Israel might absorb the Torah that God had them take a circuitous route in the Wilderness. "God said: If I bring Israel into the Land now, every man will immediately take hold of his field or his vineyard and neglect the Torah. But I will make them go round about in the Wilderness forty years so that, having the manna to eat and the water of the well to drink, they will absorb the Torah."⁴⁸ In the Wilderness, the study of Torah by Israel followed, apparently, each revelation. At Elim (Ex. 15.27), before reaching Sinai, they were occupied, according to R. Eleazar, with the words of the Torah which had been given them at Marah.⁴⁹

Only by the study and practice of the Torah can Israel remain a spiritual people. The Torah is the covenant between God and Israel, annulled when all the commandments are broken or idolatry practiced.⁵⁰ To be God's people means to be altogether absorbed with the Torah. "Then ye shall be Mine" (Ex. 19.5) means according to the Rabbis, "you shall be turned to Me and be occupied with the words of the Torah and not be occupied with other matters."⁵¹ Israel's acceptance of the Torah is, therefore, linked with their love of God "with all their heart and with

⁴⁷ III, 1.

⁴⁸ I, 171. See Lauterbach, note #4, *ibid*.

⁴⁹ II, 98.

⁵⁰ I, 36-38. Several individual commandments and practices are also described by the term "covenant": "The covenant of the Sabbath," "The covenant of circumcision" and the injunction against idolatry — II, 204. The Sabbath is, of course, also "a sign" between God and Israel (Ex. 30.13), and the Rabbis add the comment, "But not between Me and the Nations of the World" — III, 199 and 204.

According to R. Ishmael, God made three covenants with Israel: one at Horeb (Sinai), one in the plains of Moab and one on Mt. Gerizim and Mt. Ebal — III, 187.

⁵¹ II, 204.

all their soul,"⁵² for it is the concrete evidence of that love. Israel is God's people only if they are holy. "If you are holy then you are Mine." But what confers holiness upon Israel? "With every new *mizwah* which God issues to Israel He adds holiness to them."⁵³ This involves, of course, the practice of these commandments. The observance of the Sabbath, for example, "adds holiness to Israel."⁵⁴ On the other hand, when Israel cease to engage in Torah, they tend to lose their spiritual character. They became rebellious soon after they left Egypt, "because they had been without words of Torah for three days."⁵⁵ In fact, unless they occupy themselves with the words of the Torah, Israel cannot exist as a people at all.⁵⁶

When the Rabbis extol Israel they frequently do so in terms of Israel's relation to Torah. Thus, the generation that went out of Egypt loved the Torah and the *mizwot*, according to the Rabbis. Upon leaving Egypt, the people took the unleavened dough, "their kneading-troughs being bound up in their clothes upon their shoulders" (Ex. 12.34) despite their having with them many beasts of burden. This indicates, says R. Nathan, that "Israel cherished the *mizwot*."⁵⁷ Although elsewhere the people journeyed with dissension and encamped with dissension, this was not true when they encamped before Mt. Sinai. Here, as inferred from the word *vayyiḥan*, a singular form, all the people were united, of one accord concerning the acceptance of Torah.⁵⁸ Before the giving of the Ten Commandments, "all the people answered together and said, 'All that the Lord hath spoken we will do' (Ex. 19.8)." The Rabbis add: "They did not give this answer with hypocrisy, nor did they get it one from the other, but all of them made up their minds alike."⁵⁹ God, Himself, ex-

⁵² II, 53. The term for God here is *יהוה*.

⁵³ III, 157.

⁵⁴ III, 200.

⁵⁵ II, 90. This is the reason given here for the institution of reading from the Torah in the synagogue on the Sabbath and on Mondays and Thursdays.

⁵⁶ II, 135.

⁵⁷ I, 104.

⁵⁸ II, 200.

⁵⁹ II, 207; cf. also *ibid.*, 230, where such unanimity is spoken of as an "excellence" of Israel.

pressly approves Israel's response on similar occasions — when they declare "all that the Lord hath spoken we will do and obey" (Ex. 24.7)⁶⁰ and when they say, "If we hear the voice of the Lord our God any more, then we shall die" (Deut. 5.22). "Happy the people whose words God has approved!"⁶¹ We have already seen how the Rabbis depict Israel as accepting the laws on every occasion these have been revealed and how they contrast Israel's acceptance with the Nations' rejection of the Torah. The people or generation that received the Torah were not an ordinary people, in the Rabbis' view. Standing before Mt. Sinai, Israel possessed marked "excellence": They interpreted the divine word as soon as they heard it, and there were neither blind nor dumb nor deaf nor lame nor fools among them.⁶² At that time, honoring the Torah, Israel was "the most beautiful among the nations."⁶³

There can be wide differences of opinion in rabbinic thought, due largely to the different emphasis on one or another of the organic concepts. The following statements, when placed side by side, contradict each other no doubt, but the "contradiction" is merely an instance of the flexibility of organic thinking. Is there a necessary, exclusive, inherent relationship between Torah and Israel? The Rabbis express the idea that there is an inherent relationship between four things, among them Torah and Israel, by observing that Scripture designates each of them by the same term, the common term being "possession" according to one passage⁶⁴ and "inheritance" according to a kindred passage.⁶⁵ Again, in contradistinction, say the Rabbis, to the things given Israel conditionally — such as the Temple, for example, which was later destroyed — the Torah was one of the things given unconditionally.⁶⁶ This statement, too, can only mean that a necessary, inherent bond unites Torah and Israel, and that even

⁶⁰ II, 229.

⁶¹ II, 270-1. The same biblical verse (Deut. 5.17) is used as warrant in both midrashim.

⁶² II, 267.

⁶³ II, 270. "Sweet is thy voice and thy countenance is comely" (Song of Songs 2.14), refers to Israel when engaged in Torah — II, 219 and I, 211.

⁶⁴ II, 75-6.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 77-8.

⁶⁶ II, 188-9.

a temporary rupture between them, comparable to the temporary loss of the Temple,⁶⁷ is impossible. The opposite view, however, is implied by other passages. "When I gave it (i. e., the Torah) from the very start, I gave it not in the place of a land of darkness, not in a secret place, not in an obscure place. 'I said not: It is unto the seed of Jacob' (Isa. 45.19)— that is, to these *only* will I give it."⁶⁸ "To three things is the Torah likened: To the desert, to fire and to water. This is to tell you that just as these three things are free to all who come into the world, so also are the words of the Torah free to all who come into the world."⁶⁹ Do such statements imply that Torah and Israel are inherently related? We have before us, manifestly, two opinions, each the antithesis of the other, and the organic complex is flexible enough to leave room for both. The opinion affirming that there is an inherent bond between Israel and Torah emphasizes the concept of Israel, whilst in the contrary opinion the concept of Torah is accented in such a way as to be dissociated from Israel.⁷⁰ In the former, the element of nationality comes to the fore; in the latter, the element of universality. The "contradiction" presented by these two opinions goes back, very likely, to differences in temperament between two individuals, or perhaps even to the differences in mood of a single individual.

Either Israel or Torah may be emphasized also in such manner as to render one subordinate to the other. When Amalek came to attack Israel, says R. Joshua, Moses' plea to God was that if Israel is destroyed, "who then will read that Book of the Torah which Thou hast given them?"⁷¹ In this plea Torah is definitely emphasized, Israel's very existence being justified on the ground of its service in behalf of Torah. The same is obviously

⁶⁷ The Rabbis believed that the Temple would be ultimately restored.

⁶⁸ II, 199. For פנוי, see Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, VI (Philadelphia, 1928), p. 32, note 185.

⁶⁹ II, 237. See, *ibid.*, Lauterbach's note #12.

⁷⁰ Commenting on Ex. 12.26, the Rabbis say "Evil tidings were announced to Israel at that time, namely, that the Torah would ultimately be forgotten" — I, 94. Here the meaning is that knowledge of the Torah would be rare among Israel, but not that it would disappear for then there would be nobody even to tell of the law. "Comp. Shabbat 138b." — L. G.

⁷¹ II, 158.

true of the following midrash: " 'Thou hast guided them in Thy strength' (Ex. 15.13) — for the sake of (i. e., because of) the Torah which they were later to accept."⁷² On the other hand, Israel is emphasized, and a primary law of the Torah made altogether subordinate to Israel, in the famous midrash, "The Sabbath is given to you but you are not surrendered to the Sabbath."⁷³ The organic complex allows emphasis now on this and now on that concept of the complex.

In this section we have demonstrated how the concepts of Israel and Torah interweave in rabbinic thought. The Rabbis tell of a number of revelations of Torah to Israel, though the one at Sinai possessed for them the greatest significance. The Rabbis say further that Israel accepted the various commandments on these occasions and that the actual acquisition of Torah was achieved only by painstaking study. Through study and practice of Torah, they declare, does Israel remain a spiritual, holy people; and, when they wish to extol Israel, do so in terms of Israel's relation to Torah. We also found that Torah and Israel can each be accented over the other at different times, thus allowing, on occasion, the element of universality to come to the fore.

III. GOD'S LOVING-KINDNESS⁷⁴ AND ISRAEL

God loves Israel. He is their "Father who is in heaven,"⁷⁵ and they are "His children"⁷⁶ or "His sons."⁷⁷ Parental love is but one form, however, taken by God's all-embracing love for Israel,

⁷² II, 70.

⁷³ III, 199 and 198. "The contrast is not between the Sabbath and Israel but between the commandment and the instrument (man!) to fulfill it."—L.G. The statement on p. 198 occurs in conjunction with the discussion that demonstrates that the duty of saving life supersedes the Sabbath laws.

⁷⁴ The חסד of God — II, 69. מדה רחמים — II, 28. For the terms מידה של חסד and מידה של רחמים see TE, p. 108 and p. 114.

⁷⁵ II, 93, 158 (twice), 290 — אביהם שבשמים.

⁷⁶ I, 57, 216, 222, 243, II, 21 (twice), 42, 45, 158, 223, 274 — all in the forms of either בני בניך or בני בניך.

⁷⁷ I, 219 — "sons" because of the parable introducing the idea refers to a "son."

though the form most often apprehended by the Rabbis. God is also Israel's Brother⁷⁸ and Israel God's loving friends.⁷⁹ Once, when speaking to Moses, according to the Midrash, God fondly designates Israel as the "congregation of holy men."⁸⁰ This designation is reflective of Israel's religious status and function; of like character are the references to Israel as God's "servants"⁸¹ and "ministers."⁸² For most of these terms there is good biblical warrant; and the following list occurring as a single block is unequivocally biblical: "Thy people, Thy herd, Thy flock, the flock of Thy pasture, the seed of Abraham Thy friend, the children of Isaac Thine only one, the congregation of Jacob, Thy first-born son, the vine which Thou didst pluck up out of Egypt and the stock which Thy right hand hath planted."⁸³ When the Rabbis depict God's love for Israel by means of such terms of endearment they have, therefore, sound biblical authority, although a certain tender, personal quality is rather more pronounced in the rabbinic terms. We must keep in mind, however, that in the rabbinic view God's love is not limited to Israel. It extends to all men: "Thy right hand is stretched forth to all those who come into the world."⁸⁴

Israel is precious to God, even as a treasure is precious to a man.⁸⁵ Not only is the people as a whole dear to God but every individual in Israel. When Israel stood before Mt. Sinai, God told Moses to warn the people "lest they break through. . . and many of them perish" (Ex. 19.21). The Rabbis interpret the word *rab* in that verse to mean that "every one of them that might be taken away is of as great account to Me as the whole

⁷⁸ I, 221 — אח.

⁷⁹ III, 139 — אוהבים.

⁸⁰ I, 216 — עדת קדושים.

⁸¹ III, 138 — עבדים; *ibid.*, 23 — מכל מקום.

⁸² III, 139.

⁸³ II, 80. The passage as given both here and in Horovitz-Rabin, *op. cit.*, p. 150, is textually corrupt, but Horovitz-Rabin calls attention to the parallel in the *Mechilla de R. Simon* the text of which is certainly more reasonable. The terms of endearment, however, remain the same.

⁸⁴ II, 39.

⁸⁵ II, 204.

work of creation."⁸⁶ God's profound love, tender and personal, as felt by the Rabbis, is here portrayed in the strongest manner possible.

Israel is God's especially beloved people. God is "The Lord, the God of all flesh" (Jer. 32.27), the Rabbis point out, but add with emphasis that "He associated His name particularly with Israel."⁸⁷ "I am God for all those who come into the world, nevertheless I have associated My name particularly with My people Israel."⁸⁸ "The whole world is Thine, and yet Thou hast no other people than Israel," say the Rabbis, offering sound proof from the Bible.⁸⁹ Israel is designated as God's "possession" and as God's "inheritance," sharing that distinction only with the Land of Israel, the Temple and the Torah, things which are themselves bound up with Israel.⁹⁰ Of special significance is the word "nevertheless" (אף על פי כן) which occurs in one of the passages just quoted. It indicates that, although the Rabbis recognized the anomaly of the God of the universe making one particular people for His own, this anomaly was to them only astounding evidence of God's love for Israel. The exalted place of Israel was both deserved and established in the very nature of the universe. It was deserved: "He has proclaimed me of special distinction and I (Israel) have proclaimed Him of special distinction."⁹¹ And it has been ordained from the beginning: "Have they not already from the time of the six days of creation been designated to be before Me? For it says, 'If these ordinances depart from before Me, saith the Lord, then the seed of Israel

⁸⁶ II, 225. The biblical proof-text is "For the Lord's is the eye of man and all the tribes of Israel" (Zech. 9.1), "the eye of man" apparently being taken to mean the world in general which man sees.

⁸⁷ III, 184 — ייחד שמו ביותר.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 185.

⁸⁹ II, 69, 75. The proof-texts are: "The people that Thou hast redeemed" (Ex. 15.13), "The people that Thou hast gotten" (Ex. 15.16), "The people which I formed for Myself" (Isa. 43.21).

"But were they not God's people?"—II, 4; the proof-text here is: "Yet they are Thy people and Thine inheritance" (Deut. 9.29).

⁹⁰ II, 75-6, 77-8.

⁹¹ II, 23.

also shall cease from being a nation before Me forever' (Jer. 31. 35)."⁹²

God identifies Himself with Israel, in a sense. Israel's troubles, are as it were, His troubles and their joys His joys.⁹³ So strongly did the Rabbis feel God's close sympathy with Israel that, on the basis of it, they not only reinterpret but actually reconstruct a biblical text. R. Judah declares, though with circumspection, that Zech. 2.12 originally read: "Surely he that toucheth you toucheth the apple of Mine eye."⁹⁴ Israel's enemies are thus God's enemies. "And who are they that rose up against Thee? They that rose up against Thy children."⁹⁵ And the midrash goes on to say that as to him who helps Israel it is as though "he helps Him who spake and the world came to be."⁹⁶ In these midrashim the Rabbis ascribe to God attitudes which they also ascribe to *Shekinah*. The same is true of many of the deeds in behalf of Israel depicted in the following paragraphs.

God, in His loving-kindness, protects and helps Israel. To portray this phase of God's love, the Rabbis tell a parable of a man who was walking in the way with his son in front of him. Let robbers, who seek to capture the lad, attack in front, the father acts as shield by placing the son behind him; let a wolf attack from behind, the father again acts as shield by placing the lad once more before him; let robbers attack in front and wolves behind, the father takes the son up in his arms.⁹⁷ Repeated in another section, this parable is introduced there with the following poignant image: "'And how I bore you on eagles' wings' (Ex. 19.4) — How is the eagle distinguished from all other birds? The rest of the birds carry their young between their feet, being

⁹² I, 222; compare also the statement of R. Simon the son of Yoḥai, *ibid.*, 217-18.

⁹³ II, 160.

⁹⁴ II, 43. See Lauterbach, *ibid.*, note #1. R. Judah employs circumlocution so as not to make the actual change in text. The change from the original reading would be out of regard for the majesty of God, not because of fear of anthropomorphism.

"I have no doubt that 'פ' was the original reading."—L. G.

⁹⁵ II, 42, 45.

⁹⁶ II, 45.

⁹⁷ I, 224-5.

afraid of other birds flying higher above them. The eagle, however, is afraid only of men who might shoot at him. His intention, therefore, is to let (the arrow) lodge in him rather than in his children."⁹⁸ God indeed protects Israel and always fights for them against their enemies.⁹⁹ Israel's troubles are manifold and "later troubles cause the former ones to be forgotten," but God delivers them from all evil.¹⁰⁰ He caused the sea to be divided before them, declaring on that occasion, "I am a Brother to Israel when they are in trouble."¹⁰¹ Not only did He cause them to pass over the sea but in the same way over the Jordan and also, apparently, over the rivers of Arnon.¹⁰² He led them unharmed through such places as the Wilderness of Kub, a long and dreadful territory, full of serpents and scorpions.¹⁰³ "You call in secret and I answer you in the open and cause the whole world to be shaken on your account."¹⁰⁴

The Bible speaks of "the pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night" (Ex. 13.22), by means of which God led Israel in the Wilderness. The pillar of fire began to gleam, say the Rabbis, while the pillar of cloud was still there.¹⁰⁵ More frequently the Rabbis refer to the biblical "pillar of cloud" by their term "clouds of glory." Thus the idea of *Sukkot*, which may be taken to mean "canopies," suggests to R. Akiba "the clouds of glory."¹⁰⁶ The "clouds of glory" literally enveloped and protected Israel: There were four on the four sides of them, one above and one beneath them, "and one that advanced before them, raising the

⁹⁸ II, 202-3. The repeated parable is given with slight textual variations.

⁹⁹ I, 215.

¹⁰⁰ I, 133.

¹⁰¹ I, 221.

¹⁰² II, 75; cf. I, 182.

¹⁰³ II, 87-89. This wilderness contained one kind of viper, people say, which had but to look at (or cross) the shadow of a bird flying overhead for that bird to fall down in pieces. Lauterbach reads מכרכר, but Horovitz-Rabin, p. 154, reads מיד הוא מתחבל אל צלו, reserving a still better reading — מיד הוא מתחבל — for the notes there.

¹⁰⁴ II, 196 — ופרעים עליך אח כל העולם.

¹⁰⁵ I, 187.

¹⁰⁶ I, 108, 182. "The underlying idea of R. Akiba is connected with the סכוכ of water referred to in Ps. 18.12." — L. G.

depressions and lowering the elevations; . . . it also killed the snakes and the scorpions, and swept and sprinkled the road before them." According to this statement, there were seven "clouds of glory;" another opinion sets them at thirteen, still another at four and still another at two.¹⁰⁷ God's protection of Israel in this wise presents to the Rabbis an anomaly similar to the one we noticed above, and once more because of their recognition of the universality of God. "'And the Lord went before them by day' etc. (Ex. 13.21) — Is it possible to say so? Has it not already been said, 'Do I not fill heaven and earth? saith the Lord' (Jer. 23.24)?" The answer here, too, is that this anomaly is but astounding evidence of God's love for Israel, an answer illustrated by the parable of Antoninus himself lighting the way for his sons although the courtiers, the great men of the Empire, expressed their eagerness to do so.¹⁰⁸

God is the Redeemer of Israel. He redeemed them from the bondage of Egypt. "Through the strength (of God) did Israel go out of Egypt."¹⁰⁹ The Exodus could not have taken place save for direct divine intervention; never had a slave, it was said, been able to run away from Egypt, yet on this occasion God brought out six hundred thousand people.¹¹⁰ The final redemption of Israel "from the hand of Egypt" resembled the escape of a bird from out of a man's hand when only a slight pressure could have choked the bird, and the drawing out of a new-born calf from a cow's womb.¹¹¹ Indeed the deliverance from Egypt "is equal to all the miracles and mighty deeds which God has done for Israel."¹¹²

God's love for Israel was also manifest in the details and circumstances of the redemption. As soon as the designated "end" came — designated on that fifteenth of *Nisan* at night when God "did speak with Abraham our father at the covenant be-

¹⁰⁷ I, 183. To fight Amalek, Joshua had to get out from under the protection of the cloud — II, 141.

¹⁰⁸ I, 185-6.

¹⁰⁹ I, 141.

¹¹⁰ II, 176.

¹¹¹ I, 249.

¹¹² II, 105.

tween the parts"— He did not delay them an instant: the people of Israel went out of Egypt also at night on the fifteenth of *Nisan*.¹¹³ The month of *Nisan* itself, "the month of *Abib*," was chosen by God because it was the season most convenient for Israel, for then the sun is mild and there are no rains.¹¹⁴ Even before the Exodus was God's kindness to Israel manifest. While Israel was in Egypt, a woman would give birth to six children at one delivery,¹¹⁵ no doubt to offset the cruel decimation of Israel by the Egyptians. And God encouraged the people at the brink of the redemption by announcing the good tidings that "they were destined to see children and children's children."¹¹⁶ According to one authority, "God skipped over the houses of his children in Egypt" (when the last plague was visited upon Egypt), and this action was a further manifestation of His love—"Hark! my Beloved! behold, He cometh leaping upon the mountains . . . behold, He standeth behind our wall," etc. (Song of Songs 2.8-9).¹¹⁷ God is the salvation of Israel. "Thou art the salvation of all who come into the world but of me (Israel) especially,"¹¹⁸ say the Rabbis, again linking the universality of God's love with His especial concern for Israel. God was and will be the salvation of Israel.¹¹⁹

¹¹³ I, 112-13, 116. God's covenant with Abraham "between the parts"— Gen. chap. 15.

¹¹⁴ I, 139-140.

¹¹⁵ I, 95, 175.

¹¹⁶ I, 94.

¹¹⁷ I, 57 — אל תקרי ופסחתי אלא ופסעתי. This implies of course, that the ח and פ were interchangeable in their pronunciation. Nahmanides uses this example among a number of others to prove this very point; and he insists that it is true not only of rabbinic but also of biblical times for, although all of his examples are rabbinic, he brings them as proof that the עיים (Deut. 2.23) were the חיים. See the comments on Deut. 2.10 and 2.23 in his Commentary to the Pentateuch. "Nahmanides showed fine philological sense. We know now that the Assyrian transliterated the Hebrew פ by ח"— L. G.

Incidentally, most of the Rabbis declare the blood on the lintel was on the inside not the outside of the house, and all agree that it was not meant as a sign for God — I, 56, 84.

¹¹⁸ II, 24.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

The universality of God's love and His especial concern with Israel are once more linked by the Rabbis when depicting God's providence. "Thou art Helper and Supporter of all who come into the world but of me (Israel) especially."¹²⁰ In that parable referred to above wherein the father protects his son with his own body, the father also attends to each of the lad's needs. When the lad begins to suffer from the sun, his father spreads his cloak over him; when the lad is hungry, he feeds him, thirsty, he gives him to drink. "So, (too), did the Holy One blessed be He do (to Israel):" "He spread a cloud for a screen" (Ps. 105.39); He fed them bread (Ex. 16.4); He gave them water to drink (Ps. 78.16).¹²¹ After the many years of servitude, the Israelites did not leave Egypt empty-handed, but "the Lord gave the people favour in the sight of the Egyptians" (Ex. 12.36). The Rabbis offer various comments on this verse, all of them illustrating the willingness of the Egyptians to part with their gold and silver and raiment; in fact, according to one comment, the Egyptians let them have things for which they did not even ask.¹²² "There was not a single Israelite," says another authority, "who did not bring up with him (from Egypt) ninety asses laden with gold and silver."¹²³ The "plunder" at the Red Sea was, however, even greater than that taken out of Egypt.¹²⁴ After leaving Egypt, God provided Israel with food and drink during their long sojourn in the Wilderness. "On the day the Holy One blessed be He created His world He created there (at Elim) twelve springs, corresponding to the twelve tribes of Israel, and seventy palm-trees, corresponding to the seventy elders."¹²⁵ He gave them the manna because of His love, not because it was due them.¹²⁶ He brought Israel not by the straight road in order that the Canaan-

¹²⁰ II, 23.

¹²¹ I, 225.

¹²² I, 105-6. "With great substance" (Gen. 15.4) — God's promise to Abraham — is interpreted to mean "I will fill them with silver and gold" (I, 109).

¹²³ II, 139.

¹²⁴ I, 106.

¹²⁵ II, 98.

¹²⁶ II, 102.

nites might arise and repair all the damage they had done to the seeds, trees, buildings and wells upon hearing that Israël was about to enter the land; and thus Israel came not "to a desolate land but to a land full of all good things."¹²⁷ And when He brought them to the Land, He gave each tribe its proper place and portion so that Israel was "like a vineyard that is planted in rows."¹²⁸

God's love for Israel is also manifested in the moral sphere. "Thou hast shown us loving-kindness (חסד) for we possessed no (meritorious) deeds . . . And the world from its very beginning was created only by loving-kindness."¹²⁹ Here, it is worth noticing, though God's universal love and Israel are again linked, there is no greater emphasis on Israel than on "the world" in general. God's mercy alone enabled Israel to leave Egypt, not their own virtue. "They were rebellious but He dealt with them charitably."¹³⁰ He exercised His mercy and forgave them when they repented after having angered Him — this both at Rephidim and in the Wilderness of Sinai.¹³¹ God's love is enduring and compassionate, and needs must be in the face of human frailty and weakness. It was revealed before Him that they would deal falsely with Him in the future; "yet He helped them — was their Saviour — not as people who would in the future provoke Him but as people who would never prove faithless to Him."¹³²

In this section, we have described, to some degree, how the concept of God's loving-kindness intertwines with the concept of Israel. God loves Israel, and Israel is precious to Him. Israel is God's especially beloved people and He identifies Himself, in a sense, with that people. He protects and helps Israel and is the Redeemer of Israel. His providence sustains them. His mercy and forgiveness never fail them. These aspects of God's love for

¹²⁷ I, 171-2.

¹²⁸ II, 77.

The ark was a means of blessing, of invoking God's providence, the Rabbis emphasize, not as the people were wont to say, after the incidents of Uzzah and the men of Beth-Shemesh, a means of punishment — II, 132.

¹²⁹ II, 69.

¹³⁰ I, 141.

¹³¹ II, 195-6.

¹³² II, 197.

Israel have, however, not been given here in all their fulness, for we have confined our description to the manner in which only two concepts combine. When we shall take up combinations of three or more concepts, there will emerge a somewhat fuller description of these as well as of other aspects of God's love for Israel.

We have, hence, thus far not told the complete story. It is important to bear this in mind when evaluating the effect upon the national consciousness of linking the universality of God with His special relation to the people of Israel. The people felt that Israel alone, in a largely pagan world, were the bearers of the Word of God; God's special relation to Israel was therefore vindicated both by the Bible and by their own experience. This view, moreover, gave them strength to withstand the buffeting and persecution which was so often their lot. Nevertheless, had this view not been checked, continuously, by other elements in the organic complex, it would doubtless have led to arrant chauvinism. One of these checks was the concept of God's justice. Its interplay with the concept of Israel is the theme of the following section.

IV. GOD'S JUSTICE¹³³ AND ISRAEL

The justice of God, like His loving-kindness, is universal in scope.¹³⁴ It is manifested toward Israel, as toward all nations and individuals, both in reward and in punishment. Thus, if the people of Israel act according to the will of God, they are rewarded; if not, they are punished. When they do God's will, "they make His left hand to be like a right hand" (a symbol for strength and protection), but when they do not, "they make His right hand to be like a left" (a symbol for withdrawal of protection); when they do God's will, "there is no sleep before Him, as it says 'Behold, He that keepeth Israel doth neither slumber nor sleep' (Ps. 121.4)," but when they do not, "there is, as it were, sleep before Him, as it says 'Then the Lord awaked

¹³³ מדת הדין — II, 28. For this term, cf. TE, pp. 163-6.

¹³⁴ See TE, Chap. VI, for an analysis of the concepts of God's justice.

as one asleep' (Ps. 78.65);" when they do God's will, "there is no anger before Him," but when they do not, "there is, as it were, anger before Him;" and when they do God's will, "He fights for them," but when they do not, "He fights against them, — and not that alone but they even make the Merciful One cruel."¹³⁵ Here God's protection of Israel is associated with His justice, whereas in the preceding section we saw that it was integrated with God's love. We can begin to perceive, therefore, how the organic quality of rabbinic thought acts as a check upon any development of complacent nationalism. For in this midrash the national welfare is made dependent upon Israel's acting according to the will of God, and on that alone.

God's justice decides Israel's economic welfare; national prosperity depends upon Israel's "doing God's will." When Israel do God's will, says R. Ishmael, they have to observe only the Sabbatical year required by the law (Ex. 23.10-11 and Lev. 25. 2-4), but when they do not, adverse conditions force upon them four such "Sabbatical" years in a septennate.¹³⁶ Another midrash has it that ease, or freedom from work, apparently regarded a symbol of national prosperity, is Israel's reward for doing God's will, and exploitation by others Israel's punishment for not doing it. "When Israel do God's will . . . their work is done for them by others . . . but when Israel do not God's will . . . they themselves must do their own work, and not only that but even the work of others is done by them, as it is said, 'Thou shalt serve thine enemy' (Deut. 28.48)."¹³⁷ Now above we saw that national prosperity — food, shelter, riches — was a gift of God's love, a manifestation of His providence. Here we find it to be contingent upon Israel's deeds and a manifestation of God's justice. We thus have

¹³⁵ II, 41-2. The terms לפניו, "before Him," and כביכול, "as it were," mitigate the anthropomorphisms. But we ought to notice that the anthropomorphism of right and left hand is not so mitigated, and that כביכול is employed here to soften only the anthropomorphisms expressing punishment. See the remarks on the use of these precautionary terms in OT, p. 217. These terms, as we have pointed out there, do not imply a philosophic approach to God.

¹³⁶ III, 173.

¹³⁷ III, 202 and 206-7. There is a slight difference between the two versions.

another example of that "inconsistency"—more properly, that flexibility—to which attention was called in the preceding paragraph. Matters interpreted by means of the concept of God's love could be—and also were—interpreted by means of the concept of God's justice. This check upon the development of a complacent nationalism is, therefore, not sporadic but inherent in the organic nature of rabbinic thought.

Reward is promised Israel for moral sensitiveness and punishment for the lack of it. " 'And Moses came and told the people all the words of the Lord, and all the ordinances' (Ex. 24.3) — he told them: If you will accept with joy the stipulated penalties, you will obtain reward; but if not, you receive punishment. And they accepted with joy the stipulated penalties."¹³⁸ This passage does have for its subject moral sensitiveness, despite the threat involved. Joy cannot be coerced.

The term employed in the midrash above for reward is *sakar* and for punishment *puranut*.¹³⁹ More often these sub-concepts are referred to as *midat ha-tovah* and *midat ha-puranut*.¹⁴⁰

God rewards Israel as a people, and the tribes individually, for doing His will or for exhibiting zeal. Regarding Ex. 15.1 — "The horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea"—the Rabbis ask, "But was there only one horse and one rider?" And they answer, "When Israel do the will of God, their enemies are before them as but one horse and one rider."¹⁴¹ On that same memorable occasion at the Red sea, but before the waters were divided, the tribes wrangled with one another in their zeal to be the first to enter the sea, each one saying, "I will go down into the sea first." The tribe of Benjamin did not wait for a decision, however, but jumped into the sea first, whereupon the princes of Judah, in sore disappointment, began hurling stones at them. Since it was nought but zeal for God that caused this

¹³⁸ II, 208–9.

¹³⁹ II, 209 — פורענות and שכר.

¹⁴⁰ Cf., e. g., I, 55, 103 — מדה הטובה and מדה הפורענות. "פורענות" is a neutral term: the payment one receives for his deeds — reward for the good and punishment for the evil.— L. G. Nevertheless, in all the instances to be found in this text, *puranut* carries with it always the connotation of punishment.

¹⁴¹ II, 19.

quarrel, both tribes were rewarded: The *Shekinah* (referring here to the Divine Presence in the Temple in Jerusalem) rested in the portion of the tribe of Benjamin, and royalty (referring to David and his dynasty) was given the tribe of Judah for its merit.¹⁴²

God's justice is visited upon Israel not only in reward but also, and apparently more frequently, in punishment. And the Rabbis discern the manifestation of God's punitive justice in the times close to them and in the events of their own day no less than in the distant past of Israel, as we shall soon learn. Being a commentary on a portion of the Book of Exodus, our Midrash depicts God's punishment of Israel whilst they were in Egypt and in the Wilderness. Even according to a conservative opinion, only one out of five Israelites went out of Egypt, the rest being slain by God during the Three Days of Darkness.¹⁴³ Because "the sons of Ephraim" took matters in their own hand and went forth out of Egypt without waiting for "the end"—that is, the time set by God—the Philistines were enabled to slay them all, two hundred thousand strong.¹⁴⁴ Before the Red Sea was divided, Israel were placed in judgment as to whether or no they should be destroyed together with the Egyptians.¹⁴⁵ There is certainly a suggestion here that Israel were not without guilt, perhaps only less so than the Egyptians. Israel and the Egyptians are not on totally different planes. Indeed, one of the punishments meted out to the Egyptians was later to be visited on Israel as well. Referring to the last plague, the Midrash says, "When I smite the land of Egypt' (Ex. 12.15) — then there will be no plague (upon you) but there will be at a future time."¹⁴⁶

¹⁴² I, 232-3.

¹⁴³ I, 95, 175. Other views set the number as one out of fifty and one out of five hundred, and R. Nehorai declares that not even one out of five hundred went out.

¹⁴⁴ I, 172-3; II, 71-3. The biblical warrant is from I Chron. 7.20-1 and Ps. 78.9. The time set by God was in the covenant with Abraham. (Gen. 15. 13-16).

¹⁴⁵ I, 225-6. *Elohim* occurring in the proof-text. Ex. 14.19, is taken by the Rabbis always to refer to God's justice. See Lauterbach, I, 226, note #5, and also the references in Horovitz-Rabin a. l.

¹⁴⁶ I, 58.

In the Wilderness, too, Israel were punished for wrong-doing. They had asked for bread and it was granted them, since it is not possible for man to live without bread. "But now you turn around," God tells Moses to say to Israel, "and, out of a full stomach, you ask for meat. Behold, I shall give it to you. . . But though I am giving it to you, I shall later punish you. 'And ye shall know that I am the Lord your God' (Ex. 16.12) — I am a judge to exact punishment of you."¹⁴⁷ According to some authorities, Amalek's attack upon Israel was a punishment for the ingratitude of Israel: "Let Amalek the ungrateful come and punish the people who were ungrateful."¹⁴⁸ It would seem, however, that the severest penalty of all was meted out to Israel for the sin of making the golden calf, for the penalty consisted of a permanent change in the status of the mass of the people. Before they made the golden calf, the entire people were designated as 'a holy nation' (Ex. 19.6). This leads the Rabbis to say, "(The whole people of) Israel, before they made the (golden) calf, were eligible to eat of the holy things; but after they made the (golden) calf these were taken from them and given to the priests (exclusively)."¹⁴⁹ There was thus, originally, no distinction between

¹⁴⁷ II, 107-8. "Your God" is a form of *Elohim*. See above, note 145. We are thus confirmed in our statement that the passage to which that note refers, I, 225-6, implies guilt on Israel's part.

R. Eleazar of Modi'im interprets the phrase "Come near" (Ex. 16.9) to refer to the incident of the quail and to mean, "Come near, to give account" — II, 106.

¹⁴⁸ II, 137.

¹⁴⁹ II, 205. I had thought to question Lauterbach's interpretation of להיות כיוצאי מצרים. "The commentators whom Lauterbach follows are quite correct in interpreting כיוצאי מצרים as referring to the large number and not to their holy character. Not only has Midrash Tehillim XLV, end, explicitly explained כיוצאי מצרים by ששים רבוא (comp. also Tanhuma, Toledot 9), but the remark in the *Mekilta* יכול דווים וסוּפִים has no sense if כיוצאי מצרים means holy, as they — holy people — are not 'wretched and afflicted.' It is, however, possible that in the *Mekilta* the meaning is: as many children as were procreated by those who went out of Egypt — and not, as understood by the later Midrashim, as many (600,000) as those who left Egypt.

"By the way, the passage יכול כהנים בטלנים means: I might think כהנים has in this passage the meaning of בטלנים, i. e., people who enjoy life without need to work." — L. G.

priests and people; all were eligible to eat of "the holy things," and hence all were priests. The demarcation between priests and people, with the reduction in status for the mass which this entailed, came only as penalty for the sin of making the golden calf.¹⁵⁰

But God's punitive justice is manifest throughout Israel's history, not alone in the remote past. The Rabbis find occasion, even in this commentary on the Book of Exodus, to interpret later events and those of their own day in the light of God's universal justice. Three things — the Land of Israel, the Temple, and the kingship of the House of David — were given conditionally, they assert, and were taken away when the conditions, consisting of loyalty to God and His commandments, were not fulfilled.¹⁵¹ All the disasters that came upon Israel were justified, according to the Rabbis, were, in fact, punishments inflicted by God. He punished the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, they say, apparently referring to the First Exile, and he also punished the Ten Tribes, scattering them abroad.¹⁵² Israel's wickedness brought about the destruction of the Temple, so that they were obliged to count from its destruction instead of from its construction; it likewise brought about foreign domination, so that they were obliged to count according to the era of others instead of their own.¹⁵³ Interpretations in like vein gave significance to the tragic circumstances of the Rabbis' own times. In a passage following immediately upon the one last cited, we are told of how R. Johanan ben Zakkai once justified Israel's dire poverty and their degrading servitude to Rome and to other, inferior, nations.

¹⁵⁰ "The rabbinic concept of Israel widens the biblical ideal of Israel as a priest-people until the demarcation between the priest-class and the rest of Israel is all but eliminated"—OT, p. 222. See *ibid.* for other examples. The rabbinic concepts, as that section demonstrates, are much wider in application than their biblical antecedents.

¹⁵¹ II, 188. The conditions were, respectively, those given in Deut. 11.16 f., I Ki. 6.12 and 9.8, and Ps. 132.12 together with *ibid.*, 89.33.

¹⁵² I, 230. The juxtaposition of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin with the scattering of the Ten Tribes leaves no doubt that the punishment of the former was the First Exile. The scattering of the Ten Tribes is adduced from the proof-text (Jer. 18.17).

¹⁵³ II, 193.

He was going up to Emmaus in Judea when he saw a Jewish girl picking barley-corn out of the excrements of a horse that, he was told, belonged to an Arab. The scene was symbolic to him of the state of all Israel, and he declared, "You are unwilling to be subject to Heaven (God), behold now you are subjected to the most inferior of the nations, the Arabs; you were unwilling to pay the head-tax of Heaven, 'a beka a head' (Ex. 38.26), behold now you are paying a head-tax of fifteen shekels under a government of your enemies; you were unwilling to repair the roads and streets leading up to the Temple, behold now you have to keep in repair the posts and stations on the roads to the royal cities." God's stern justice is further emphasized by the close of the passage in a lesson drawn from Deut. 28.47-48: "'Because thou didst not serve the Lord thy God' with love, 'therefore shalt thou serve thine enemy' with hatred; 'because thou didst not serve the Lord thy God' when thou hadst plenty, 'therefore shalt thou serve thine enemy' 'in hunger and in thirst'; 'because thou didst not serve the Lord thy God' when thou wast well-clothed, 'therefore shalt thou serve thine enemy' 'in nakedness'; 'because thou didst not serve the Lord thy God' by reason of the abundance of all things: 'therefore shalt thou serve thine enemy' 'in want of all things.'" ¹⁵⁴ The Rabbis thus attribute the general state of Israel to God's punitive justice. Nor do they refrain from interpreting by means of the same concept specific national catastrophes of their own day, such as the disastrous revolt under Trajan. ¹⁵⁵

God punishes Israel for the sins committed by the nation as a whole. The concept of God's justice also includes, however, the aspect of corporate justice whereby the whole group is held accountable, and therefore punished, for the sins of the individual. ¹⁵⁶ This aspect of God's justice, the Rabbis feel, is applied in all its rigorousness especially to the people of Israel: " 'A nation one

¹⁵⁴ II, 193-5.

¹⁵⁵ I, 213-14. Other things mentioned here are trafficking with Egypt during the period of Sennacherib and in the days of Johanan the son of Kareah. For the revolt under Trajan, see the references given by Horovitz-Rabin, p. 95.

¹⁵⁶ For corporate justice, see OT, pp. 10-11, and TE, pp. 179-184. The group, conversely, is also rewarded for the good deeds performed by the individual.

in the earth' (I Chron. 17.21) — One of them commits a sin and all of them are punished."¹⁵⁷

The concept of God's justice interweaves with the concept of Israel. The people of Israel are rewarded or punished, according as they do God's will. Moral sensitiveness and zeal are rewarded. But the history of Israel, as the Rabbis view it, is replete with instances of God's punitive justice. Moreover, the Rabbis interpret numerous events and circumstances of their own day as so many punishments for wrong-doing on the part of Israel. Indeed, the more rigorous application of God's punitive justice is particularly the burden of Israel. Thus interwoven with the concept of God's justice, the concept of Israel could not have made, with any degree of consistency, for a complacent nationalism. This interplay of concepts demonstrates, in other words, how the element of universality acts as a check upon the element of nationality whilst both are given simultaneous expression.

V. INTEGRATION OF THE FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

The fundamental concepts interweave with one another, as has been demonstrated in the sections above. But this integration is even more thorough-going than we have as yet had the opportunity to perceive. We have noticed, thus far, how any one fundamental concept can combine with any other, the fundamental concepts in any combination being only two. Frequently, however, three fundamental concepts are interlaced with each other in a single passage, and sometimes even all four.

God's love, His justice, and Israel are the fundamental concepts woven together in each of the midrashim now to be considered. The Rabbis interpret the words "My God (Eli) . . . my father's God" (Ex. 15.2) to mean that Israel declared, "With me He dealt according to the rule (or quality) of mercy, while with my fathers He dealt according to the rule (or quality) of

¹⁵⁷ II, 205-6. The text here is obviously corrupt, although the sentence נעשין אחד מהן חוטא וכולן נעשין is clear enough. Lauterbach is forced into an ambiguous translation by the rest of the text as given here. I have taken the passage as it occurs in *Mechilla de Rabbi Simon*, ed. Hoffman, p. 95, which offers no difficulty.

justice."¹⁵⁸ In this interpretation of a verse from the song at the Red Sea, the people of Israel give thanks to God and contrast God's mercy toward themselves, undeserved and thus simply a manifestation of His loving-kindness, with God's strict justice toward their ancestors.¹⁵⁹ God, out of His love, provided Israel with manna during the period of the Wilderness; but, though He also gave them the meat for which they asked, that request was uncalled for and brought punishment. "The manna was given Israel with 'a bright countenance': the quail, because they asked for it out of a full stomach, was given them with 'a frowning countenance.'" ¹⁶⁰ The same agency employed by God on one occasion as the instrument of His punitive justice is also employed by Him on another occasion in the manifestation of His love. For, unlike man, "the Holy One Blessed be He. . . heals with the very same thing with which He smites." When he exiled Israel, He exiled them by means of clouds (Lam. 2.1), and when He assembles them again, He will assemble them by means of clouds (Isa. 60.8); when He scattered them, He scattered them like doves (Ezek. 7.16), and when He brings them back, He will bring them back like doves (Isa. 60.8).¹⁶¹ In each of these midrashim, the fundamental concepts of God's love, His justice, and Israel are in combination. We must also mark, however, that although they combine, the individual concepts here stand out rather boldly, quite clear and distinct: God manifested His mercy toward Israel at the Red Sea whereas He acted toward their ancestors with punitive justice; God provided Israel with manna, a manifestation of His love, and He punished them for asking for the quail, a manifestation of His justice; God exiled Israel by means of clouds and scattered them like doves, manifestations

¹⁵⁸ II, 28. The word *El*, as this midrash goes on to explain, always refers to God's mercy. Contrasted with *El* in the proof-text, according to the rabbinic interpretation, is *Elohim*, or rather its genitive, which, as we have noticed above, note 145, stands for God's justice.

¹⁵⁹ "This refers to the suffering of the Patriarchs because of 'slight' sins they had committed."—L. G.

¹⁶⁰ II, 105 (twice); cf. *ibid.*, 108. The midrash also says that Israel was justified in asking for the manna.

¹⁶¹ I, 239-40.

of His justice, and He will assemble them by means of clouds and bring them back like doves, future manifestations of His love.

But the individuality of each of the fundamental concepts is not always so definite and clear-cut when the concepts are in combination. Sometimes concepts blend into one another, so thorough-going is their integration. This is true of God's love and His justice in the following midrashim, each of which again presents the fundamental concepts of God's love, His justice, and Israel in combination. " 'Ye are standing this day all of you . . . your little ones' etc. (Deut. 29.9-10) — Now what do the little ones know about distinguishing between 'good' and 'evil' (Deut. 30.15)? It was but to give the parents reward for bringing their children, thus increasing the reward of those who do His will."¹⁶² The people of Israel are to be given additional reward for bringing their children to the assemblage, but it was God's love that made for the inclusion of the children in the assemblage at all. Two fundamental concepts are thus mingled: God's love here makes for the occasion of the exercise of His rewarding justice. The homily concludes with a statement, immediately following on the section already quoted, that practically says this in so many words. "This confirms what has been said: 'the Lord was pleased for His love's sake' etc. (Isa. 42.21)."¹⁶³ When God issues decrees concerning Israel, says another midrash, the execution is reported back to Him if it be for good and is not reported back to Him if it be for evil.¹⁶⁴ This distinction obviously proceeds out of God's love; again the two concepts are mingled. The promised redemption of Israel is to come at the end of four hundred years, according to one verse (Gen. 15.13), and according to another (*ibid.*, 15.16) "in the fourth generation." "How

¹⁶² I, 132. Lauterbach does not in his translation hold to the text he gives — ליתן שכר בנים לאבות — which is the reading of the MSS, but offers the sense rather of the reading in the printed editions, למביאיהם. Horovitz-Rabin prefers the latter.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.* We translate צדקו as "His love." The whole context is additional proof that the larger meaning of צדקה in rabbinic literature is love; cf. OT, pp. 132-3 and 303, notes 193 and 194.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 11-13. Proof is given from Ezek. 9.2-7 and 11.

can both these passages be maintained?" asks Rabbi Judah the Prince. And he answers, "The Holy One blessed be He said: If they repent I will redeem them after the number of generations, and if not, I will redeem them after the number of years."¹⁶⁵ Israel's redemption, whenever it comes, is a manifestation of God's love, as we saw above, but the redemption will nevertheless be hastened in reward for repentance. Thus once more the concepts of God's love and His justice are mingled.

Another combination of fundamental concepts consists of God's love, Torah, and Israel. At Sinai, when the Ten Commandments were given, "God came forth to receive Israel as a bridegroom comes forth to meet the bride."¹⁶⁶ God spoke to Israel at that time, according to the Rabbis, in the tender phrases of the Song of Songs: "Let me hear thy voice" (Song of Songs 2.14) that is, when responding to the Ten Commandments; "for sweet is thy voice" (*ibid.*) — after having received the Ten Commandments; "and thy countenance is comely" (*ibid.*) — when "all the congregation drew near and stood before the Lord" (Lev. 9.5).¹⁶⁷ There was a purpose to the revelation which again indicates God's love for Israel — "God has come in order to make you (Israel) great among the Nations."¹⁶⁸

This combination of God's love, Torah, and Israel does not always make for interpretations which glorify Israel. When Israel stood at Sinai, they sought to deceive God by saying "All that the Lord hath spoken we will do and obey" (Ex. 24.7), and God was silent and forgave them. " 'They beguiled Him. . . for their heart was not steadfast with Him' (Ps. 78.36-7) and yet 'He, being full of compassion, forgiveth iniquity' etc. (*ibid.*, 78.38)."¹⁶⁹ Here God's love is stressed as it manifests itself in forgiveness of Israel's iniquity. Another midrash contrasts God's love for Israel, expressed in various ways, with Israel's utter ingratitude, demonstrated in their refusal to obey the laws. "I have brought

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, III.

¹⁶⁶ II, 218-19.

¹⁶⁷ II, 219-20. See Horovitz-Rabin, p. 215, note #1.

¹⁶⁸ II, 272. On the use of נסוח, comp. *ibid.*, 94. ושם נסוח.

¹⁶⁹ III, 105-6. "God was silent" we deduce from מחרש ננב. Notice that Horovitz-Rabin, p. 295, does not read לקבל את התורה.

you out of Egypt, I have divided the sea for you, I have sent down the manna for you, I have caused the well to come up for you, I have driven up the quail for you, I have fought the battle of Amalek for you — how long will you refuse to observe My commandments and My laws (וְחֻמֹּתַי)? Perhaps you will say that I have imposed upon you many commandments. I have imposed upon you the observance of this (commandment of the) Sabbath since Marah, and you have not kept it."¹⁷⁰

The combination of God's justice, Torah, and Israel occurs frequently, God's justice having the aspects of reward and punishment, and Torah the aspect of *mizwot*, or conduct, and study. The great deeds done in Israel's behalf by God were deserved, and were rewards for the observance of definite *mizwot*. When the first-born of Egypt were slain, the people of Israel were spared. R. Ishmael declares that they were spared "in reward for the *mizwah*" performed when they struck the lintel and the two side-posts with the blood, as they had been commanded to do.¹⁷¹ Until the last Israelite had finished his paschal sacrifice, R. Jose the Galilean says, the whole people were in danger of being destroyed in Egypt;¹⁷² the observance of this commandment, then, saved Israel. For adhering to the rite of circumcision, according to one opinion, God brought Israel out of Egypt;¹⁷³ according to another, that adherence earned for them the division of the Red Sea.¹⁷⁴ Various other reasons, however, are also assigned for the division of the Red Sea, among them Israel's observance of the *mezuza* and of the *tefillin*.¹⁷⁵ And Israel received not only physical but spiritual rewards, as well, for observing *mizwot*. Moses told Israel, says R. Joshua, that if they would succeed in keeping the

¹⁷⁰ II, 121.

¹⁷¹ I, 56, 87. On p. 56, מצוה, the singular is used, referring to this particular מצוה; on p. 87, the plural is used.

¹⁷² I, 94. See Lauterbach, *ibid.*, note #2. Implied in this midrash is, of course, the idea of corporate justice.

¹⁷³ I, 140-1.

¹⁷⁴ I, 218.

¹⁷⁵ I, 237, 247, 248 (R. Akiba's opinion). On p. 247, another reason given is Israel's future acceptance of the Torah and Israel's prayer.

"The assumption is that Israel observed the commandments before they were revealed on Sinai"—L. G.

Sabbath, God would give them the festivals of Pesah, Shabuot and Sukkot, whilst according to R. Eleazar of Modi'im, the reward will consist of six good portions — the Land of Israel, the World to Come, the "New World," the kingdom of the House of David, the priesthood, and the Levites' offices.¹⁷⁶ Anything for which Israel laid down their lives — for example, the Sabbath, circumcision, the study of Torah and the ritual of immersion — was preserved among them; but anything for which they did not lay down their lives — for example, the Temple, civil courts, the Sabbatical and jubilee years — was not preserved among them.¹⁷⁷ In this paragraph, we have seen that the Rabbis interpreted the events in Egypt and on the Red Sea by means of the concepts of God's justice, Torah, and Israel whereas previously we noticed that they interpreted the same events by means of the concepts of God's love and Israel.

God rewards Israel when they study Torah. "The words of the Torah which I have given you are life unto you. . . they are health unto you."¹⁷⁸ The prophet Jeremiah conveyed to his generation a similar idea by using as a reminder the jar of manna, kept since the days of the Wilderness. Jeremiah had rebuked Israel for not occupying themselves with Torah, and the people had replied, "If we occupy ourselves with the words of the Torah, how will we get our sustenance?" Jeremiah thereupon brought forth the jar of manna, saying, "See with what your forefathers, who occupied themselves with the words of the Torah, were provided! You, too, if you will occupy yourselves with the words of the Torah — God will provide you, too, with sustenance of this sort."¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ II, 119–20, 122. As to the term the "New World": "Comp. Isa. 66.22 *הארץ החדשה*, and hence *עולם חדש*." — L. G.

¹⁷⁷ III, 204–5. See Lauterbach, *ibid.*, note #8. In view of the heroic defense of the Temple, it is curious that this institution was looked upon by the Rabbis as one for which Israel did not lay down their lives. "The reference is to Israel's sacrifices at the time of *שמד* — comp. Shabbat 130a: *בשעת נזירת המלכות*; and *after* the destruction of the Temple only *one* serious attempt was made to reestablish the Temple." — L. G.

¹⁷⁸ II, 96.

¹⁷⁹ II, 125–6.

God also punishes Israel for not studying Torah or for not observing *mizwot*. "Is it possible for the rush to grow without mire and without water? . . . So also is it impossible for Israel to exist unless they occupy themselves with words of Torah. And because they separated themselves from words of Torah, the enemy came upon them, for the enemy comes only because of sin and transgression; therefore it says, 'Then came Amalek,' (Ex. 17.8)."¹⁸⁰ The attack by Amalek is but one instance of the general rule that "the enemy comes (upon Israel) only because of (their) relinquishing their hold on the Torah."¹⁸¹ Another instance given is the attack by Shishak, king of Egypt (I Ki. 14. 25-26), for at that time Rehoboam "forsook the law of the Lord and Israel with him" (II Chron. 12.1).¹⁸² Some authorities, holding that "And he feared not God" (Deut. 25.18) refers not to Amalek but to Israel, interpret that verse to mean that Amalek's attack was a punishment for Israel's lack of *mizwot*.¹⁸³ The general idea that the enemy comes upon Israel because of Israel's deficiency in Torah is here made more specific by the depiction of Israel as lacking in *mizwot*, as deficient in conduct. The same general idea is also made more specific by describing the deficiency in Torah as deficiency in study. "'Therefore shalt thou serve thine enemy . . . in want of all things' (Deut. 28.48) — 'in want of all things': They were deficient in the study of Torah."¹⁸⁴

God's justice in its aspect of corporate justice combines with the concepts of Torah and Israel. We learned above that this

¹⁸⁰ II, 135. Similarly, *ibid.*, 139, 129. See the following note.

¹⁸¹ II, 139. The general rule is drawn from the word רפידים, the name of the place where Amalek attacked Israel. The Rabbis interpret the word רפידים to be רפיון ידים, which Lauterbach wrongly translates as "feebleness of hands." This rabbinic interpretation is implied on II, 135, though it is not given there. The full *derashah* can be seen from the parallel on II, 129, where the verse is given, "And . . . Israel journeyed from the Wilderness of Sin . . . and encamped in Rephidim" (Ex. 17.9). The Rabbis take "Sin" to be Sinai, thus Torah, and the verse is given the meaning that they left the Torah, and this meaning is corroborated, according to them, by the phrase "encamped at Rephidim," which is taken to be רפיון ידים.

¹⁸² II, 139.

¹⁸³ II, 136.

¹⁸⁴ II, 195.

aspect of God's justice, the Rabbis felt, is applied in all its rigor-ousness especially to the people of Israel. When the people stood before Mt. Sinai to receive the Ten Commandments, had one person defied the warning not to "break through unto the Lord" (Ex. 19.21) he would have brought disaster upon all. "This teaches that even one individual can impair the whole group."¹⁸⁵ Corporate justice, however, is not necessarily punitive in its character for it also underlies concepts of corporate reward.

The two aspects of God's justice — reward and punishment — are occasionally found both together in combination with the concepts of Torah and Israel. "Israel stood up before Mt. Sinai," says R. Jose, "on condition that the Angel of Death should have no power over them — 'I said: Ye are godlike beings,' etc. (Ps. 82.6). (But) you corrupted your conduct — 'Surely ye shall die like men' (*ibid.*, 82.7)."¹⁸⁶ As reward for accepting the Torah, this midrash states, Israel was to be granted eternal life, but their conduct later was so corrupt that it brought upon them the punishment of death. Similarly, the observance of the *mizwah* of the *mezuzah* should have prevented "the destroyer" (i. e., death) from entering their homes; "but what caused it to be otherwise? Our sins."¹⁸⁷ The reward for the observance of this *mizwah* was to have been eternal life; the punishment meted out instead, in view of the actual sins committed, was death. Early death is the punishment with which the husbands and fathers in Israel are threatened when they violate justice, and longevity is to be their reward when they execute it. "If for merely refraining from violating justice your reward will be that your wives will not become widows and your children will not be fatherless, how much more so when you actually execute justice. . . your days will be lengthened in this world and you will live to see children and grandchildren and you will merit the life of the World to Come."¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ II, 225. The text offers difficulties. See Horovitz-Rabin, p. 217.

¹⁸⁶ II, 272. "Ye are godlike beings" means that like the angels Israel would have been immortal.

¹⁸⁷ I, 88-9.

¹⁸⁸ III, 144-6.

All four fundamental concepts are sometimes combined, inextricably interwoven in a single midrash. When this occurs, the concepts of God's love and His justice usually flow into each other, blend, as in the following instances. Why did Scripture require that Israel purchase the paschal lamb four days prior to its slaughtering? Because, says one authority, the time had arrived, in accordance with God's oath to Abraham, for Israel's redemption, yet they were without *mizwot* by virtue of which they might be redeemed from Egypt. "The Holy One blessed be He therefore gave them two *mizwot* — the *mizwah* of the paschal sacrifice and the *mizwah* of circumcision — which they should perform that they might be redeemed. . . For one cannot obtain reward except for the deed."¹⁸⁹ The granting of the *mizwot* (Torah) necessary for Israel's redemption was a manifestation of God's love toward Israel, for the redemption itself could only be in reward for the performance of *mizwot*, a manifestation of God's justice. All the four fundamental concepts are present here but there is a blending of the concepts of God's love and His justice. Again, because of God's love, reward for *mizwot*, which is a manifestation of His justice, at times precedes actual performance by Israel of these *mizwot*. "Even before I (God) gave them the *mizwot* I advanced them the rewards for them (i. e., for the *mizwot*)."¹⁹⁰ Thus, before Israel observed the Sabbath, they received a double portion of manna on the day preceding; and before the Sabbatical year, the sixth year was blessed; and " 'He gave them the lands of the nations' (Ps. 105.44) — what for? 'That they might keep His statutes and observe His laws' (*ibid.*, 105.45)."¹⁹⁰ In this midrash, God's love and His justice blend once more, whilst the other two fundamental concepts also figure. A third instance involves the aspect, or sub-concept, of corporate justice. According to an anonymous opinion, Israel would have

¹⁸⁹ I, 33-4. The verse from which the interpretation is drawn is Ezek. 16.8.

¹⁹⁰ II, 199. The emphatic note in this passage is God's loving-kindness to Israel, all the instances cited demonstrating how God advanced His reward for the *mizwot* before Israel performed them. Now this passage is introduced by the biblical verse *אני ד' דובר צדק וכו'* (Isa. 45.19). We have here, therefore, another proof that *zedakah* has the connotation of love in rabbinic theology. See above note 163, and the reference there.

been unworthy of receiving (the Torah) at Sinai had a single person been missing, whereas according to R. Jose, it would have been sufficient had only twenty-two thousand been present.¹⁹¹ R. Jose's statement follows immediately upon the anonymous opinion, and contains a mitigation of the latter's extreme application of corporate justice. The concepts involved in R. Jose's statement, then, are Torah, Israel, and God's justice as it is mitigated by God's love.

The concept of Israel is thoroughly integrated with all of the other fundamental concepts. It combines with all of the other fundamental concepts, be the combination that of two, or three, or even of all four fundamental concepts. Such intertwining can only mean that the fundamental concepts act almost as a unit; indeed, two concepts, God's love and His justice, sometimes actually blend into one another. The fundamental concepts have, therefore, the tendency to act as checks upon each other, a tendency which allows no one concept, Israel included, to be permanently stressed. Israel may thus be stressed on occasion within any given combination of concepts, such as God's love, Torah and Israel; properly so, too, since it is one of the fundamental concepts. By the same token, however, it may, on other occasions, be subordinated, and this within the very same combination of concepts. The national self-consciousness acted in concert with factors, just as powerful, that were broad and universal.

¹⁹¹ II, 212-13. See Lauterbach, *ibid.*, note #5

THE TWO VERSIONS OF *ABOT DE RABBI NATHAN**

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To Professor Louis Ginzberg

EVER since Solomon Schechter published his edition of *Abot de Rabbi Nathan* (1887), it has been customary to refer to the two forms of this midrash on *Abot* as two versions of one treatise.¹ The idiom, in fact, was employed by Schechter and he has been followed by all subsequent students. This is not to say that differences between the versions were overlooked. Schechter himself called attention to variants, despite his conclusion that basically "both are one book (not like the *Tanna d'be Eliahu Rabbah* and *Zuta* or *Derek Erez Rabbah* and *Zuta*)."² And although after repeated study that conclusion has been modified by some scholars³ the view still is current that substantially both versions — regardless of the fact that each contains material which does not occur in the other; that even when both express the same general thought, hardly if ever do the readings strictly coincide — present the same ideological commentary on *Abot*. The relationship between the two versions is reduced in effect to this: sometimes the one, sometimes the other retains the better reading; sometimes one supplements the other; sometimes one preserves a more original order.

The fact is, however, that a careful examination of the two versions of *Abot de Rabbi Nathan* reveals a relationship of more than "textual" nature. There is nothing wrong in regarding these treatises as versions, so long as we are not led to overlook

* I wish to express my thanks to Professors Louis Ginzberg and Alexander Marx, who were kind enough to read this paper and make several suggestions. Responsibility for the views here expressed, however, rests with me.

¹ It should be recalled that as early as 1872 Solomon Taussig published a substantial portion of the second version in *נוה שלום*.

² *Abbot de Rabbi Nathan*, ed. Schechter, Vienna 1887, Introduction, p. XX.

³ Cf. Kaufmann in *M.G.W.J.*, Vol. 36, 1887, p. 382-83; Finkelstein, *J.B.L.*, Vol. LVII, Part I, pp. 39 ff.

a very interesting *thematic* difference between them. Indeed, had Schechter recognized the theme of his texts, he would have been spared a number of difficulties with several passages.

Now, "theme" may possibly strike many as a strange word where a text like *Abot de Rabbi Nathan* is concerned. Is it a story, or an essay, or a logical treatise of any sort? Does not *Abot de Rabbi Nathan*, like *Abot*, contain material on a multitude of subjects? Does it not read like a collection of various epigrams with commentary thereon, rather than like a dissertation on some one specific proposition? All this is true. Nevertheless, a recurring note in the treatises as they read today is hardly accidental, and the feeling is inescapable that *Abot de Rabbi Nathan* has more than various reflections on numerous subjects; it is more than a catalogue of maxims with illustrations.

It is almost tempting to suggest that in the difference of theme may lie an explanation for the existence of two separate versions of one treatise. Louis Finkelstein is essentially correct, I feel, when he says that "the two versions of ARN are independent from one another."⁴ The question is, Why should two versions have developed from one tradition? Did the respective compilers perhaps wish to deduce different emphases or make prominent different concepts? Be that as it may — since it is very difficult to discover just how collections of oral traditions were undertaken — the treatises today do present a significant divergence in thought.

One word more, before stating this theme, and presenting the evidence. By the word "theme" I mean in effect something like "emphasis," or perhaps what Max Kadushin would call "point of reference."⁵ The theme, in other words, is that idea which is repeatedly emphasized, and/or that idea in relation to which other ideas are studied. When an idea becomes so central in treatment, it is entitled to be a "theme."

The theme or emphasis of version I of *Abot de Rabbi Nathan* is the study of Torah. Again and again throughout the text our version goes out of its way to underscore the importance of Torah

⁴ Finkelstein, *op. cit.*

⁵ Cf. his *Theology of Seder Eliahu*, p. 33-34, and "Organic Thinking," *passim*.

study. And this emphasis is so strong as to leave the impression that version I is primarily concerned with the study of Torah, while version II would underline "good works" or "good deeds." In any event, this strong insistence upon Torah study is characteristic of version I only.

To the evidence we shall turn in a moment; and naturally the only evidence that may be introduced is evidence derived from passages which occur in *both* versions. Unless a paragraph or a maxim is presented in both versions, there is little opportunity for comparison. Here, however, something must be said lest the hypothesis is misunderstood.

It would be preposterous to say that version I only is interested in the study of Torah. Was not the editor or were not the editors of version II anxious for תלמוד תורה? Could a Jew, with any sensitivity toward his tradition, be indifferent to that "crown" which above all others raised his people from commonness? Or, on the other hand, was there ever a devoted Jew who regarded מעשים טובים as inconsequential? Was the editor, or were the editors, of version I contemptuous of practical virtues? Patently, no! And if this categorical reply needs proof, both versions of *Abot de Rabbi Nathan* stand ready to demonstrate that the study of Torah *and* good works must be part of every Jew's equipment. Nevertheless, even in unanimity there are differences of inflection. Version I and version II would agree on what makes the perfect Jew. But version I presents an emphasis which is lacking in II. Version I, with a certain emphasis in mind, is always — or almost always — referring whatever it discusses to this central idea. And this central idea, as I have said, is the study of Torah.⁶

a) Perhaps the most striking passage — indeed, it was the first to catch my attention — in all the evidence is the comment of version I on Rabbi Jose's saying, "Let all thy deeds be for the sake of Heaven."⁷ This is the comment:⁸ "And let all thy deeds be for the sake of Heaven: for the sake of Torah; as it is said, 'In

⁶ Professor Ginzberg notes, "I = דרכן של תלמידי חכמים; II = דרכן של", "וכל בני אדם"

⁷ I, 17, p. 65; II, 30, p. 65. Cf. *Abot* 2.12.

⁸ I, 17, p. 66.

all thy ways acknowledge Him (דעהו) and He will direct thy paths' (Prov. 3.6).'' "For the sake of Torah" is certainly not "for the sake of Heaven" unless one's regard for Torah is extraordinary. Indeed, if we look to the parallel passage in version II we meet no such extravagant interpretation. "And let all thy deeds be for the sake of Heaven," reads version II,⁹ "like Hillel. When Hillel used to go forth to [some] place, [people] would say to him, 'Whither art thou going?' [He would reply,] 'I go to perform a commandment.' 'Which commandment, Hillel?' [they would ask.] [He would reply,] 'I am going to the privy.' 'Is this, then, a commandment?' He would say to them, 'Indeed! so that the body do not deteriorate.'

"[Moreover, men would say to Hillel,] 'Where art thou going, Hillel?' [He would reply,] 'I go to perform a commandment.' 'Which commandment, Hillel?' 'I am going to the bath house.' 'Is this, then, a commandment?' He would say to them, 'Indeed! To clean the body. Know thou that it is so: if he, that is appointed to polish and clean the statues which stand in the palaces of kings, receives a stipend each and every year; moreover, he is magnified together with the magnates of the kingdom — how much more so we that have been created in the image and likeness [of God]; as it is said, 'For in the image of God made He man' (Gen. 9.6).'"

The comment of version II is not only a lesson on the proximity of cleanliness to godliness, but certainly less forced than the one offered by our version. Only on the basis of the assumption that version I is emphasizing the study of Torah, can we understand what has happened.¹⁰

⁹ II, 30, p. 66.

¹⁰ Schechter was apparently bewildered by this passage; cf. his note 19, p. 66.

A note is perhaps in place at this point. Some may feel that the text is very likely corrupt. לשם שמים, it may be said, is definitely not לשם חורא, and the reading is, to say the least, suspicious.

Now, Dr. Schechter in his note (19) observes that the Oxford ms. reads וכל מעשיך יהיו לשם חורא. Furthermore, Editio Princeps (so too the Zolkiev edition) of *Abot de Rabbi Nathan* has וואו יישר אורחויך דעהו והוא לשם שמים שנא' בכל דרכיך דעהו. Is this not further evidence that our text does not read properly?

Before explaining why I consider the text correct, I think it profitable to point out that even if the reading had been otherwise, the theory offered

b) On the statement of Nittai the Arbelite,¹¹ "Consort not with the wicked,"¹² version I gives us two interpretations.¹³ The

here serves to explain how such a "corruption" could occur. If scholars recognized that version I of *Abot de Rabbi Nathan* was stressing Torah study, a late editor would without embarrassment interpret לשם תורה as לשם שמים.

However, I do not believe that our text ever read otherwise. In the first place, the Oxford ms. is obviously wrong since we have no statement from R. Jose מעשיך יהיו לשם שמים. True, the phrase מעשיך יהיו לשם שמים, at the beginning of the chapter, has been added to our edition by Schechter, on the basis of the Mishnah reading. Nevertheless, where is there a statement by R. Jose which reads like the epigram recorded in the Oxford ms.? Version II can at least serve us as an aid in establishing the general maxim! Version II reads clearly מעשיך יהיו לשם שמים.

The form in Editio Princeps is absolutely unwarranted. It may be urged that the verse from Proverbs proves that not Torah study is involved. I am not sure about that. Perhaps the emphasis is on דעה — know Him! It is worth noticing, for example, that version II (*ibid.*) gives the same verse at the end of the next paragraph, which reads: "Rabbi Eleazar (not Eliezer) says, Be diligent in the study of Torah, and know how to reply to an unbeliever (אפיקורס) in words of Torah, so that they be not destroyed (reading יסחרו — cf. Bacher, *Agada der Tannaiten*, I, p. 72, n. 5; see also Felix Perles in *Jewish Studies in Memory of Israel Abrahams*, p. 382). And know before whom thou toilest and who is author of the covenant with thee; as it is said, 'In all thy ways acknowledge Him (דעהו)' (Prov. 3.6)."

My reluctance to yield on this point — though the hypothesis is in no way weakened, as I observed — is due to the fact that the term לשם שמים is used in association with an activity centering around the study of Torah. For thus we read (I, 40, p. 129; cf. *Abot* 5.17; see also II, 46, p. 128): כל מחלוקה שהיא לשם שמים, זו מחלוקה הלל ושמואי. לשם שמים סופה להתקיים . . . אי זו מחלוקה שהיא לשם שמים, זו מחלוקה הלל ושמואי. If the controversies of Hillel and Shammai might be described — as they unquestionably deserve to be — as controversies לשם שמים, it is not, I feel, impossible to associate deeds לשם שמים with the concept לשם תורה.

Professor Ginzberg adds the following note: "As to the interchange between שמים, תורה, comp. the use of רחמנא, 'the All Merciful,' one of the names of God in Palestinian sources, while in Babli it stands — hundreds of times! — for אוריהא, Torah. A very interesting discussion on the identity of שם שמים = שם תורה is found in נפש החיים, chap. iv by R. Hayyim Volozhin, the famous pupil of the Gaon. There are many places in Rabb. Literature where תורה and הקב"ה are used interchangeably; the idea is that the will of God is expressed in the Torah. It is quite possible that לשם תורה was used for לשם שמים for another reason, to avoid the two almost identical syllables שם and ש."'

¹¹ II, 16, p. 35 attributes it to Rabbi (!) Joshua ben Perahiah.

¹² I, 9, p. 38; cf. *Abot* 1.7.

¹³ I, 9, p. 42.

first is an exhortation, with illustrations from biblical history, not to associate with evil or wicked persons. The second reads tersely as follows: "Another interpretation: Consort not with the wicked, even for Torah!"¹⁴ A glance at the comments — and there are several — of version II on *אל תתחבר לרשע* reveals some interesting thoughts, but nothing even remotely resembling our treatise at this point.¹⁵ Version I, indeed, I feel, has a significant variant from the statement in the *Mekilta*¹⁶ and *Yalkut*,¹⁷ which resembles ours. These latter read *אפילו לקרבו לתורה*, which conceivably might mean: "Consort not with the wicked, even to bring him close to those things for which Torah stands, those lessons which Torah teaches."¹⁸ That *לקרבו לתורה* does not necessarily refer to Torah study is evident from the comment on *ומקרבו לתורה* of Hillel's saying.¹⁹ The reading, however, of version I indicates that again and again Torah study is the author's point of reference. The full meaning of the passage seems to be, Although Torah is so very, very important, none the less consorting with the wicked is hazardous — certain men cannot be taught Torah.²⁰

c) A very subtle distinction between the readings of our two versions in one of the early chapters throws into sharp focus the motives of the different editors. Like God, like Adam, like Torah and others, we are told, the Sages too made a hedge about their words. Now, asks version I,²¹ "What is the hedge which the Sages made about their words? For the Sages say, The recitation of the evening *shema* [may take place] until midnight. Rabban Gamaliel says, Until the cock crows. How is that?"²² When a man returns

¹⁴ In a translation which is to appear shortly I have rendered the phrase, "even for [the study of] Torah."

¹⁵ Cf. II, 16, p. 36.

¹⁶ *Mekilta*, *מסכתא דעמלק*, 3, ed. Lauterbach, II, p. 166.

¹⁷ *Yalkut Joshua*, I, ¶ 3.

¹⁸ On the other hand, the reading in Akinin's *ספר מוסר*, ed. Bacher, Berlin, 1910, p. 14, is *ואפילו לקרבו לתורה*. Is this perhaps a case of *אשנא דלישנא*?

¹⁹ Cf. I, 12, p. 53. But see II, 26, p. 53. This passage is to be discussed below in the appendix.

²⁰ Cf., on the other hand, the attitude of the school of Hillel, I, 3, p. 14-15, and II, 4, *ibid*.

²¹ I, 2, p. 14.

²² That is, What is the hedge which the Sages made?

from his work, let him not say, I will eat a bit, and drink a bit, and nap a while, and afterwards I shall recite the *shema* — for thus he will sleep through the night and not recite the *shema*. Rather, when a man returns from his work in the evening, let him go to the synagogue or to the house of study. If he is accustomed to study Scripture, let him study Scripture; and if he is accustomed to study Mishnah, let him study Mishnah; and if not, let him recite the *shema* and pray."

And now let us look at version II.²³ "Whence do we learn that the Sages made a hedge about their words? For the Sages said that the [evening] *shema* may be recited until midnight. Rabban Gamliel says, Until the cock crows. [And why do the Sages say, Until midnight?] For a man should not say, Since I am permitted to recite the [evening] *shema* all night, I shall go to sleep; whenever I please, I will recite the *shema*: [because] sleep will overtake him, and he will not have recited it. Lo, such a one is guilty against his own soul! Hence the Sages said, When a man mounts his couch let him recite [the *shema*]; if he is a scholar, let him first recite the *shema*, and then if he wishes to study, let him study."

Version II certainly makes more sense than does our version. The hedge, let us remember, is a hedge connected with the reading of the *shema*. The first thing, therefore, one should do in the evening is recite the *shema*. What is the meaning, then, of If he is accustomed to study, let him study; "and if not, let him recite the *shema* and pray?" Is study perhaps more important than prayer? Is prayer only for those who cannot study?²⁴

Moreover, what fears pursue version II, that it should declare pointedly — after stating what all men must do — "if he is a scholar, let him first recite the *shema*, and then if he wishes to study, let him study?" Is this version afraid lest scholarship reduce prayer to secondary significance? The variant reading in Doctor Schechter's note²⁵ makes all the more emphatic the duty to recite the *shema* first: a scholar must first recite the *shema* and afterwards (ואח"כ) if he wished to study he might do so.

²³ II, 3, p. 14.

²⁴ Notice how the commentators have called attention to the fact that the parallel reading of this passage (Berakot 4b) does not record לאו למא.

²⁵ II, 3, p. 14, n. 24.

Can this variant between the two versions be described as a mere accident?²⁶

d) Many are the sayings attributed by *Abot de Rabbi Nathan* to Hillel. The form of one of these will be of immediate interest. In Babylonian he said, according to version I,²⁷ "And he that does not attend the Sages is worthy of death." In order to amplify this brief remark, our text, shortly thereafter, tells a story of a priest whose efforts at piety were of no avail, since he had neglected to attend the Sages, that is, to study under them.²⁸ Version II,²⁹ on the other hand, adds one further saying to Hillel's credit: "And he that does not attend the Sages is worthy of death; and he that attends the sages but does not practice (ולא מקיים) is worthy of the death of deaths." Like the previous version, version II tells the story of the priest who did not attend the Sages.³⁰ The story, in other words, is the same in both instances; but the final moral deduced differs in each version. Our version is anxious to demonstrate that he that fails to study with the Sages is mortally guilty, while version II leaves the whole subject with the words, "he that attends [the Sages] but does not practice is worthy of the death of deaths!" Do not the two versions appear to be underscoring different themes?

e) Not very far from Hillel's maxim, in our version, is recorded a saying of Shammai.³¹ "Make thy [study of] Torah,"

²⁶ Moreover, I feel that Akin (op. cit., p. 3) sensed the difficulty created by the reading of version I: although he quotes *Abot de Rabbi Nathan* to illustrate the various hedges, for the hedge of the Sages he gives the reading from *Berakot* 1.1! Did Akin too recognize that the reading of version I did not quite apply to the saying of the Men of the Great Assembly? One could of course say that Akin preferred to refer to the Mishnah directly; but that would be forced. If he is quoting A. R. N. throughout and substantially the same illustration in this instance too occurs in A. R. N., why suddenly express a preference for the Mishnah reading?

²⁷ I, 12, p. 55.

²⁸ Cf. I, 12, p. 56.

²⁹ Cf. II, 27, p. 56.

³⁰ Cf. II, 27, p. 56-57. Incidentally, the very conclusion of the chapter, (!) אמרו חכמים [מכאן], needs examination.

³¹ I, 13, p. 56; cf. *Abot* 1.15. On the significance of the order in versions I and II in which Hillel and Shammai are quoted, see Schechter's introduction to his edition, p. XX-XXI.

Shammai used to say, "a fixed habit." And this is the comment: "Make thy [study of] Torah a fixed habit: how is that? This teaches us that if a man has heard something from a sage in the house of study, let him not treat it casually (אל יעשה אותו עראי),³² but let him treat it attentively (קבע); and what a man learns let him practice himself, and then teach others that they may practice it; as it is said, 'That ye may learn them and observe to do them.' (Deut. 5.1). And so too in Ezra it says, 'For he had set his heart to seek the law of the Lord, and to do it.' And afterwards, 'And to teach in Israel statutes and ordinances' (Ezra 7.10).³³

Now, version II,³⁴ on the same phrase, has this to say: "Make thy [study of] Torah a fixed habit: Be thou not lenient with thyself and severe with others, or lenient with others and severe with thyself. Instead, even as thou art lenient with thyself, so shalt thou be lenient with others; and even as thou art severe with thyself, so shalt thou be severe with others. As it is said, 'For Ezra had set his heart to seek the law of the Lord and to do it.' And afterwards, 'And to teach in Israel statutes and ordinances' (Ezra 7.10)"

In the first place, it is interesting to notice that the verse from Ezra applies more smoothly to version I than it does to version II — although, even in the latter instance, the Ezra passage is not altogether irrelevant. Secondly, however, version II has but one understanding of Shammai's teaching. Version II sees in Shammai's words an exhortation to consistent practice only. Version I would have no quarrel with such an attitude; but it relates Shammai's counsel to study as well as to practice. First our version, at Shammai's suggestion, recommends what a man is to do when he hears something from a sage in a school; then, it prescribes what he is to do if he hopes to teach others.

f) Another slight yet significant variant in the light of the present hypothesis, is reflected in the statement of Rabbi Ishmael. According to version I³⁵ Rabbi Ishmael said, "He that

³² That this is the proper meaning is, I feel, clearly brought out by the continuation of the paragraph. In the latter half, practice is spoken of.

³³ I shall have additional comments on this passage in the forthcoming translation, *ad loc.*

³⁴ II, 23, p. 47.

³⁵ I, 27, p. 84; cf. *Abot* 4.5.

studies in order to teach, it is granted him to study and teach; and he that studies in order to practice, it is granted him to study and to teach and to practice." Version II,³⁶ on the other hand, quotes Rabbi Ishmael to this effect: "He that studies in order to teach, it is not granted him to study and to teach. But he that studies in order to practice, it is granted him to study and to teach, to observe and to practice." Again it is clear that both versions I and II agree that practice is the culmination of study. But version I insists that study for the purpose of teaching will bear fruit; to this version II objects.

g) After all these examples — and before proceeding with others — one may introduce as evidence a passage which has all the earmarks of later interpolation. The point is, of course, that we now have an explanation for such an interpolation. Only he who recognized the emphasis of version I would have felt no compunctions in inserting such a thought.

Early in our text,³⁷ where Moses' independent decisions are described, and they are said to have had God's unqualified approval, we read as follows: "He broke the tables [of the Commandments]. How is that? It was said, When Moses went up to heaven to receive the tables [of the Commandments], which had been inscribed and put away since the six days of Creation — as it is said, 'And the tables were the work of God, and the writing was the writing of God, graven upon the tables' (Ex. 32.15): read not *harut* (graven), but *herut* (freedom), for whosoever studies Torah is a free man — at that time, the ministering angels conspired against Moses," and so forth.

None of this interpolation *אל תקרי חרות אלא חירות שכל מי שעוסק בתורה הרי הוא בן חורין לעצמו* is in the parallel passage of the second version³⁸ — and as a result, indeed, it reads more fluently. Merely to dismiss the passage as a later addition to our text is to overlook, I feel, the theme which the later editor detected in the treatise. With such a theme easily recognizable to him, why should he have felt any scruples in adding more material? This

³⁶ II, 32, p. 68.

³⁷ I, 2, p. 10.

³⁸ II, 2, p. 10-11.

was very likely his sentiment; and even when we recognize his intrusion, we ought to understand his motives.

h) One interpolation leads to another; and so it may not be unprofitable to compare the account in the two versions of Ben Zoma's saying. "Who is wise," we read in version I:³⁹ "He that learns from all men; as it is said, 'From all my teachers have I got understanding.'⁴⁰ (Ps. 119.99). Who is most humble? He that is as humble as Moses our master; as it is said, 'Now the man Moses was very meek' (Num. 12.3). Who is most rich? He that rejoices in his portion; as it is said, 'When thou eatest the labour of thy hands, happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee.' (Ps. 128.2). Who is most mighty? He that subdues his evil *yezer*; as it is said, 'He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty; and he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city' (Prov. 16.32). And whoever subdues his evil *yezer* is accounted as though he had subdued a city full of mighty men; as it is said, 'A wise man scaleth the city of the mighty, and bringeth down the stronghold wherein it trusteth' (Prov. 21.22). And the mighty are none but the mighty of Torah; as it is said, 'Ye mighty in strength that fulfill His word, hearkening unto the voice of His word' (Ps. 103.20)."

The passage gives two other possible interpretations of גבורים but these need not concern us especially at this point. What is immediately interesting is the expansion of the term "mighty." The mighty, in short, are not only those who subdue their passions, but the "Torah-braves." An examination of version II is now appropriate. Here⁴¹ we read: "Ben Zoma says, Who is wise? He that learns from all men; as it is said, 'From all my teachers have I got understanding' (Ps. 119.99). Who is honored? He that honors mankind; as it is said, 'For them that honor Me I will honor and they that despise Me shall be lightly esteemed' (I Sam. 2.30).⁴² Who is mighty? He that subdues his evil *yezer*; as it is

³⁹ I, 23, p. 75; cf. *Abot* 4.1.

⁴⁰ See, on the other hand, the regular translation in the J. P. S. Bible.

⁴¹ II, 33, p. 72.

⁴² On the proof offered by this verse, cf. the commentary of R. Obadiah of Bertinoro to *Abot* 4.1. See also the commentary *ad loc.* in *Mahzor Vitry*, Rabbenu Jonah, ps. Rashi, etc.

said, 'He that is slow to anger is better than the mighty' (Prov. 16.32). Who is rich? He that rejoices in his portion; as it is said, 'When thou eatest the labour of thy hands, happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee' (Ps. 128.2): happy shalt thou be in this world, and it shall be well with thee in the world to come."

Not only does version II read more like *Abot*, but it reads better than does our version. What happened to version I can be explained, I believe, by the hypothesis which each of these examples is intended to substantiate.

i) Very instructive, I feel, will be an analysis of what the two versions of *Abot de Rabbi Nathan* do with a saying by Elisha ben Abuyah. This time we quote first from version II. It reads:⁴³ "Elisha ben Abuyah says, He that studies Torah in his youth, to what may he be likened? To lime which is spread on stones: even if all the rains come down, they do not injure it. But he that studies Torah in his old age, to what may he be likened? To lime which is spread over bricks: as soon as one drop of water falls on it, it disintegrates and is washed away (והולך לו — literally, 'disappears').

"A parable is told: to what may this be likened? To a king who said to his servant, 'Protect [this] bird for my son.' The king said to his servant, 'If thou dost protect the bird, thou dost protect thine own life; but if thou dost destroy the bird, thou dost destroy thine own life.' [The servant] protected the bird. . . Thus says the Holy One blessed be He to Israel: 'My children, if you keep⁴⁴ the Torah, you keep your own lives; but if you destroy the Torah, you destroy your own lives.' So too, whoever keeps one word of the Torah, keeps his own life; but whoever destroys one word of the Torah, destroys his own life; as it is said, 'Only take heed to thyself, and keep thy soul diligently, [lest thou forget the things which thine eyes saw].' (Deut. 4.9)."

Does this parable have anything to do with Elisha's statement? The editor, in fact, seems to have had a very strange conception of analogies.⁴⁵ Both the tale and the conclusion em-

⁴³ II, 35, p. 77.

⁴⁴ The word is כשמר — the same as the word translated "protect."

⁴⁵ Schechter (II, 35, p. 77-78, note 2) also observed the difficulty. Taking a hint from the Gaon, he suggests that possibly the parable illustrates the

phasize "observance" of Torah — in other words, the practical implication of Torah — while the statement of Elisha had as its theme study. Is the same, perhaps, true of version I? Let us see.

Version I has no single passage which runs completely parallel to the Elisha passage of II. For example, the metaphor of lime on stones, our version employs in the description of men with Torah and with or without good deeds.⁴⁶ The parable of the king with the bird, our version attaches to a statement concerning those who stimulate others to good works. This is, however, what version I does have on the subject of studying in youth and in old age:⁴⁷ "He that studies Torah as a child, the words of Torah are absorbed in his blood⁴⁸ and they come forth from his mouth distinctly. But he that studies Torah in his old age, the words of Torah are not absorbed in his blood and do not come forth from his mouth distinctly. And thus the maxim goes (אומר — literally, 'says'): If in thy youth thou didst not desire them, how shalt thou acquire them in thine old age?"

The reading of our text is obviously better, more logical. And I believe that once more we have an instance of version I clinging to its point of reference, study; version II, on the other hand, takes the theme of study and turns it into a sermon on the importance of observing Torah.

Here we have an opportunity to repeat the caution recommended at the very outset of this paper. There is a danger that in focussing evidence on a theory, the picture as a whole may be blurred. To say that version I of *Abot de Rabbi Nathan* is emphasizing Torah study is not to imply that this treatise prescribes a neglect of practice. The chapter in which Elisha's views are recorded is an excellent case in point. Most of the paragraphs in it emphasize the incompleteness of study alone. The man without

saying of Rabbi Dostai (*Abot* 3.8) which should come into our text. I do not agree at all. Notice, incidentally, the difficulty with this parable in I, 24, p. 78, and there too no word is heard of R. Dostai. For a more detailed discussion see note 51, below.

⁴⁶ Cf. I, 24, p. 77.

⁴⁷ I, 24, p. 77-78.

⁴⁸ Bacher, *op. cit.*, I, p. 432, n. 5, alludes to the Roman proverb, "in succum et sanguinem." As for the maxim, see Ecclus. 25.3.

מעשים טובים, Elisha tells us again and again — and who knew it better than he — is like a stone structure atop brick foundations, or like lime poured on bricks, or like a cup without a flat base, or like the rider of an unbridled horse. None of these would one choose to be. The point is, that our version, while admitting all this, seeks to underline the concept of study of Torah; as a result it stresses that theme, or relates other ideas to it, or refrains from turning it into other directions.

The thesis is here restated because version I affords us the occasion in this instance to examine how it applies the parable which II had attached to a statement on study. In our version too,⁴⁹ truth be told, the parable is not without its problems.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, here the parable is said to illustrate, not "study," but the statement, "Whoever makes his fellow perform some commandment, the verse accounts it to him as though he has performed it himself."⁵¹

j) After having observed the two versions in their treatment of Elisha's statement, it is interesting to notice the variants in their description of them that frequent the house of study. "There are four types," we read in our version,⁵² "among them that frequent the house of study: [there is one] that draws near

⁴⁹ I, 24, p. 78.

⁵⁰ See *ibid.*, Schechter's note 24; see also my note in the forthcoming translation *ad loc.*

⁵¹ Is not the following a possible explanation of what happened in version II? The statement of Elisha unquestionably discussed "study." The editor of version II, however, being principally concerned with good works, determined to read his theme into the words of Elisha. Consequently he attached the parable and the concluding sentences to Elisha's dictum. For there was a particularly good reason to do so in this case! The author of the saying was none other than *Aher*. Was he not a splendid example of those who do not "keep the Torah?" Moreover, Elisha's own career seemed to belie his words: הלמר חורה בנערותו למה הוא דומה, לסייד שהוא טוח על גבי אבנים, אפילו כל הנשמים יורדין אין מויקין אותו. But Elisha had studied in his youth! Not study at too late a date was the stumbling block of this man; probably he failed to supplement his many studies with good deeds. That was the cause for his failure.

In the light of this, perhaps we can understand too why version II quotes so little from Elisha, while version I gives a goodly number of his statements.

⁵² I, 40, p. 126.

[the sage] and sits down, [and] has a portion [of reward]; [there is one] that draws near and sits down, [and] has no portion [of reward]; [there is one] that keeps at a distance and sits down, [and] has a portion [of reward]; [there is one] that keeps at a distance and sits down, [and] has no portion [of reward]. [There is one] that asks and replies, [and] has a portion [of reward]; [there is one] that asks and replies, [and] has no portion [of reward]; [there is one] that sits and keeps quiet, [and] has a portion [of reward]; [there is one] that sits and keeps quiet, [and] has no portion [of reward]."

The text then proceeds to explain what distinguishes one man from the next. The individuals to be rewarded are those who approach the sage in order the better to hear his lesson, or keep at a distance out of sincere humility, or ask questions the better to understand, or do not interrupt the lecture with questions the better to hear. Those who go without reward are the ones who come up front out of arrogance, or keep at a distance out of false modesty, or ask questions to leave the impression that they are wise, or keep quiet to indicate their independence of the sage.

The "catalogue" and description, in brief, are devoted to an analysis of various types of behavior at study. Some students belong to one category, some to another, but the categories are descriptive of conduct at study.

The "four types among them that frequent the house of study" presented by version II,⁵³ are entirely different. They are, significantly enough, as follows: "He that goes⁵⁴ and practices, is a saintly man. He that neither goes nor practices, is a wicked man. He that goes but does not practice, has the reward for going. He that practices and does not go, has the reward for practice." The word עושה has changed the complexion of the passage. We are dealing with something else entirely; we are dealing with a different perspective. The הולכי בית המדרש are examined for different qualities by the two versions.⁵⁵

⁵³ II, 45, p. 126.

⁵⁴ I. e., to school.

⁵⁵ See, incidentally, II, 46, p. 129, where different types of "frequenters" are described.

k) The theme of version I of *Abot de Rabbi Nathan* will perhaps serve us in understanding a passage in the text which has baffled many scholars. We read toward the end of the treatise:⁵⁶ "The sword comes upon the world because of the delaying of justice and the perverting of justice; and because of them המורין בהלכה שלא כהלכה." Before translating this last clause, as it is understood by version I, it is necessary to examine the story which follows our sentence. We are told that when Rabbi Simeon ben Gamaliel and Rabbi Ishmael⁵⁷ were being led to their execution, Rabbi Simeon wept. He could not understand why it was destined for him to be treated like a criminal. Yet God could not be unjust! Therefore Rabbi Ishmael advised him to think of certain sins in his lifetime which conceivably warranted the present punishment. The conversation deserves more than a paraphrase.

" 'Perhaps,' " said Rabbi Ishmael to him, " 'when thou didst settle down to dinner, poor men came and stood at thy door, and thou didst not permit them to enter and eat?' [Rabbi Simeon] said to him, 'By Heaven, I did not do thus! Rather, I had guards sitting at the door. When the poor would come, they would be brought in to me, and they would eat and drink with me and recite a blessing in the name of Heaven.'⁵⁸ [Rabbi Ishmael] said to him, 'Perhaps when thou didst sit expounding on the Temple Mount, and all the hosts of Israel sat before thee, thou didst grow proud?' He said to him, 'Ishmael, my brother, Man is destined to receive the punishment [he deserves].' "⁵⁹

The narrative then goes on with the execution proper; finally it brings the verses from Zechariah (3.17) and from Exodus (22.33) which speak of slaughter by the sword.

The question is, What is this story intended to illustrate? Its connection with the introductory statement of the paragraph is far from clear. The commentators have gone to no end of

⁵⁶ I, 38, p. 114; cf. *Abot* 5.8.

⁵⁷ Cf. Finkelstein, *The Ten Martyrs*, in *Essays and Studies in Memory of Linda R. Miller*, New York, 1938, pp. 29-55.

⁵⁸ I. e., recite the Grace.

⁵⁹ The text reads מוכן אדם שיקבל את פגעו. The phrase is not without its difficulties. Nonetheless, it does not affect what is here involved. There will be a note in the translation *ad loc.*

trouble to relate the statement about the sword and the story to each other.⁶⁰ Their suggestions, though fine, fail to explain what has happened to our text.

As usual, when the text gives one trouble, he turns to the parallel passage of the second version. The reading here⁶¹ is of great assistance.

"The sword comes upon the world because of the perversion of justice and the delaying of justice."⁶² Immediately thereafter comes the story of the execution of Rabbi Simeon ben Gamaliel and Rabbi Ishmael, with the details of which we are already familiar. Nevertheless, it will be instructive to eavesdrop on their conversation.

" 'Shall I not weep,' " said Rabbi Simeon, " 'when I am being led forth to be killed like them that worship idols, and like them that commit incest, and like them that shed [innocent] blood, and like them that profane the Sabbath?' " Rabbi Ishmael said to him, 'Is it, [then,] for naught? Did never a woman come to ask thee concerning her menstruation, or a man concerning his vow, and thou wast asleep, or at dinner, or perhaps thy time was not free, or perhaps the servant did not permit him to enter?' "⁶³ [Rabbi Simeon] said to him, 'Whether I was asleep or at dinner, the servant was commanded that no man be prevented from entering. Yet,⁶⁴ it is not for naught! Once, as I was sitting down, men stood before me⁶⁵ and my heart swelled within me.' Rabbi Ishmael said to him, 'We deserve to be led forth to be killed.' "

From version II, in other words, we learn that the story of the execution of the two sages is an illustration of the consequences of עוני הדין — particularly is this clear from the reading in the *Menorat Hamaor*. Is it not significant that the second version,

⁶⁰ See Schechter's note 7, *ibid.* See also what the Gaon recommends.

⁶¹ II, 41, p. 114.

⁶² See also II, 41, p. 116.

⁶³ See the reading at this point in Al-Nakawa, *Menorat Ha-Maor*, ed. Enelow, IV, p. 189-90, which makes the connection to the introductory statement sufficiently obvious.

⁶⁴ I am following the reading of *Menorat Ha-Maor*, *ibid.*, which omits לאל here and the very next one. My feeling is that Rabbi Simeon is saying all this.

⁶⁵ At this point *Menorat Ha-Maor*, *ibid.*, adds pointedly לדין.

substantially, does so read, while version I reads כשהיית יושב בהר הבית? Moreover, the form in version I is all the more impressive when we inspect other sources in which the story occurs. Most of them⁶⁶ say nothing of "expounding on the Temple Mount." Only one manuscript⁶⁷ resembles the idiom in our treatise: שמא כשהיית דורש ברבים היה לבך שמח והנאה (לכך) [לבך] אמ': שמה כשהיית יושב בדין ודורש וכל אכלוסי ישראל יושבין לפניך שמא זאת: [ניחמתי] לו. Another source⁶⁸ has this interesting expression: דעתך עליך. Apparently there were two forms in which the conversation between Rabbi Simeon and Rabbi Ishmael was handed down, and our last source represents an effort to combine them both.⁶⁹

In any event — and particularly if the last assumption is true — the story in version I reflects the emphasis which it is constantly making. Either the phrase was deliberately changed to כשהיית יושב ודורש בהר הבית or that form was selected by version I because Torah study — and hence an activity, "expounding," related to it — was its point of reference.⁷⁰

If the interpretation offered thus far is plausible, we may return to the clause המורין בתורה שלא כהלכה. The words, in this instance, are extremely difficult, particularly since I believe that the story about the execution of the sages (in version I) is

⁶⁶ Cf. Mekilta, *Mishpatim*, מסכתא דנויקין, 18, III, p. 142; *Semahot*, ed. Higger, Ch. 8, p. 153; *Tanna d'be Eliahu*, ed. Friedmann, Ch. 30, p. 153; Yalkut Exodus, 349 (these references are given by Schechter, I, 38, p. 115, n. 7). For other references see Higger, *op. cit.*, p. 36-38.

⁶⁷ סדר חיבור ברכות, p. 266 — quoted by Higger, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

⁶⁸ *Exempla of the Rabbis*, ed. M. Gaster, Passage 76, p. 51. See incidentally, Büchler, *Studies in Sin and Atonement*, p. 199, n. 1.

⁶⁹ I must confess that this is indeed my feeling about the passage in the *Exempla*. There seems to have been one tradition which regarded the tragic end of R. Simeon as a punishment not for ענוי הדין, but as a punishment for lack of humility. Witness the account in סדר חיבור ברכות (I quote in full so that the context be clear): כשיצאו רשב"ג ור' ישמעאל כהן גדול ליהרג אמ' לו רשב"ג לר' ישמעאל: (דורש ברבים היה לבך אחי אוי לי שאיני יודע למה אני יוצא ליהרג, אמ' לו שמא כשהיית דורש ברבים היה לבך שמח והנאה (לכך) [לבך] אמ' לו [ניחמתי] [ניחמתי], על כן כשעושה אדם מעשים טובים יעשם בצניעות, ואל יהנה בפני העולם שנוטל שכרו בזה העולם).

⁷⁰ The difficulty felt by Schechter (note 7, p. 114-15) thus becomes clear, and his suggested reading is altogether unnecessary.

meant as an illustration not of עוני הדין but of 'המורין בתורה וכו'. Although Professor Ginzberg informs me that in rabbinic literature מורין is always "decide" — not merely "teach" — perhaps, *Abot de Rabbi Nathan*, for purposes of *derush*,⁷¹ amplifies the meaning of the word in this connection to instruction in general. Moreover, שלא כהלכה here means "improperly" and has nothing to do with the *halakah* as such.⁷² The clause would then mean, The sword comes upon the world because of them that teach Torah with improper conduct. The teacher who is proud is not behaving well, for humility must characterize him at all times.

I am thoroughly aware of the serious objections to such an interpretation.⁷³ Nevertheless, the crux of the evidence resides not in the validity of my understanding of 'המורין בתורה וכו', nor in the hypothesis that the story illustrates that principle; the important factor is the variant between the readings in version I and version II of the cause of Rabbi Simeon's punishment.

1) Every example introduced thus far has been taken from such passages as both versions of *Abot de Rabbi Nathan* discuss. This was deliberately done, for, as was early observed, some comparative standard is necessary. The next, and last illustration, however, represents material in two separate paragraphs which occur in version I only. Nevertheless, more than passing significance, I believe, is theirs.

At the very beginning of version I,⁷⁴ immediately after the controversy between Rabbi Jose the Galilean and Rabbi Akiba, Rabbi Nathan — allegedly the author-editor of this treatise⁷⁵ — is quoted. Rabbi Nathan offers a reason why Moses was detained six days before the word of God came to him. With that view, apparently, Rabbi Mattiah ben Heresh cannot agree; conse-

⁷¹ See, for example, what the text does to Jose ben Johanan's statement in I, 7, p. 34 and II, 14, p. 33.

⁷² See, for example, II, 40, p. 111 and also p. 112 where the phrase (in describing the clod) כענין ומשיב שלא כראוי occurs as a contrast to שואל שואל ומשיב כהלכה.

⁷³ Incidentally, neither is the passage in II, 41, p. 116 בעון בטול תורה ועוות בטול תורה וכו' of much assistance. For, is pride an instance of בטול תורה?

⁷⁴ I, I, p. 1.

⁷⁵ See my note in the translation, *ad loc.*

quently, he explains otherwise what happened with Moses. This done, the paragraph concludes as follows: "It once happened that Rabbi Josiah and Rabbi Mattiah ben Heresh sat together engaged in the study of Torah. Rabbi Josiah withdrew to attend to his occupation. Said Rabbi Mattiah to him, 'Master, why dost thou leave the words of the living God to pursue an occupation? Now, although thou art my master and I am thy pupil, [I declare] it is not good to leave the words of the living God and pursue an occupation.' It was said [of them], So long as they sat studying Torah, they acted as though they were jealous of each other: but when they departed, they were like friends from childhood on."

On this note the first paragraph in our treatise ends. The theme calls attention to itself quite adequately, and needs no amplification on my part. The connection, likewise, of this brief story with the preceding material is not far fetched.

Nothing like this story is to be found at the beginning of version II.⁷⁶

And now we turn to the very last paragraph of our work.⁷⁷ "Rabbi Hannaniah ben Akashya said, It pleased the Holy One blessed be He to grant merit to Israel; therefore, He gave them Torah and commandments in abundance; as it is said, 'The Lord was pleased for his⁷⁸ righteousness' sake, to make Torah great and glorious.' (Is. 42.21)." Certainly the theme here is clear enough, and the verse from Isaiah is as felicitous for our hypothesis as it is for a peroration of the volume.

The sentiment expressed at the conclusion of version II⁷⁹ is unquestionably noble; moreover it is a tribute to scholars, those "philosophers-kings" of Israel. But an emphasis on Torah it is not.

Now, Doctor Schechter⁸⁰ is very likely correct in assuming that the saying of Rabbi Hananiah ben Akashya is a late conclusion attached to our treatise. Nevertheless, "And there is no doubt that these words were added here either by the copyists

⁷⁶ Cf. II, I, p. I.

⁷⁷ I, 4I, p. 134.

⁷⁸ I. e., Israel's. Cf. translation *ad loc.*

⁷⁹ Cf. II, 48, p. 134.

⁸⁰ I, 4I, p. 134, n. 27.

or by the printers in order to conclude on a happy note" is not enough of an answer. There are many "happy endings" in the literature of Israel. The conclusion of version II, for example, leaves nothing to be desired. The question is, Why was this particular passage with this particular theme employed?⁸¹ The question is not petulant; for my feeling is that both the opening and closing paragraphs of a treatise are often strategic. There the author or compiler can make a deeper impression than almost anywhere else in his work. The fact that version I strikes the note of Torah both at its start and its finish indicates (when all the other facts are added to this one) that at one time students recognized what this text was emphasizing throughout: in other words, the closing paragraph of the book became the closing paragraph of the book because its appropriateness was evident to the later editors. And when Torah is the keynote, the beginning and the end are becoming unto the treatise (to use the idiom of the prayer) even as it is becoming unto them.⁸²

⁸¹ It is of course with this passage, as is well known, that each chapter of *Abot* is concluded in the synagogue service. But the centrality of Torah to *Abot* has likewise been observed. See especially Herford, *Pirke Aboth*, New York, 1925, p. 15-16 and Mordecai M. Kaplan in *Jewish Education*, Vol. 14, No. 2, p. 72-73.

⁸² The passages discussed in this section do not exhaust all the evidence. Of course, I have selected the most impressive (or what I thought to be the most impressive) examples, so that the hypothesis be most clearly presented. Nevertheless, it is not unprofitable to examine every passage in the text very carefully. Some "minor" variants between the readings of the two versions are, I feel, extremely illuminating. To give just one more example: I. 26, p. 82 reads *אין עם הארץ חסיד*, while II, 33, p. 72 reads *ולא עם הארץ חסיד (פירוש) [פרוש]*. Why this qualification in version II? Why is version II almost all alone amongst sources (cf. Mekilta de R. Simeon, p. 169; the reading in Mekilta de R. Ishmael *מסכתא דעמלק*, I, II, p. 139-140, is very interesting!) to read *ג' חורו* ו' *למקומו, ישראל והחורו (!) וכו'* (II, 47, p. 130; cf. I, 41, p. 133)? These and other passages might be analysed, but the point is well enough taken. Again I must state that in both I and II there are certain passages on Torah which cannot serve our immediate purpose since these occur in only one of the treatises. I have not referred to any of these (except for the last example in the body of the paper). I has many which II does not have; II, on the other hand, has many which I does not have. Only comments which occur on passages common to both texts can help us at this stage. And in addition to all the examples in the paper, and the two hinted at earlier in this note, one would do well to inspect

APPENDIX

The discussion of any hypothesis is never complete unless all available evidence, favorable and unfavorable, has been examined. Perhaps where there is no contradictory material, a hypothesis is almost superfluous. In any event, there are two passages in version II which must be referred to at this point, because they raise embarrassing questions. Unlike many other passages which occur in this version only, there is no material in version I to cancel them out of existence.

The first of these passages occurs in the commentary of version II upon a saying of Hillel. Hillel had said, "Be of the disciples of Aaron, loving peace and pursuing peace, loving mankind and bringing them nigh to Torah."⁸³ Each of the versions records this beautiful epigram and each comments on its separate clauses.

the following: II, 3, p. 12 (though scholars are talked of, prayer is emphasized); I, 3, p. 14 f. and II, 4, p. 14; I, 4, p. 18 and II, 5, p. 18 (see also II, 8, p. 22); II, 12, p. 28 and I, 6, p. 27; II, 13, p. 30 and I, 16, p. 64; II, 15, p. 34 f. (but see Schechter's note); I, 10, p. 43; I, 11, p. 47 and II, 22, p. 47 (see also I, 11, p. 48 — מִיִּם הָרָעִים כְּמַשְׁמָעוֹ — and Schechter's note); I, 12, p. 55; I, 12, p. 56 and II, 27, p. 56; I, 14, p. 58 and II, 29, p. 58 and II, 31, p. 56; I, 16, p. 62 (דָּא עֵין) (הָרַע); I, 16, p. 64 (but see II, 13, p. 30); I, 17, p. 65 (notice the difficulty in the passage דָּא יְהִי מִמּוֹן; incidentally, the Zolkiev edition gives this as the only (!) interpretation of R. Jose's saying); I, 17, p. 66 and II, 30, p. 66; II, 31, p. 67 and I, 22, p. 74 f. (notice here the emphasis on מַעֲשִׂים in II); II, 31, p. 68 and I, 28, p. 85; II, 31, p. 68 and I, 24, p. 78; II, 32, p. 68 and I, 20, p. 70 f. (see too I, 29, p. 87, כָּל הַשּׁוֹקֵד עַל דָּת,); II, 32, p. 68 and I, 27, p. 83; II, 32, p. 69 and I, 22, p. 74 (notice the length to which II goes to emphasize טוֹבִים); II, 32, p. 70 and I, 22, p. 75; II, 32, p. 70 and I, 22, p. 75 (שְׂמֵעִין בְּנוֹ); II, 33, p. 71 and I, 26, p. 82; II, 33, p. 73 (see I, 29, p. 87; notice, incidentally, how II adds to *Abot* 4.10); I, 21, p. 73 f. and II, 34, p. 73 (II simply gives R. Dosa's statement); I, 22, p. 75 and II, 34, p. 75; II, 34, p. 75 (R. Hananiah) and I, 29, p. 87 (see also II, 35, p. 79); II, 34, p. 76 and I, 24, p. 77; II, 35, p. 81 and I, 26, p. 82 and I, 29, p. 88; II, 35, p. 82 and I, 30, p. 89; II, 35, p. 82 f. (see I, 24, p. 78); I, 26, p. 82 and II, 35, p. 87; I, 27, p. 84 and II, 35, p. 84 (see too I, 27, p. 84); I, 28, p. 85 and II, 48, p. 132; I, 28, p. 86 and II, 35, p. 87 (the statements are not really parallel, yet they are interesting; above all see Schechter's note 22, p. 86). One of the things always to keep in mind is: Is it Torah study which is emphasized, or the efficacy of Torah? For an excellent analysis of these terms see Kadushin's *Organic Thinking*, pp. 68–79. (Even in this list I have often omitted passages which occur in only one version.)

⁸³ II, 24, p. 48; cf. I, 12, p. 48 and *Abot* 1.12.

However, version II, in its comment on the last clause,⁸⁴ reads as follows: "And bringing them nigh to the study (!) of Torah."

This is certainly strange, particularly in the second version. Moreover, a glance at the reading of the comments on the same thought in version I,⁸⁵ reveals that it — the version which is so preoccupied with Torah study, according to the theory — has simply, "And bringing them nigh to Torah." What follows resembles essentially the ideas expressed in version II.⁸⁶ What shall we say, therefore?

My feeling is that the text of version II is corrupt. This is usually the easiest and most unoriginal way out of a difficulty; but there are indices in the treatise to make what I say plausible.

In the first place, nowhere do we find attributed to Hillel the phrase ומקרבן לחלמוד תורה. The reading in Tosefta *Horayot*⁸⁷ to which Schechter refers⁸⁸ contains the idea expressed in our passage, but no mention is made of Hillel. Thus the Tosefta: מנין שכל המשנה לחבירו מעלין עליו כאילו יצרו וריקמו והביאו לעולם שנ' אם תוציא יקר מזולל כפי תהיה באותו הפרק שורק בו נשמה באדם, כך כל המכנים ביריא אחת תחת כנפי השמים מעלין עליו כאילו יצרו וריקמו והביאו לעולם, יקר זו תורה שנ' יקרה היא מפנינים וכל חפצים לא ישוו בה וא' יש זהב ורב פנינים וכלי יקר שפתי דע'.

In the second place, at the beginning of chapter 24, where the complete saying of Hillel is first quoted by our version, the reading is explicitly לתורה ומקרבן — not ומקרבן לחלמוד תורה.

In the third place, the text in version II already reveals some tampering with. As we have it, the phrase goes ומקרב לחלמוד תורה. Schechter is quite right when he corrects ומקרב to ומקרבן — the word may easily have been an abbreviation of ומקרבן. Nevertheless, since on other accounts the reading is suspect, the additional problem must be reckoned with.

How, however, did the expression enter the text?⁸⁹ This question cannot be answered with certainty. Perhaps originally the reading was ומקרבן לתורה כל המכנים בריה וכו'. A later scholar,

⁸⁴ II, 26, p. 53.

⁸⁵ I, 12, p. 53.

⁸⁶ Cf. II, 26, p. 53 and II, 26, p. 54 (the last paragraph of the chapter).

⁸⁷ II:7.

⁸⁸ II, 26, p. 53, n. 12.

⁸⁹ I. e., if it is not a mere slip of the pen, since Talmud Torah is so common a combination.

reading this passage, suddenly remembered the Tosefta idiom כל המשנה לחבירו. In order to make the phrase of Hillel all the more clear, he inserted the word תלמוד.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, the wording at the beginning of the chapter, where Hillel is quoted directly, he did not touch.

Regardless of how convincing this explanation is, the fact that the text should read ומקרבן לתורה is, I feel, indubitable.

The second of the difficult passages is likewise connected with Hillel. We read in version II:⁹¹ "He (i. e. Hillel⁹²) used to say, The more wives, the more witchcraft; the more bondswomen, the more lewdness; the more bondsmen, the more theft; the more witchcraft, the more evils; the more possessions, the more toil;⁹³ the more flesh, the more worms; the more Torah, the more life; he that acquires a good name, has acquired it for himself, he that acquires the words of Torah for himself, has acquired for himself the life of the world to come."

After such a passage, the reading in version I is a disappointment. Here⁹⁴ we have, "He used to say, The more one eats, the more one eliminates; and the more flesh, the more worms and maggots; and the more one performs good works, the more he brings peace upon himself."⁹⁵ Is there no word about Torah?

It is significant that the reading of the Rome manuscript⁹⁶ is as follows: הוא היה אומר כל המרבה מעשים טובים משים שלום בנפשו. וכל המרבה תורה מרבה חכמה.

I do not know how to explain what has happened.

Despite the difficulties created by these two passages, my feeling still is that the hypothesis presented in the body of this paper is correct: namely, that the theme of version I of *Abot de Rabbi Nathan* as it reads today is the study of Torah, while the theme of version II is "piety" and good works.

⁹⁰ He may also have inserted, therefore, the story which follows: II, 26, p. 54.

⁹¹ II, 31, p. 67; cf. *Abot* 2.7.

⁹² Notice, incidentally, that he is here called Rabbi(!) Hillel.

⁹³ Our text reads וייעה. I wonder whether the reading might not have been originally דאנה.

⁹⁴ I, 28, p. 86.

⁹⁵ The last phrase is משים שלום בנפשו. The phrase is peculiar; see my note in the translation *ad loc.*

⁹⁶ See Appendix II in Schechter's edition of *Abot de Rabbi Nathan*, p. 157.

THE JEWISH RITE OF COVERING THE HEAD*

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IN my volume on Talmudic Antiquities,¹ when I took occasion to describe costumes and attire, the question arose whether or not the Jews of that time were accustomed to wear a covering for the head. To this question, my reply is in the negative both in the aforementioned work and in the forthcoming third volume of my *Kadmoniyot Hatalmud*² where I list the articles in which I defend my view against the dissident views of various scholars. An exceedingly fine *responsum* on the subject is that of J. Z. Lauterbach³ who, though not quoting from my book, is entirely on my side. Let the following citation from Lauterbach bring out the nature of his problem and his answer:

QUESTION: Where can one find the rabbinic law prescribing that men should cover their head when participating in Divine worship or when entering a Synagog? If there is no law to this effect will you please tell me where and when did the custom of covering one's head now generally observed in Orthodox Synagogs originate among the Jews?

ANSWER: There is no law in Bible or Talmud prescribing the covering of the head for men entering a sanctuary, when participating in the religious service or when performing any religious ceremony.

* Editorially revised without the participation of the author. Brackets enclose editorial corrections and insertions.

¹ *Talmudische Archaeologie*, I, 189 ff.

² The Hebrew work represents an entirely new approach and does not merely translate the German work. In both works will be found lists of articles written on the subject by others as well as by myself.

³ "Should One Cover the Head When Participating in Divine Worship?" *Year Book, Central Conference of American Rabbis*, XXXVIII, 1928, pp. 589-603. No name heads the article itself, but Lauterbach's authorship can be inferred from prior references to Lauterbach as the chairman of the Committee on Responsa, p. 10 [also pp. 133, 134].

It will be perceived that the question relates to the so-called rites of the synagogue and to the offering of prayers. But archaeological curiosity, going further, asks: Did our ancestors keep their heads covered ordinarily? And was or was not this practice suspended when the Jews entered the synagogue or engaged in religious devotion? Our investigation should be extended also to include women. This phase deserves special attention in view of the report that the daughters of Israel were, more than the menfolk, obligated even in private to wear a covering on their heads.

Orthodox Jews readily assume that, for the Jew, the covering of the head was a basic command applicable to all situations, literally "when thou sittest in thy house, when thou walkest by the way, when thou liest down, and when thou risest up." Orthodox Jews thus instruct their boys from their tenderest years. There are some who, though otherwise submitting to modern exigencies, would abominate uttering a single Hebrew word while bare-headed; Hebrew the language of the synagogue being sacred on any and all occasions, and every Hebrew word laden with the holiness of the Divine Name. Similar scruple attends the acts of eating and drinking, though not without some justification, in view of the fact that eating and drinking are preceded by a benediction in which the Divine Name actually occurs. What these people fail to recognize is that the sanctity attaches not to the eating or the drinking itself but to the preliminary benediction. Presently we shall recall instances in which Jews partook of their meals in the same manner as the Greeks.

We do not exaggerate when we say that "hat or no hat" has grown to be the huge bone of contention between liberal Jews and conservatives. For the Orthodox, praying in the synagogue bareheaded has become the abomination *ne plus ultra*. And the prejudice is deep rooted. Still a hazy reminiscence persists that a specific injunction on the subject appears neither in the Bible nor in the Talmud. It is maintained that, while the matter possesses only the character of a Jewish custom, that custom is, nonetheless, essential for Jewish life and cannot be ignored. If questioned, the protagonist of covering the head would reply that the practice is a rite descended from long ago

and preserved throughout Israel's wanderings, a feature of uniqueness which should not be abandoned. A more learned defender of the practice might concede that covering the head is an ancient custom common to all oriental peoples. Still others would contend that this rite was deliberately adopted in opposition to Christianity, the dominant religion, which follows the contrary practice in its churches. The arguer readily quotes the words חקת הגוי "Gentile observance," which is, of course, something that every loyal Jew sedulously avoids. The aversion to praying with uncovered head is thus explained as a protest against the allurements of non-Jewish life and as imbued with a momentous psychological import.

Attachment to this Jewish "rite" has thus produced difference of opinion that is by no means of advantage to Judaism. We can observe almost any day that, just as the divergent rituals of Ashkenazim and Sephardim have impaired Jewish unity, so likewise has this dissention over a point of attire. Yet while those differences of ritual may possess some justification and some significance, the same cannot be said concerning the surreptitiously developed squabble over the covering of the head. One may well feel nonplussed by the vivid and witty description of a recent Jewish deputation: "There appeared Ashkenazi Rabbis with their black caps, Sephardi Hahams with their turbushes and turbans, modern Jews without any head cover."⁴ A Hassidic Rabbi invariably wears, as part of his apparel for the Sabbath, a *Striml* or a *Yarmulka* which is as distinctive of him as his earlocks.⁵ How burdensome to have to prove that for Judaism these things are non-essential and neither worth retaining nor defending!

It is hoped that the following citations directly from the sources will prove conclusively that head covering is not obligatory upon the Jew in his religious life private or public. We shall begin with biblical times and shall instance corresponding usages among non-Israelitish peoples. This ranges beyond my

⁴ David Yellin in *Bizzaron*, II, 210.

⁵ See my article "Kleidung," in the *Encyclopedia Judaica*, X, the latest volume to be issued of this useful work.

previous study as well as beyond the more recent article by Lauterbach. Though the Bible shall be our point of beginning, we shall, inasmuch as the Judaism of today calls itself "Rabbinic," dwell chiefly on the period of the Talmud. In the midst of the controversy on this subject, a certain author⁶ terminates his remarks with the observation that the *Minhag* of wearing a head cover during prayer is manifestly at variance with the *Halakah*. I should rather say that it goes beyond the *Halakah*. Moreover, I should separate the question as it pertains to men from the question as it pertains to women, the respective cases involving entirely different considerations. I shall not, however, be of myself able to adduce statements from the vast literature of *Responsa* but shall, for this phase, have to draw upon the work of others.

Finally, it must be noted that our subject has a vital bearing on Christian theology and on usages followed by numerous Christian individuals and churches. The well known admonition of Paul, in II Cor. 3.7-18, can be understood only in the light of contemporary rabbinic opinions.

I. THE GENERAL ORIENT AND HEBREWS IN BIBLICAL TIMES

In attempting to ascertain whether or not headgear was worn by the Hebrews of old, we look first at those two groups of nations whose civilization influenced all neighboring peoples, Israel included. Regarding the Egyptians, we learn from Erman⁷ that headgear figures only in connection with members of the royal family; which means that people of the common run went with their heads bare. Only the gods, so far as we know, wore head-dresses in Sumir and Akkad.⁸ King (p. 51) furnishes illustrations showing divine head-dresses of earlier forms and later forms. "Again," he says, "the garments of the gods in the earliest period have little in common with the Semitic plaid, and are

⁶ I. Kahn in *Revue des Études Juives*, LXXXIV, 176-178.

⁷ A. Erman, *Aegypten und Aegyptisches Leben im Altertum*, Tuebingen, p. 313 ff. [In 1923 Edit., p. 255.]

⁸ Leonard W. King, *A History of Sumer and Akkad*, London, 1910, p. 51.

nearer akin to the plainer form of garment worn by contemporary Sumerians." The divine head-dress differs also from the later mode in which single horns, encircling what may be a symbol of a date palm, give way to a plain conical head-dress with several pairs of horns as decoration.⁹ Page 75 presents a stamped terra cotta figure of a bearded god wearing a horned head-dress to which are attached the ears of a bull (Period of Gudea). On p. 112, figure 43 shows an Early Sumerian figure of a woman with Sumerian dress and coiffure. Under the caption "Dress," this book contains nothing on the head-dress of ordinary folk, thus signifying that people in general wore no head-dress at all.

With regard to the Semites, it must be said that, while head-dress existed, the wearing of it was not obligatory. According to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*,¹⁰ "a special covering for the head was not indispensable. The Semites often bound their bushy locks with a fillet,"¹¹ which varies from a single band (so often, e. g., Palestinian captives, 10th century) to a fourfold one, from a plain band to highly decorated diadems.¹² But the ordinary Semitic head-covering was a cloth (as opposed to the feathered ornament of Tirhaka's army, 7th century), which sometimes appears with the two ends tied in front, the third falling behind."

⁹ Horns suggest a relationship with powerful animals. In Hebrew, the word "horn" has various implications for which one may consult the lexica. Nowhere — unless I Ki. 22.11 be taken as such — does the horn figure as an element of dress. In the prayer book, the word is used with various significations.

¹⁰ Edition of 1910-1911, p. 229b, Article, "Costume."

¹¹ Such a fillet was also worn by Jews and especially by Jewesses, as this article will presently show. Of some bearing upon this matter may be the following passage from Charles M. Doughty's *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (reprinted Oct. 1930), p. 17: "The Wady Aly of Annezy: The women are not veiled. They mark their faces with some blue lines and spots which I have not seen in Arabia proper, and bind their doubled locks, combed upon their foreheads, with a fillet."

¹² The authorities cited are: W. M. Mueller, *Asien und Europa Nach Aegyptischen Denkmälern*, Leipzig, 1893, and E. Meyer, "Sumerier und Semiten in Babylonien" in the *Abhandlungen* of the University of Berlin, 1906.

Well known is the hat of the ancient Persians called in Greek, *karbasia* and resembling the comb of a cock.¹³ The talmudic-midrashic designation for this type of hat is כרבלתא which means cockscomb.¹⁴ But even more; in a phantastic account of a soul's reception in heaven,¹⁵ we read: "A righteous soul, to reach its place on high, flies heavenward not in a wordly sense but in a spiritual sense, attired in good spiritual deeds, wearing crown and coronet, a turban-sash and a fourfold fillet-pendant, an adorned robe and other proper apparel." This description is taken from a sacred Pahlavi text, and the Rabbis of the Talmud come near to speaking in like manner.¹⁶ The static orient revels in such flowers of rhetoric.

This brings us to the Israelites. A well known archaeologist,¹⁷ writing in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*,¹⁸ apprises us: "Neither the monuments nor the written documents of Biblical times give any information of value concerning head-gear. On the marble relief of Sennacherib the Israelites appear uncovered; and while on the Shalmeneser stele Jehu's ambassadors have head-coverings, these are evidently patterned after the Assyrian fashion. Only one passage of the older literature (I Ki. 20.31) makes mention of "ḥabalim" (חבלים) that are wound around the head;

¹³ Such may be, in Ber. 20a, the כרבלתא worn by women among the Cutheans. The 'Aruk of R. Nathan takes the word to mean "a red cloth." The word, however, implies some form of headwear resembling the comb of a cock. J. Bergmann in the *Monatschrift*, LXXXII, 373, calls it a "helmet."

¹⁴ See *Talmudische Archaeologie*, I, 549 and 606. This is to be distinguished from כרבלא* in Dan. 3.21. See San. 92b.

¹⁵ *The Bible of the World* by Robert O. Ballou and others, London, 1940, p. 624.

¹⁶ צדיקים יושבים ועטרותיהם בראשיהם ונהנים מזיו השכינה is given in Ber. 17a as a pearl from the mouth of Rab who was surely versed in Parsi theology which had, in his time, become the vogue. The dictum, which played such a role in the philosophical polemics of Maimonides, deserves to be quoted in full: "In the world to come, there is neither eating nor drinking nor procreation nor commerce nor envy nor hatred nor contention but" — and here follows what is quoted above in Hebrew. See Abot de R. Nathan, Version I, Chap. I, p. 3a and also *Talmudische Archaeologie*, III, 261.

¹⁷ W. Nowack in *Hebraeische Archaeologie*.

¹⁸ Vol. IV, p. 294.

these recall the Syrians on Egyptian monuments,¹⁹ who appear with a rope coiled around their long, flowing hair, as is still the custom here and there in Arabia. This custom, probably a very ancient one, did not obtain for long, since it afforded no protection against the sun.²⁰ It may be assumed, therefore, that even the ancient Hebrews had a type of head-covering still used by the Bedouin-Kaffiyah. The use of similar head coverings among the Hebrews seems to be indicated by the noun "*zanif*" (צניף) . . . as well as by the verb "*ḥabash*" (חבש) . . . Since the ancient Hebrews evidently knew nothing of the strict separation of men and women customary among the Moslems,²¹ the women wore veils²² only on certain occasions (Gen. 24.65; 38.14). Later on veils and gauze garments adopted from other nations apparently came into more general use (. . . Is. 3.16 ss.)." Approximately identical are the observations of Benziger at which we need not marvel.²³ From the meager information which the Bible offers on this subject, further details can hardly be expected.

In the Old Assyrian Law Code quoted by A. Jeremias, it is ordained that married women and widows, when appearing in public places, are required to veil their heads.²⁴ On the other hand, the harlot, ranking like a female slave is, under severe penalty, required to go "exposed." If a man wishes to make a "concealed" woman his lawful wife, he must perform the act

¹⁹ These figures have frequently been reproduced. See the works already quoted. See also, in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, the section "In Post-Biblical Times" written by Joseph Jacobs for the article "Costume." This article contains a beautifully colored plate of illustrations in which all of the men are shown with covered heads. The same plate, without colors, is reproduced by Allen H. Godbey in *The Lost Tribes, a Myth*, Durham, 1930. From those representations, Godbey, of course, derives inferences of his own.

²⁰ The small son of the Shunemite woman in II Ki. 4.9 was probably a victim of sunstroke. Cf. Isa. 49.10, and also the regret of the maiden in Cant. 1.6.

²¹ In modern times, there has been some relaxation of that "strictness."

²² On the subject of veils, one may consult: A. Jeremias, "Der Schleier von Sumer bis Heute," an exhaustive article which appeared in *Altes Orient XXXI* (1931); also R. P. R. de Vaux, "Sur le Voile des Femmes dans l'Orient Ancien" in *Revue Biblique*, New Series, XLIV (1935).

²³ *Hebraeische Archaeologie*, 3d. edit., p. 86 ff.

²⁴ Compare the case already cited, that of Tamar in Gen. 38.14.

of veiling her anew. This reminds us of a well known feature in the life of the Romans, for which, in a footnote, we quote in full the article "Nuptias" from Festus.²⁵ We shall find, in the course of our investigation, that a similar requirement rested upon the wife among the Jews. The custom, however, which is but a rite symbolizing the woman's new status, has no bearing upon modes of attire in general.

It is likewise exceptional when a distinctive head covering is worn by the soldier. On this point also, the Bible provides but meager hints. The Psalmist sings: "O God the Lord, the strength of my salvation, who hast screened my head in the day of battle" (Ps. 140.8). God shields the head of His anointed against the deadly blow. Both parts of the verse allude to the helmet, otherwise called *מָעַן*, "the defense of my head" (Ps. 60.9).²⁶ Though poetical phrases, these expressions are undoubtedly based on actual usage. But, even so, the passages refer only to the king, "the anointed one." Nothing obliges us to infer that such a "helmet of salvation" was worn by any others, even by warriors. In view of *מֵרָאשׁ פִּרְעוֹת אוֹיֵב* in Deut. 32.42 and of *בִּפְרֹעַ פִּרְעוֹת* in Judg. 5.2 which reputable scholars have interpreted to mean that warriors, when bound by a vow, would let their hair grow in time of war,²⁷ it seems probable that, as a rule, Israelites went into battle bareheaded. We can, in no event, draw any inferences about customs in general. Concerning the Greeks, we know that, while they wore helmets in battle, they were distinguished otherwise for the beautiful dressing of their hair. Curiously, foreigners recognized Greeks by this characteristic just as Polish Jews are recognized by their *Pe'ot*. (The opposite trait appears in the group of nations mentioned in Jer. 9.25.) In

²⁵ Nuptias dictas esse — Aelius et Cincius, quia flammeo caput nubentis "obvolvatur," quod antiqui "obnuere" vocarint; ob quam causam legem quoque Praenestinam jubere caput ejus "obnubere," qui parentem necavisset, quod est "obvolvere." — Sextus Pompeius Festus, "E libris de verborum significatu," apud Bruns, *Fontes Juris Romani*, 7th edit. Tuebingen, 1909, p. 18. Also, among the Jews, the accused and the cursed had to be "covered." See below.

■ Cf. "Helmet of salvation" in Isa. 59.17, *כֹּבֶעַת יְשׁוּעָה*.

²⁷ Robertson Smith, Wellhausen, and Schwalbe, as quoted by Gesenius, *sub verbo*.

the inscription on the mausoleum of Darius I, the Greeks are called *Yauna takabara*.²⁸ This is probably meant by the *blurit* (בלורית) frequently mentioned in the Talmud and the Midrash as a type of hair arrangement to which the Jew is forbidden to resort.²⁹ Such would preclude the likelihood that a covering for the head was customary.

At this point, we must mention an interesting incident, if not precisely of biblical times, yet of Maccabean times. One of the innovations forced upon the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes was the requirement that young men "wear a hat."³⁰ This aroused the strenuous opposition of the pious who pronounced the custom contrary to Jewish law and practice. "Wear a hat" is the rendering of the authorized version, although Charles translates, "wear the petasus," that is, a broad brimmed felt hat which, as a sign of Hermes, may have proved unusually offensive.³¹ Such accounts are worth collecting as indications of the way in which the staunch Jew was averse to everything which he regarded as an approach to idolatry. Today, as already noted, a similar attitude signifies resistance to Christianity.

The Epistle of Jeremy contains the notice:³² "And in their temples the priests sit on seats, having their clothes rent, and their heads and beards shaven, and nothing upon their heads." Charles permits us to infer an original יבכו קרועי ובבתיהם הכהנים ובבתיהם הכהנים יבכו קרועי ראש וזקן וראשם פרוע. We have here again the Hebrew

²⁸ That is, Ionians with crowns of hair (κρωβύλοι). Justi, "Geschichte Irans" in *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, II, 455.

²⁹ More is said on this subject in *Talmudische Archaeologie*, I, 193, 197, with notes on same. See also my *Additamenta ad Aruch Completum*, p. 93.

³⁰ II Macc. 4.12. Edit. Sweete: καὶ τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν ὑποτάσσω ἀπὸ πέτασον ἡγάγεν. The critical apparatus indicates a reading: ἐφῆβων. In the *Stephani Thesaurus* where, surprisingly, II Macc. is not quoted, our word has been explained as ἐφῆβων φόρημα, "the attire of youngsters." The parallel passage is in I Macc. 1, 11-15. Cf. A. T. Helmstead, "Wearing the Hat" in *The American Journal of Theology*, Jan. 1914, p. 94 ff.

³¹ A deep-seated aversion to מרקוליס, Mercury, and his cult is noticeable in the Mishna. The passages are listed in my *Loehnwoerter*, II, 353. On San. VII, 6, see my *Sanhedrin-Makkot*, Giessen, 1933, pp. 226, 227.

³² Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, Oxford, 1913, I, 604.

root פָּרַע whose form פָּרוּעַ can mean "unbound" (i. e., with unwound turban), which was forbidden to priests among the Hebrews (Lev. 21.10, Ezek. 44.20).

In all of these inquiries, we must keep in view rituals practiced outside of the Hebrew domain. Among the Romans, priests, while offering sacrifices, would have the neck and the back of the head covered with a toga (*velato capite*).³³ On the other hand, priests among the Greeks would function *aperto capite*.³⁴

In biblical times, Hebrew priests were required to wear special garments including headgear (Ex. 28.4, 40). The intent of this, as Lauterbach rightly observes, may have been that of distinguishing the priests of the Temple in Jerusalem from those of some heathen deity. This hardly warrants the inference that the head has to be covered in all of our religious ceremonies. The priests of old functioned in the Temple and at the altar barefoot. Yet who has ever drawn the inference that one is today obliged to perform religious ceremonies barefoot? Lauterbach's view, while undoubtedly valid, needs one small correction. Certain rulings in the Mishna (Meg. IV, 8) can be understood only on the assumption that persons officiating in the synagogue would seek to imitate the *Kohen* of old in various particulars, among them, that of refusing to officiate in sandals or in colored clothes. The Mishna reproves such idiosyncracies.³⁵ Striking evidence that priests might tarry in the Temple bareheaded is furnished by a Baraitha in Yoma 25a which describes the daily allotment of functions in the Temple. The priests would assemble in "The Chamber of Hewn Stone" (לשכת הנוזת) which was

³³ Arnobius, III, 43. Roughly, the *Tallit* of the Jews corresponds to the toga of the Romans. Hence the numerous ritual acts in which the *Tallit* was worn. The *Tallit* was placed over the head.

³⁴ Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, VI, 539. Additional evidence is supplied by Leopold Loew in his *Gesammelte Schriften*, Szegedin, 1890, II, 313. The word *Flamines*, the name for Roman priests, is said to be derived from *filamines* or *pilamines*, forms of cloth with which the priests would be covered. Cf. *A flammeo capitis tegumento* and the citation from Festus in note 25 above. The Persian priests would similarly, when performing sacrificial rites, cover the head with a kind of tiara.

³⁵ See my *Synagogale Altertümer*, p. 170. My view is quoted by Rabinowitz in his edition of *Mishna Megillah* (London).

a kind of basilica and, standing in a circular arrangement, would await their "lot." Thereupon the supervisor would enter and remove, from the head of one of them, the turban (מצנפת). This indicates that the priest in question stood bareheaded, perhaps not in the Temple itself but in a prominent annex of the Temple, and that is the essential point. Proponents of mandatory head covering would, of course, contend that the priest, deprived of his turban, still retained his "cap," as if a priest of old resembled a Polish Jew of today. Under such presuppositions, argument becomes futile.

From our literary sources, one thing seems evident, namely, that covering the head, thereby concealing the face, is expected of the mourner (אבל). Many scriptural passages vouch for this "rite."³⁶ With covered head and with bare feet, David flees from his son, Absalom.³⁷ The biblical expression reminds us of the poignant Jewish lament over the destruction of Jerusalem, in the נחם for the Ninth of Ab, taken from the Talmud: "In mourning for that she is childless, laid waste as to her dwellings, despoised in the downfall of her glory, and desolate through the loss of her inhabitants; she sitteth with her head covered like a barren woman who has not borne."³⁸ The same apparently occurs in the story of Tamar (II Sam. 13.19): "And Tamar put ashes אפר on her head, and rent her garment . . . and she laid her hand on her head, and went her way, crying aloud as she went." With certain variations of phrase, the same rite is indicated in Josh. 7.6, I Sam. 4.12, and in Lam. 2.10. There may also be references to the custom in Amos 2.7.³⁹

In Esth. 7.8, "They covered Haman's face," allusion has been found to the Persian mode of covering the head or the face at the imposing of the sentence of death.⁴⁰ But either a different

³⁶ See dictionaries and concordances *sub verbo*, חָפָה.

³⁷ II Sam. 15.30. Cf. Jer. 14.3 and Esth. 6.12.

³⁸ Singer's *Prayer Book*, London, 1935, p. 49.

³⁹ See Driver *ad loc.* However, see also Marti's *Festschrift*, p. 278.

⁴⁰ See *The Oxford Hebrew Lexicon*, also V. Ryssel in Kautzsch's *Old Testament*, as quoted in Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, II, 316, *sub verbo*, "Head." All of these authors were unaware that, as quoted in Mandelkern's *Concordance*, *sub verbo* חָפָה, already Abraham ibn Ezra had proposed this explanation.

text⁴² or a different interpretation is indicated by the Septuagint.⁴³ Hasting's Dictionary⁴³ reports Siegfried-Stade⁴⁴ as translating *Hamans Gesicht verschleierte verduesterte sich*. The objection is raised that nowhere is חפה used of covering the face. It is always used of the head.⁴⁵ In connection with the face, the verbs used are בָּסָה⁴⁶ (Job 9.24, 23.17) or הסתיר (Ex. 3.6, Job 13.24).⁴⁷ Therefore, according to Hastings, Esth. 7.8 must be emended to read הִפְרוּ. Now it happens that this emendation is fairly old. Mandelkern, in his *Concordance*, takes it from Jacob Reifmann. The word itself appears in Ps. 34.6. I propose that we decide the issue simply by reading, in Esth. 7.8 [וּפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ חָפוּיִם], as in Esth. 6.12, פָּנִים, "face" being here in the singular and meaning "head."⁴⁸ That would make the terminal words of the sentence similar to II Sam. 15.30. The tiny ם may have fallen out by homoioteleuton (see beginning of the next verse). It would accordingly follow that covering the head included covering the face, and that is entirely natural.

Whether or not modern languages, when they adopt biblical phraseology, extend the sense of covering the head to include covering the face, I am uninformed. In German we say: *Weinend* (or *klagend*) *das Haupt verhüllen*;" and nothing further. The brothers Grimm,⁴⁹ in their usual manner, quote a verse from a poem by Uhland (*Gedichte*, 287):

Ἄμαν δὲ ἀκούσας διετράπη τῷ προσώπῳ. On διετράπη see the *Stephani Thesaurus* where the explanation is offered: "pudore injecto deterreo" or "confundo." Different is the rendering in Josephus, *Antiquities*, XI. 6. 11 which, of course, throws no light on the question of covering the head. An exact parallel to the text in Esther is the saying of R. Phineas ben Ya'ir: "Since the Temple has been destroyed, the free born and the scholarly have had to cover their heads (וחפּוּ ראשם) in shame" [Soṭ. IX, 15].

⁴² The Vulgate reads: "*Operuerunt faciem ejus*."

⁴³ See note 40 *supra*.

⁴⁴ *Hebraeisches Woerterbuch*, Leipzig, 1893.

⁴⁵ Cf. Esth. 6.12, II Sam. 15.30, Jer. 14.3.

⁴⁶ Job 9.24, 23.17, and the like.

⁴⁷ Ex. 3.6, Job 13.24. סתַר פָּנִים in Job 24.15 is of different import and has no bearing in this connection.

⁴⁸ Sometimes the subject is in the plural and the predicate in the singular as in Prov. 3.18b.

⁴⁹ Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Woerterbuch*, Leipzig, 1877, Vol. IV, Part II, p. 600.

doch den heitern Pilgern folgen/andre barfuss and bestaubt/
angetan mit härenen Hemden/Asche tragend auf dem Haupt

It cannot be overlooked that this poem appropriates the biblical mourning rites *in toto*. Similar usages are still practiced by the Jews of today, with the exception of casting ashes upon the head and wearing hair shirts or sackcloth. Logically our conservatives should adhere to those latter usages likewise. We shall presently notice that putting ashes on the head was still the vogue in the period of the Talmud.⁵⁰ Should not our conservatives, to be consistent, follow that practice today? Mourning rites, despite a tenacity like that of marriage rites, do not forever retain their vigor. Eventually they survive only in the records of the past. Consider the biblical vestments of widowhood (Gen. 20, Gen. 18.14, 19; Cf. Ruth 3.3.) Could such attire be made compulsory for any Jewish widow of today? What obtains today is but a voluntary following of convention. And this shall be our ultimate standpoint also with regard to the question we are now treating.

We return now to the subject of headwear in general. The matter came to involve points of social status. The brothers Grimm (*ibid.* p. 601) report the expectation that an inferior should bare his head and bow, while freemen and rulers kept their heads covered as befitted their rank. The Germans undoubtedly imported this custom from the Orient. O. Schrader apprises us that, with some exceptions, both North Europeans and South Europeans went bareheaded until they copied the oriental usage;⁵¹ the terminology employed both in Northern Europe and in Southern Europe shows strong oriental influence. "All in all we get the impression that the custom of wearing headgear, before spreading throughout Europe, originated in the East. Like the reaction among primitives of today, when coming into contact with European civilization, covering the head was

⁵⁰ The Hebrew term is אפר מקלה, ashes from vegetable substances such as wood used in roasting. Ashes on the head are part of the ritual for fast days. See Ta'an. II, 1 and its commentaries. Occasions of public distress, private mourning, banishment, or appearance before a court of law have, as regards clothing and various other rites, certain common characteristics.

⁵¹ O. Schrader, *Reallexikon der Indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, 1917-1923. *Sub verbo* "Kopfbedeckung" (I, 623).

probably first adopted by the privileged, by priests (especially for the deities), by kings, and by nobles; later expanding, little by little, among wider circles of the population." I think that this disposes of theories which allege a fundamental disparity between Gentile bareheadedness and Jewish head covering. On the contrary, the two are parts of the same process. This *Minhag* first adopted by priests, kings, nobles and, as we have seen, by warriors, descended slowly into other social strata. The average individual is eager to put himself on a level with the high and mighty. A good example within Judaism is the popular wearing of the *Tallit* (fringed, of course, with *Zizit*) and the donning of *Tefillin*, both of which practices were originally limited to the Scribes, Pharisees, or Rabbis. Partly as a result of the striving to rise in the social scale, and partly under steady prompting by the Rabbis, the '*Amme*' *Ha-arez*, the ignorant, at first loath to follow those rituals, became at length acquainted with them, fond of them, and zealous for them. The same process is observable in the world of letters and learning; the advance of peasants and craftsmen into "culture" is too familiar to need mention. Something analogous happened in the case of headwear. Originally a token of rank, eventually it became the attire of the multitude.

We have seen how, in later times, the mourners' rite of putting dust on the head grew obsolete. Nor is this surprising, because even in Judaism of the most rigid kind, rites do not remain unaltered. *Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis*. Many of the mourning rituals mentioned in my *Talmudische Archaeologie*⁵² have disappeared, among them the custom of overturning beds and other furniture in the room in which the person had died (כפיית המטה). For this practice, vivid testimony has been preserved in the apocryphal IV Ezra.⁵³ The ancient

⁵² *Talmudische Archaeologie*, II, 70 ff. See also II, 63 on the rite of חולצין כתר.

⁵³ *Die Griechisch-Christlichen Schriftsteller der Ersten Drei Jahrhunderte*, herausgegeben von der Kirchenväterkommission der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Leipzig, 1924: *Die Apokalypsen des Esra und des Baruch in Deutscher Gestalt*. In Esra, vision IV, 3, v. 2 [II Esdras 9.37], pp. 132-134, there appears a mourning woman whose "clothes were rent" and who "had

rite of uncovering the arm by pulling the cloth from the shoulder⁵⁴ was discontinued centuries ago. Various ceremonies once prevailed in connection with and by the aid of *חבר עיר*, the Council of the Town. Since such a magistracy no longer exists, those ceremonies have been abandoned.⁵⁵ Peculiar was the marriage custom of putting ashes on the head of the bridegroom (B. B. 60b)⁵⁶ or a piece of black cloth upon the heads of the groom and the bride, as if they were mourners.⁵⁷ In modern Jewish life, no trace of this remains.

We shall now consider the affinity between marriage ceremonies and mourning ceremonies, both of which entail the covering of the head.

II. HEAD COVERING OF MEN IN THE TALMUDIC PERIOD

Let us first take note of a significant remark attributed to the Apostle Paul, a remark which seems to have determined, for all time, the practice which was to prevail in the churches and which, according to some Jewish scholars, influenced Jewish custom *in contrariam partem*.

In II Cor. 3.15, 16, the Apostle, using a kind of Midrash

ashes upon her head" (read *σποδός* not *κόνις*). The account continues, 4 v. 7 [II Esdras 10.2] "Then we all overthrew the lights." The editor of *Die Apokalypsen des Esra und des Baruch* takes the Hebrew original to have been *מנורות* and *דחה*. This is not impossible, but the expression in Rabbinic Hebrew would have been *כפה*. An exact parallel to this rite is the situation in Revelation, 2.5, whose Greek text it would be well to consult and of which the English reads: "Or else I come to thee, and will move thy candlestick, out of its place." *Toratan shel Rish'onim*, I, 33, still enumerates among the rites of mourning: (1) *פריעת הראש*, (2) *קריעה*, (3) *כפיית המטה* (the opposite of *זקיפת המטה*). For (1), see Gen. Rab. C, Theodor-Albeck edit. p. 1291.

⁵⁴ Yer. Ber. IX, 13a top. Cf. Isa. 52.10. On all of this, see A. Buechler in *Wiener Zeitschrift fuer die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XVIII, 97 ff.

⁵⁵ See my *חבר עיר* "Ein Kapitel aus Altjuedischer Kommunalverfassung" reprinted from the *Jahrbuch der Juedischen Literarischen Gesellschaft*, Frankfurt am Main, 1926. See especially p. 43 ff.

⁵⁶ Again it is Lauterbach to whom we are indebted for a thorough treatment of this subject. See *HUCA*, II, 359, note 14, where additional references are supplied.

⁵⁷ Kolbo, *Hilkot Tish'ah Be'Ab*, p. 67c.

concerning the veil with which Moses would cover his face (Ex. 34.33), exhorts the new believers to act differently. "But even unto this day, whensoever Moses is read, a veil lieth upon their heart. But whensoever it shall turn unto the Lord, the veil is taken away." May we infer from this that the Jews, in the time of Paul, wore veils upon their faces "whensoever Moses is read," that is, in the synagogue? The answer is "No." In the passage quoted, "veil" is used figuratively. Moreover, a veil does not cover the head. An English commentary⁵⁸ to the passage in Exodus reads:

An interesting reminiscence of this is said to be seen in the Jewish synagogue, where the priest, in pronouncing the Aaronic benediction (Num. 6.24-26) veils his face with his tallith (see on Num. 15.37-41) lest the utterance of the words should bring up the glory that shone in the face of Moses and strike the people dead.⁵⁹ St. Paul refers to this incident, II Cor. 3.7-18, and evidently understands that Moses wore the veil in order to hide the *fading* of the glory in his face. (Cf. vv. 7, 13).⁶⁰

To indicate the correct interpretation of Paul's remark lies beyond my sphere. I venture nonetheless to say that the passage in Exodus does not at all refer to any fading of the glory in the face of Moses. To the contrary, the rays emanating from the countenance of Moses impressed the people as so awe-inspiring, so frightening as to make them recoil, their experience being somewhat akin to that of Moses himself at the Sinaic theophany.

Every man praying or prophesying, having his head covered, dishonoreth his head. But every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her head uncovered dishonoureth her head; for it is one and the same thing as if she were shaven. For if a woman is not veiled, let her also

⁵⁸ *A Commentary on the Holy Bible*, by various writers, edited by J. R. Dumelow, London, 1926.

⁵⁹ That sentence certainly looks like a quotation but I could not determine its source. Perhaps the writer is thinking of Hag. 16a which cautions that, if one looks into the face of a functioning Aaronide, one will become afflicted with sore eyes. For more on this subject, see Gaguine, *Keter Shem Tob* (London), 1934, p. 229.

⁶⁰ In English versions of the Bible, "vail" is the old fashioned spelling and "veil" the newer one. On the entire question see Julian Morgenstern, "Moses With the Shining Face," *HUCA*, II, 1925, pp. 1-27.

be shorn: but if it is a shame to a woman to be shorn or shaven, let her be veiled. For a man indeed ought not to have his head veiled, forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God: but the woman is the glory of the man.

We ignore the trend of mind revealed in this command and look only for the underlying facts. What was it that Paul saw in the synagogue, and what was it that he wished to have altered? I agree entirely with Lauterbach who says (p. 592): "He merely stated the Palestinian Jewish practice of his time and did not express any new or un-Jewish doctrine." "It is a mistake," Lauterbach goes on to say — "and one that involves a reasoning in a circle — to interpret this passage in the Epistle as aiming to sever the Christian worshippers from the synagogue by distinguishing their appearance at worship from that of Jewish worshippers, and then to assume that it was Paul's insistence upon his followers worshipping without a hat that, in turn, caused the Jews to attach great importance to the covering of the head during religious service"⁶¹ Paul could not have meant by his saying to put himself and his followers in opposition to Jewish custom or traditional practice, since what he recommends actually was the Jewish practice of his days."⁶² Indeed, attaching any other significance to Paul's words is unwarranted. And this puts us on firm ground: bareheadedness for men, head-covering for women; both, however, in connection with the synagogue or some other sacred activity such as that of "prophesying." But this leaves us uninformed regarding activities which were private or other than sacred, regarding

⁶¹ Lauterbach, at this point, corrects some of the flaws of writers who preceded him. He quotes W. Rosenau, *Jewish Ceremonial Institutions and Customs* (Baltimore, 1912). He points out the errors of M. Gaster in his article on the subject in *The Jewish Chronicle* of March 17, 1893, p. 17, replying, I think, to the query of D. Rabinovicz (of London): "Warum beten die Juden mit bedecktem Haupte" in Rahmer's *Juedisches Literaturblatt*, XXII, 1893, 158. Further literature is listed in my *Qadmoniyot Ha-Talmud*, II, 2, 267 ff.

⁶² Differing from Jonathan Altar in his *Antwort auf das Sendschreiben eines Afrikanischen Rabbi* (Prague, 1826, p. 30 ab), the pamphlet directed against the well known Hungarian reformist, Aaron Chorin. For a full account of the matter see "Aaron Chorin" in the *Gesammelte Schriften* of Leopold Loew (Szegedin, 1890), a dissertation of which this article makes abundant use.

which the assertions in the rabbinical sources — admirably collected in Strack-Billerbeck⁶³ — are equivocal and far from unanimous.

As already noted, a wrapping (עטיפה) was required for the performance of any significant act, and such covering was achieved by the familiar *Tallit* extended over the entire body. In Moed Kāṭon 24a, Samuel (died 254 C. E.) remarks: "A wrapping (עטיפה) which is not in the manner of the Ishmaelites (= Arabs) is no wrapping." There follows an example and the explanation that the concealment must include גובי דדיקנא.⁶⁴ The point involved here is the rite of mourning in connection with which a "wrapping" was imperative. But while this requirement applies to everyone, that which follows pertains only to persons of high standing. We must observe that a wrapping was inseparable from every weighty act i. e. every act imbued with sacredness and solemnity and, according to the Jewish social structure of those days, the principals in such acts were Rabbis and scholars and, indeed, only the most prominent among them.

A wrapping was prescribed for the judge (דיין) at the opening of a trial,⁶⁵ for the participants at the nullification of certain vows, הפרת נדרים (Ned. 77b), for one who recited grace in a company at a meal,⁶⁶ for one who visited the sick,⁶⁷ for one offering prayer (meaning perhaps the one who led in prayer),⁶⁸ and for persons in similar situations. The sense and the spirit of these prescriptions can be gauged from the striking act of R.

⁶³ *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, Vol. III, Munich, 1826, pp. 423-434.

⁶⁴ [The chin? The dimples of the chin?] See Rashi.

⁶⁵ Sab. 10a. This wrap worn by a judge is presupposed in Sifre Deut. No. 13, on the words וידעים לשבטיכם in Deut. 1.13.

⁶⁶ "One who reclines while eating shall, before reciting grace, enwrap himself. Thereby he comes to resemble the ministrant angels as described in Isa. 6.2" (Yer. Ber. VII end). Later we shall notice that the one who leads at grace places, upon his head, a *Sudar*.

⁶⁷ Sab. 43b. Presumably because the visitor would quote and interpret various consoling passages from Scripture. The word יושב implies a scholar. [The reference should be Ned. 40a.]

⁶⁸ In accordance with the statement in R. H. 17b: "This verse (Ex. 34.6) shows that God wraps Himself up like one who leads the congregation at devotion." On the offering of prayer, Sab. 10a.

Johanen ben Zakkai who, while on a journey, was asked to discourse on "matters of 'the Chariot.'" ⁶⁹ R. Johanen alighted from his ass, wrapped himself up, sat down, under an olive tree, upon a stone, and then startled an inquiring disciple with the remark: "Should I ride upon an ass when, the discussion pertaining to 'Matters of the Chariot,' the Divine Presence (שכינה) is with us and ministering angels attend us?" The belief is here evidenced that such actions were hallowed by the Divine Presence before Whom one is filled with awe and reverence requiring that one be suitably dressed. It is reported of R. Judah ben Ilai (about 150 C. E.) that he would prepare for the Sabbath by washing his face, hands, and feet in hot water and wrapping himself in linen garments, fringed with *Zizit*, until he looked like an angel ministrant (Sab. 25b). Similarly would R. Hanina (about 225 C. E.) enwrap himself while awaiting "Queen Sabbath" (*ibid.* 119a).

Nothing like this is reported of ordinary people. Always it refers to Rabbis and scholars. In one instance the type of persons is specified. These are, namely, the *Ḥaberim*, members of a special order ⁷⁰ devoted to a particularly rigid observance of the Law, especially to the levitical laws and the laws of tithing the crops. In times of drought when, despite public prayers and fasting, rain would fail to descend, those colleagues would, in token of mourning, suspend their greetings of one another. *Ḥaberim* would sit wrapped up as if they were bereaved or banished, and would deport themselves like the rebuked of the Lord until Heaven would vouchsafe its pity (Ta'an. 14b). Plainly this precludes such behavior on the part of ordinary people. Between the *Ḥaberim*, on the one hand, and the '*Ammey Ha-'arez* (people of low status), on the other, there are actually features of contrast.

⁶⁹ In Hebrew מעשה מרכבה. Such was the appellation for mysteries so profound as to be communicable only to persons of "wisdom and spontaneous grasp" (Ḥag. II, 1).

⁷⁰ It would take us too far afield were we to dwell at length upon this feature of Jewish life during the Second Commonwealth and the subsequent period. Suffice it to refer to L. Finkelstein, *The Pharisees*, Philadelphia, 1938, I, 76.

Someone has inferred that, where no *Tallit* was available, people would, as a sign of submission to the Deity, cover at least their heads.⁷¹ Even so, the custom must have been limited to the learned and must have taken considerable time to develop. Something indeed of significance can be found in a Midrash whose author may have been R. Isaac (about 300 C. E.). Starting with Micah 6.3, "O My People, what have I done unto thee? And wherein have I wearied thee? Testify against Me," the Aggadist offers this parable: "A king sends a proclamation (*prostagma* in Greek) to a province. How do the inhabitants respond? They receive the announcement standing, with uncovered heads (פורעין ראשיהם). They read it with fear and trembling, with terror and trepidation. But God says: 'My children, my proclamation is the *Shema*'. I will put you to no trouble. I do not ask that you read this bareheaded and standing but "when thou sittest in thy house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up" ' (Deut. 6.7).⁷² Such would seem to indicate that reciting the *Shema* with covered head was the custom prevalent at the time. But we must not be deceived by appearances. All that the passage implies is the absence of compulsion. One may recite the *Shema* just as one happens to be attired at the time, with head covered or uncovered, sitting in the house, walking by the way, and the like.⁷³

Further support for a negative conclusion comes from the fact that it is deemed abhorrent to recite any prayer while naked. Should one happen to be standing naked in a field (a pos-

⁷¹ Strack-Billerbeck, *ibid.*, p. 425.

⁷² Pesikta, 77a; Tanhuma 'Emor, 10 (13 in Buber's Tanhuma). On the word *πρόσταγμα*, see *Lehnwoerter*, II, 483. On the political implications of the passage, see I. Ziegler, *Die Koenigsgleichnisse des Midrasch*, Breslau, 1903, p. 131. In Lev. Rab. XXVII, 7, the Greek word has been replaced by כהבין. Strack-Billerbeck, *ibid.*, p. 426, infer from the text that the covered head at the reciting of the *Shema* was matter of course. I cannot agree with this. To the contrary, the text indicates that, in the reciting of the *Shema*, the Jews exercised utmost freedom. The *Shema* could be recited with head covered or uncovered, just as one pleased.

⁷³ Any restriction would be out of accord with Micah 6.3, the passage with which the discussion opened.

sibility in the Palestinian climate) or should one perform any work, while naked, it is required that one resort to a covering of straw or chaff or anything else available.⁷⁴ The continuation of the passage makes clear that there has to be concealment of the *pudenda*, whether any other part of the body, especially the head, be covered or not. This renders somewhat ridiculous the scruples of today's conservative Jew who would omit reciting the *Shema'* or any other piece of liturgy or would convulsively cover his head with his hands sooner than pronounce the sacred words while bareheaded. The Mishna (Ber. III, 5) prescribes that should someone, while bathing, find it needful to hurry in order to get the *Shema'* recited before sunrise, the thing to do is, if possible, to leave the bath, to cover oneself (יִתְכַסֶּה), by all means to cover the *pudenda*), and to recite those paragraphs. If time be insufficient, one should do the reciting while immersed in water. This certainly precludes covering the head.

Among the acts to be performed when one rises in the morning, Ber. 60b ordains:⁷⁵ "When putting the *Sudar* on the head, one is to say, 'Blessed be . . . Who adorns (or crowns) Israel with glory.'" This would seem to imply that a "cap" was part of every man's apparel. Even so, the passage would, at most, give evidence of a custom prevailing in Babylonia: the passage, as can be seen from context and content, is of Babylonian origin. But the fact is that this custom relates likewise only to Rabbis and scholars because, generally speaking, the Talmud and cognate literature deals mainly with the ways and manners of those circles. The very passage before us intimates this because,

⁷⁴ Tos. Ber. II, 15 (Zuckerman, p. 4); Ber. 24b.

⁷⁵ On the entire benedictory system, there exists a vast literature. To mention but a fragment of it: L. Loew, *Gesammelte Schriften*, IV, 61; A. Berliner, *Randbemerkungen zum Täglichen Gebetbuch*, Vol. I, Berlin, 1909, p. 15; M. Liber in *Revue des Études Juives*, LXII, 285 ff.; D. Kaufmann, in *Monatschrift fuer die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, XXXVII, 14 ff. On Men. 43b, see Taylor, *Sayings*, Second edit., pp. 15, 26, 139. The paragraph (עוֹטָה עוֹטֵר) does not appear in Amram or Abudarham (See the Ehrenreich edition, Cluj, 5683, p. 117; also the editor's remarks on p. 166 and Baer's *Siddur* עֲבוֹדַת יִשְׂרָאֵל (*ad loc.*). Recently I myself contributed some critical notes on this point in J. Porton, *Bible Studies and Jewish Ideals*, Leeds, 1941, p. 159.

in the first place, the *'Ammey Ha-'Areẓ* were presumed to be incapable of reciting those benedictions and, in the second place, all that follows applies to scholars exclusively, such as "tying on the shoes," and putting on *Zizit* and *Tefillin*, all of them insignia of the scholarly class. As regards the *Sudar*, proofs abound which show conclusively that the *Sudar* was worn by scholars only. The word סודר is explained as a *Notariḳon* of ליראיו סוד ה' (Sab. 77b), "The counsel of the Lord is with them that fear Him," (Ps. 25.14). Pes. 111b contains the sentence: "Your *Sudar*, Sir, looks like that of a scholar," on which Rashi comments that scholars only were wearers of the *Sudar*.⁷⁶ A passage in *Ḳid.* 8a observes: "R. Kahana, being a man of importance, a *Sudar* is something that he needs."⁷⁷ A similar object was worn by R. Assi (*Ber.* 51a) and by R. Joseph (*Moed Katan* 24a) — always Rabbis and always in Babylonia. For those countries, the *Sudar* which can be regarded as a species of turban (concerning which we shall speak later), was a natural form of headwear. Another mode of attire, the *Kumtha*, כומתא, is mentioned only once, and that, in connection with a scholar, a scholar sitting at home, indoors (*Sab.* 147a). Once, *Kumtha* and *Sudar* are mentioned together (*'Er.* 84b), again with reference to Babylonia. Either the one was worn or the other; never the two of them together⁷⁸ and when, in summer, the weather grew hot, people would remove those coverings from their heads (see Rashi).

In our sources, the *Sudar* (Latin, *sudarium*)⁷⁹ is used extensively and applied to various objects. To make the word mean "turban," we would look for the specification סודר של ראש "*Sudar*

⁷⁶ For details regarding the *Sudar*, see my *Ḳadmoniyot Ha-Talmud*, II, 2, 269, where, however, instead of Pes. 101b, the reference should be Pes. 111b. [Rashi's remark is on Sab. 77b.]

⁷⁷ R. Kahana is reported to have placed a *Sudar* on his head at the ceremony of redeeming the first-born. See the marginal notes to the passage in *Ḳid.* 8a. The *Pidyon Ha-Ben* must therefore be added to the solemn occasions for which one had to don a wrapping.

⁷⁸ As against the view of A. S. Herschberg. See *Kadmoniyot loc. cit.*

⁷⁹ See my *Lehnwoerter*, II, 373 on importations from the Greek, the Syriac, and the Arabic.

worn on the head," just as we hear of a *Sudar* worn on the neck or a *Sudar* worn on the arms.⁸⁰ Unfortunately, this specification is nowhere to be found, unless we depend upon the reading of a famous mediaeval authority who quotes from Sifre,⁸¹ where the point to a halakic passage is that "the *Sudar* for the head" does not constitute a coat to which it is necessary to attach *Zizit*. It would be exceedingly odd to have *Zizit* four in number, dangling from one's skull.

We are brought somewhat closer to a solution by a statement in Ned. 30b which reports that, while men have their heads sometimes uncovered and sometimes covered, women's heads are covered always and children's heads are never covered.⁸² This would seem to be conclusive though, even taken literally, the passage merely indicates the custom prevalent in Babylonia, that of Palestine, as already emphasized, being different. The statement quoted appears in the Babylonian Gemara by way of an interpretation of the Mishna, Ned. III, 8. But the interpretation is erroneous. Lauterbach (p. 591) is not warranted in saying: "The Mishnah . . . takes it for granted that men go bareheaded and only women and children cover their head," when he continues by saying: "The remark in the Gemara . . . וקטנים לעולם מגול cannot be harmonized with the plain meaning of the Mishnah, unless it refers only to infants or reflects a different Babylonian custom." What Lauterbach takes for granted is not identical with that which the Mishna takes for granted. The point of the Mishna is not whether the head is covered or uncovered. The force of the Mishna is that when anyone, making a vow, uses the words שחורי הראש "black-headed," his self-imposed restriction includes men, all kinds of men, bald-headed men and gray-headed men but does not include women and

⁸⁰ For sources, see *Lehnwoerter*, loc. cit.

⁸¹ Sifre Deut. Chap. 234, p. 117a in Friedmann, p. 267 in Finkelstein, quoted in Kaftor Uferah Chap. 60 — in the Luncz edition, under the running head פרט לסודר של ראש.

⁸² We discard the commentaries of Rashi, Asheri, and R. Nissim because their interpretations altogether follow the halakic manner. When Rashi asserts that the head covering of women is always white, he makes a statement for which there is even no halakic need or warrant.

children.⁸³ The words שחורי הראש refer only to men, "black-headed ones" being a current phrase equivalent to "adult males." What the *Halakah* means is that current usage is decisive. *Usus est tyrannus*.

We must recognize that שחורי הראש is used not literally but conventionally; it is a stock phrase of the Mishna. חשחורת is, in fact, an old Babylonian term.⁸⁴ As reported by Leonard A. King, "The phrase the black-headed ones, which is of frequent occurrence in the later texts, clearly originated as a description of the Semites, in contradistinction to the Sumerians with their shaven heads."⁸⁵ If therefore anything can be inferred from that Mishna in Ned. III, 8, it is that the Semites, including the Jews, were known as "the blackheaded," which does not astonish us. The Gemara retains a lingering surmise that "the blackheaded" were adult males who must also have been bareheaded, while the brunet complexion of the children was not so pronounced.

A piece of evidence apparently on the side of those who deem head covering traditional is furnished by a story which ends with the words ש"מ נילוי הראש עזות חקיפא היא "which shows that bareheadedness is extreme impudence." These words come from Kallah Rabbati.⁸⁶ The story, as recounted in this text, relates that, once upon a time, two youngsters passed by in the presence of some scholars, one of the youngsters with head bare and the other with head covered. The former elicited the severe censure just quoted. Something similar which is related in the Toledot Jeshu, the apocryphal "Life of Jesus," has attained considerable popularity and note.⁸⁷ Lauterbach bestows upon the passage

⁸³ An exact translation of the prefix ב to words following the terms אסור and מותר is not easy. [In English it can be rendered "as regards."] The halakic rule about current usage reads: בנדרים הלך אחר לשון בני אדם.

⁸⁴ F. Perles in the *Schwarz Jubelschrift*, p. 309. Also noted in *Additamenta ad Librum Aruch Completum*, p. 394, where also will be found further remarks on the root שחר.

⁸⁵ *A History of Sumer and Akkad*, London, 1910, p. 40. This is the work quoted *supra*, p. 124.

⁸⁶ Wilna edition of the Talmud, 52a. The passage was formerly accessible in *Kallah* edited in חמס קונטרסים by N. Coronel, Vienna, 1864, p. 3b.

⁸⁷ Krauss, *Leben Jesu nach Juedischen Quellen*, Berlin, 1902, *passim* but especially p. 262, note 6.

only brief and casual attention, remarking that it "is to be understood that it is marked impudence on the part of a young boy to go bareheaded and not, as R. Isaac Aboab (*Menorat ha-Maor* ch. 337, ed. Warsaw 1890, p. 325) seems to have understood it, that even on the part of adults it would be impudent to walk with uncovered head. For, according to the *Mishnah*,⁸⁸ it was the usual thing for grown men to go bareheaded."

H. L. Strack, in his work devoted entirely to rabbinic texts that treat of Jesus,⁸⁹ offers a very sensible comment on the passage in *Kallah Rabbati*. Strack writes: "Among the Israelites of old, males were not in the habit of going about with covered heads. It is true that head covering was worn by officiating priests but otherwise the head was covered only in war or in mourning. Therefore the incident related in *Kallah* 41b — even granting that R. Akiba would do anything so improper — need not be regarded as historical. In any event, at the time the story was fabricated, it must have been the custom to keep the head covered in the presence of persons of consequence."⁹⁰ Leaving it undecided whether or not Jesus was at all involved in the story, Strack goes on to say: "What *Toledot Jeshu* indicates is that *Kallah* 41b was later supposed to refer to Jesus."⁹¹ The definition of impudence proffered by the three scholars is exceedingly old.⁹²

The *Toledot Jeshu* exists in many differing texts and recensions. The incident does not appear in any fixed form but the essential features remain constant. In the Vienna Manuscript edited by me, the text reads somewhat curiously: "When passing in the presence of the sages, their well behaved disciples would go bowed and prostrate and with covered faces. But that bastard, Joshua (sic), when passing before R. Simeon [ben Shetaḥ] and the other sages, would maintain an erect posture, base and

■ The Mishna passage to which Lauterbach refers is *Ned.* III. 8.

⁸⁸ Jesus, *die Haeretiker und die Christen*, Leipzig, 1910, Hebrew p. 7.

⁸⁹ Strack refers to Loew, *Gesammelte Schriften*, II, 311–328, the well known essay on Aaron Chorin (*supra* note 62).

⁹⁰ Here is where Strack quotes from my *Leben Jesu* above mentioned in note 87.

⁹² See *Mahzor Vitry*, Berlin, 1893, p. 552.

worthless fellow that he was."⁹³ This is not the same as that to which we have been accustomed by the other texts. What matters is not the covering of the head but the covering of the face; as already noted, the former includes the latter. Is not this the same as "wrapping oneself" in the Divine Presence? We go a step further. The Rabbis were held in such inordinate esteem, especially by their pupils, that they were believed to be attended by the *Shekinah*. Not seldom is it said of certain teachers that, when they taught, darts of flame (זיקוקי אש) would issue from their mouths.⁹⁴ This obviously indicates an affinity between the presence of scholars and the presence of God. In both cases, the same motive would operate to prompt covering the face and covering the head. We are dealing, of course, with a usage characterizing the *milieu* of scholars and not with one diffused among the people in general.

We emphasize this distinction because the story about the youngster too impudent to cover his head would otherwise conflict with our previous notice that boys went bareheaded normally. The pupils to which Kallah Rabbati refers were adults not yet arrived at mastership. And adults — even among the

⁹³ Chap. III, p. 66. See *ibid.*, p. 277, note 17. The Hebrew reads as follows: ומנהג תלמידי חכמים כשרים כשהיו עוברים לפניו (= לפני חכמים) התלמידים היו כורעים ומשתחוים לפניו ומכסים פניהם מפני כבוד רבו, וזה יהושע הממור עבר לפני ר' שמעון ולפני החכמים בקומה זקופה כאיש נבל בליעל.

⁹⁴ Hul. 137b contains an interesting report of the way in which, during halakic discussions, darts of fire would proceed from the mouths of Rabbi and of Rab and pass from the one to the other. See the aggadic interpretation of Num. 21.28 in B. B. 78b and in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan *ad loc.* The notion is widespread. The beams (in Hebrew, "horns," Ex. 34.29) emanating from the face of Moses have been explained as due to sparks issuing from the mouth of God (ניצוצות יצאו מפי השכינה) Tanhuma Tissa end: Exod. Rab. XLVII, 6; Cf. Jellinek's *Beth Hamidrash*, VI, 151). In IV Ezra, 13.10, a similar emanation is attributed to the King Messiah, *de labiis ejus spiritus flammæ*. It is thus understandable why this capacity should have been imputed to Bar Kokba (See my article in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, also Graetz IV, 138, 4th edit.). This has been found comparable with the fire-spitting attributed to Eunus, leader of the slaves' revolt which broke out in Sicily, 143 A. D. (Florus III, 19). See Stark's *Gaza*, p. 480, note 3 and Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*, II, III; also Jerome's *Adversus Rufinum* II, 559. All of this is ultimately nothing but metaphor for words spoken with burning zeal.

scholarly — were, if unmarried, by no means free of restrictions as to headwear. Putting on a *Sudar* before one was married was viewed as presumptuous.⁹⁵ Again, where a certain account rebukes for his insolence one who, with uncovered head, passed by a Rabbi (ibid. 33a), the record continues that the offender may have been from Mata Meḥašya, a town in Babylonia, where arrogance toward Rabbis was the vogue (see Rashi, ibid.). If, now, the Rabbis were powerless to compel that token of respect, its omission could hardly have been contrary to religious law. The Babylonian Rabbis themselves deemed it commendable to keep their heads covered as a sign of humility before the Divine. R. Huna, the son of R. Joshua, would not, with uncovered head (בגילוי הראש), walk as much as four cubits. He gave as his reason: "The Shekinah is just above me" שכניה למעלה מראשי (ibid. 31a). Such a claim fits not any ordinary person but only a man of exceptional learning and piety, firm and habituated in his communion with God. A belief in the presence of the Deity is presupposed in all of the cases which involve "wrapping oneself." Something similar still survives in the rituals connected with the 'Amidah.⁹⁶ A parallel passage (Sab. 118b) reads: "Said R. Huna, the son of R. Joshua: 'May Divine recompense reach me'⁹⁷ for my forbearing to go, with uncovered head, as much as four cubits.'" The Hebrew expression בגילוי הראש has become separated from its Aramaic contexts in both passages and, thus detached, has grown current among Jews down to the present day.

From these indications, what now may we infer? A close scrutiny of the quoted passages reveals a host of related customs having, as their common feature, certain extreme but optional forms of piety. Thus Kid. 31a declares: "It is forbidden to walk, with haughty mien (בקומה וקופה), as much as four cubits." — literally, with erect stature, the opposite of which is the bowed

⁹⁵ Cf. the case of R. Hamnuna, Kid. 29b. The question has received thoroughgoing treatment in Maharil (Warsaw, 5634, p. 25) under הלכות נישואין.

⁹⁶ For the latest stage of this development, see Shulḥan 'Aruk, 'Orah Ḥayyim, 123-124. Further details in Shem Tob Gaguine, *Keter Shem Tob*, 5694, p. 63.

⁹⁷ תיחי לי, an expletive of confirmation.

stature signalized, it seems, by covering the head. Could this have been generally observed? Of course not. Conclusive proof that such was an act of unusual piety (חסידות) is afforded by the example of the noted teacher, Rab (about 250). In late sources,⁹⁸ Rab is reported to have possessed ten portions of *Hasidut*, exceptional devoutness, one of which portions consisted in the fact that never, for as much as four cubits, did he walk haughtily and never, for as much as four cubits, did he walk with head uncovered, בניולי הראש.⁹⁹ Does this not imply unmistakably that similar compunction was expected of no one else? Indeed, one seeking to imitate Rab might justly be accused of יחדרא, the above mentioned impudence. A woman demanding such of her son would be classed as a bigot. It is related (Sab. 156b) that the mother of R. Nahman b. Isaac, having been told by an astrologer that her son was destined to become a thief, never permitted her son to go bareheaded, obviously believing that the evil destiny would thereby be averted. She commanded: "Cover thy head that the fear of Heaven be upon thee."

"One is justified," says Lauterbach, quoting Hastings (*Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, VI, p. 539) "in surmising that there were some elements of primitive superstition connected with this practice."¹⁰⁰ The action of that worried mother lies

⁹⁸ Assembled in האורה ס' Edit. Buber, p. 1 which provides numerous references; also in Rashi's manuscript Pardes (A. Epstein in *Monatschrift*, LII, 716); and finally in 'Ozar Ha-Ge'onim, edit. B. Lewin, "Sabbath," p. 110.

⁹⁹ As already stated (*supra*, p. 147), this is a later expression. In Talmudic times, the phrase was ראש מנולה or ראש פרוע which came to signify sinful or insolent behavior. Cf. the statement that Nadab and Abihu uncovered their heads and gazed upon the splendor of the Shekinah ('Oshaya in Exod. Rab. III, 1; also 'En Jacob to Ber. 7a — in the Koenigsberg edit. paragraph 31). In the corresponding passages of other texts, the expression נלה or פרע is missing. See Pesikta de Rab Kahana, p. 173b and Tanhuma, 'Ahare Mot, Chap. 6 (in Buber, Chap. 7); Num. Rab. II, 23 and also XV, 34 which, however, uses the significant words הקלו ראשם. Cf. Lev. Rab. XX, 9 and Bacher, *Aggada der Palestinensischen Amoraer*, III, 472, note 7.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. A. T. Olmstead, "Wearing the Hat," *Amer. Journ. of Theology*, Jan. 1920, p. 94 ff.; also the chapter, "Costumes and Ideologies" in the *Bibliography of Costume*, compiled by Hilaire and Meyer Hiler, edited by Helen Grant Cushing with the collaboration of Adah V. Morris (The H. W. Wilson Co., New York).

along those lines. Compliant with Amos 4.12, "Prepare to meet thy God, O Israel," various types of preparation for prayer were deemed appropriate. One worshipper puts on beautiful stockings — otherwise, presumably, being barefooted. Another would, as a sign of humility, remove his fine coat (See Rashi) and would clasp his hands, standing before God as a slave before his master. Such is reputed to have been, in time of stress, the practice of R. Kahana who, at other times, would attire himself tastefully and would pray "covered" and "enwrapped" (Sab. 10a). This latter mode seems to indicate apparel of three kinds: robes, head-covering, and *Tallit*, while in other instances, the head-covering is implied by the "enwrapping" itself.¹⁰¹ All of these "preparations" refer to Rabbis in Babylonia, and not to synagogal prayer but to private prayer.

Apropos this point, Palestinian sources recount an incident which is reported to have caused not a little commotion. Talmud Yerushalmi,¹⁰² after asserting that R. Johanan ben Zakkai would remove his phylacteries neither in summer nor in winter and that he was followed in this by his disciple, R. Eliezer [ben Hyrcanus] proceeds thereupon to impute to R. Johanan something different. The passage continues that, being subject to summer headaches and obliged to take precautions against catching cold, R. Johanan, that outstanding *Amora*, bearer of the Palestinian *Halakah*, would place the phylacteries on his arm and on his head only in winter when he was immune to headaches but would, in summer, wear the phylactery only on his arm.¹⁰³ While admitting that there are other and differing explanations, let me suggest that which seems to me the most

¹⁰¹ In our section dealing with the attire of women, we shall scrutinize more closely the connection between veil and head covering. But, with men also, wrapping in the *Tallit* involves, at least in part, a covering of the face.

¹⁰² Ber. II, 3 folio 4c. A parallel text in *Pesik. Rabbati*, Chap. 22, Friedmann edit. p. 112a.

¹⁰³ See the short commentary in the Krotoschin edit. of Yerushalmi. A lengthier explication is furnished by R. Manahem Lonsano in the Wilna edit., 1922, 14a-15a. See also the discussion in the Bet Joseph to Tur 'Orah Hayyim, No. 27. An explanation is also given by M. Friedmann, the editor of the somewhat better text in *Pesik. Rabbati* Chap. 22, p. 112a. See also Strack-Billerbeck, *op. cit.* III, 424.

acceptable interpretation of this passage. It seems probable that, in summer, R. Johanan wore no head covering at all. The most illustrious man in Palestinian Jewry of that day would yield to the exigencies of health and of climate.¹⁰⁴

A close parallel to the passage just cited can be found in Lev. Rab. XIX, 4, where we find the foreign word "rheumatic." Commenting on Eccl. 10.18, "By slothfulness the rafters sink in," the Midrash observes: "A man will become rheumatic if he is too slothful to cover his head properly . . . but Rabbi Abahu interprets the words to refer to women, because a woman is too slothful properly to cover herself. And that is why Lev. 20.18 says: 'If he shall uncover her nakedness, he hath made naked her fountain, and she hath uncovered the fountain of her blood.'" Obviously, being decently clothed is far more urgent for women than for men.

In addition to the term *Gilluy Rosh* already mentioned, there is another term, ריש גלי, which consists of the former words reversed and which, it would appear, occurs only in Aramaic. We find this term in the Targum to יד רמה of Ex. 14.8 and Num. 33.3, describing the manner of the Exodus, and again in Mekilta to Ex. 14.8 with the Aramaic in a Hebrew context.¹⁰⁵ Similar is the implication in Exod. Rab. XVIII, 8 where, however, the Aramaic is replaced by the Hebrew בראש גלוי. "Said God to Pharaoh: 'Wouldst thou let my children go forth at night? Thou shalt let my children go forth not by night but at midday and with uncovered heads.'" For the only additional occurrence of ריש גלי, we must go to Targum Jonathan on Judg. 5.9: "Deborah spake in the spirit of prophecy: 'I have been sent to

¹⁰⁴ No sooner was the above statement made than it created bewilderment. "Would not R. Johanan have been too scantily clad (ערות) in summer to permit the donning of phylacteries at all?" The commentators try to meet the difficulty by maintaining that R. Johanan would divest himself only of his belt or that he wore at least a shirt (on אפיקרסין see *Lehnwoerter*, II, 113) or that the expression *mibifnim* instead of "on his skin" or "on his body" implies that the shirt was worn beneath a *Tallit*. What the commentators blink is the fact that a man sensitive to *Tefillin*, an object immeasurably lighter than a shirt, would have found insufferable a garment of any kind.

¹⁰⁵ Well explained by Levy, *Chaldaisches Woerterbuch ueber die Targumim*, I, 141. Cf. בגלי in Targum to Isa. 41.2, in the sense of "publicly."

acclaim Israel's scribes who, in times of stress, ceased not to expound the Torah. They are well entitled to sit in the synagogues (houses of assembly), with their heads uncovered, instructing the people in matters of the Torah and blessing and praising God.' "

Now it has been assumed that ריש גלי signifies freedom as opposed to slavery.¹⁰⁶ This does indeed fit the situation of the Exodus but hardly that of the remark attributed to Deborah; because, in the days of Deborah, no transition from slavery to freedom happened to the scribes. Even in the more explicit wording of Exodus Rabbah, the contrast is drawn not between freedom and slavery but between day and night, between light and darkness, between proceeding openly and proceeding furtively. Therefore I do not agree with Lauterbach, Strack-Billerbeck, and others who find in that expression some evidence that the Israelites were accustomed to go bareheaded. On the contrary, it seems that ריש גלי was only a formal expression similar to יד רמה which it paraphrases, similar also to זרוע נטויה, יד חזקה, קומה וקופה and analogous turns of speech exhibited in various languages. It may be that originally ריש גלי and יד רמה denoted exactly what they say. But, in the course of time, such words come to be used figuratively.¹⁰⁷ They acquired the sense of "walking erect" like קוממיות in Lev. 26.13 or like the rabbinic קומה וקופה "erect stature" as opposed to the "bowed stature" already mentioned, phrases which apply respectively to holding the head high or holding it low.

Our next citation brings our entire inquiry to a focus. Tractate Soferim which, though not exactly a part of the Talmud, nonetheless abounds in valuable material reflecting Palestinian customs, contains the provision that, with uncovered head, one may recite the *Shema*.¹⁰⁸ The passage reads: "A *Poheah*

¹⁰⁶ Thus, Strack-Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, III, 424. Jastrow's rendering of "openly" in his *Dictionary*, p. 248, is exceedingly apt.

¹⁰⁷ Like "bold front" in English, "offene Stirne" in German. These phrases suggest the biblical מצח. Cf. especially, Ezek. 3.8. Jer. 3.3 has yielded expressions employed even in Modern Hebrew, such as עוות פנים = עוות מצח . . .

¹⁰⁸ Chap. XIV, 15, pp. 198, 199 edit. J. Mueller. See also edit. Higger. For the latest surmises on פורס על שמע, see my *Additamenta ad Librum Aruch Completum*, p. 341.

(פוחח¹⁰⁹ that is, one whose legs are visible or whose garments are otherwise torn) or one whose head is bare (מגולה) is permitted to recite the *Shema*.¹¹⁰ Some say that one whose legs are visible or garments otherwise torn¹¹¹ may do so but not one whose head is bare, for such a one may not pronounce the Tetragrammaton. In either case [whether a *Poheah* or bare-headed — Editor] one may render the Targum (the translation).¹¹² But a *Poheah* may not do the public reading of the Pentateuch or officiate before the ark¹¹³ or lift his hands in priestly benediction." There can be no question of authenticity here because the entire passage is an expansion of the *Halakah* in Meg. IV, 6 and its Tosefta. We are accustomed to view those statements as dissenting opinions such as develop amid the innumerable Rabbinic controversies. But this is incorrect, and Lauterbach's surmise (p. 595) that "this latter opinion reflects the Babylonian custom" is unacceptable. It is true, there exists on this point a difference between Babylonian custom and Palestinian custom but the difference is not what Lauterbach takes it to be. Chapter XVIII, near the end, alludes to three different usages pertaining to the same rite, each reference being introduced by ש"י "some say" (See also XX, 7). Elsewhere, as in XII, 9, when such variations are discussed, it is stated explicitly that "they of the East" do so and so while "they of the West" do so and so. Again, as quoted by Lauterbach, the *Ḥilluf Minhagim*¹¹⁴ indicates such variation in the following words: "*Kohanim*, with disarranged hair are, among the Babylonians, forbidden to bless the Israelites, but in Palestine, *Kohanim* with disarranged hair, do bless the Israelites." It is not clear why the text employs the somewhat antiquated biblical word פרוע. But the word occurs frequently and

¹⁰⁹ The word is, in reality, Aramaic. See commentaries and dictionaries. פוחח is approximately a *sans culotte*.

¹¹⁰ Leading the congregation in the recital of the *Shema* is a function inferior to that of "going before the chest," that is, leading in the main prayer, the *'Amidah*. See Tosefot Yom Ṭob to Meg. *loc. cit.* [IV, 6].

¹¹¹ In the Mishna, this specification is missing.

¹¹² Also a minor function.

¹¹³ See my *Synagogale Allertuemer*, pp. 132, 171, 372.

¹¹⁴ Edit. J. Mueller in *Hashacher*, VII, or its reprint. I regret that I am without access to a certain more recent work on this subject.

is well suited to the passage with its reference to the ancient biblical rite of *Birkat Kohanim*. Lauterbach's conclusion is valid: "This, by the way, also implies that even in Babylon it was not absolutely forbidden to enter the synagog and participate in the religious service with uncovered head. Had this been the case, the special mention of a law prohibiting the priests from pronouncing their blessings bareheaded would have been gratuitous."

Previously the same tractate (Soferim XIV, 14) describes the ritual of returning the scroll to the ark and uses words לכסות ראשי הקוראים apparently related to our subject. However the text is plainly incorrect.¹¹⁵ It should, according to R. Elijah Wilna, read thus: "For dressing the scroll, the aforementioned person hands it to him who was the first to function among those invited to participate (לראש הקרואים); it would dishonor the *Torah* to leave it unattended."

We proceed now to the most striking passage of all. There comes a moment in the burial ceremony when the mourner proceeds with uncovered head. The text, *Semaḥot* X, in its corrupt form, we quote in the notes.¹¹⁶ Here we translate the better text furnished by N. Bruell in his *Jahrbuecher*, I, 54: "Not until the stone closing the grave has been set in place,¹¹⁷ do the people line up (in two rows) to pronounce, in the mourner's behalf, the benediction for the bereaved. Once the stone has been set in place, the people do line up and speak the words of consolation, and then they depart. Moreover, as soon as the stone has been set in place, the mourner covers his head but, out of respect for the people who stand in line, he keeps his head bare as he passes them. Once beyond the rows of people, he again covers his head. After he returns to his home, people call to voice condolence; then he bares his head as the callers take leave." What a curious ceremony!¹¹⁸ We have already referred to burial

¹¹⁵ The conjectures offered by J. Mueller as well as those which he quotes are unacceptable.

¹¹⁶ ר' נסים באלפס: [ובא לעמוד בשורה מולה את ראשו ופושטין. יצא חוץ לשורה מכה].

¹¹⁷ See Jastrow, p. 222 *sub verbo* וולל and my *Talmudische Archaeologie* II,

77.

¹¹⁸ The usage is comparable with the demeanor prescribed for a high priest attending the funeral of a near relative. Notice הן נכסין והוא נגלה וכו' in *San.* II, 1. See also my *Sanhedrin-Makkot*, p. 95.

rites. This one is remarkable. Considering the tenacity of burial customs, this particular rite must be exceedingly old, going back, perhaps, to biblical times.

Nowhere is it enjoined that there be a head covering upon the corpse lying in the casket. Our modern practice constitutes an innovation. Not even the "cap" which, in later times, figures as part of the burial garb, is mentioned in the sources. A famous and fanciful saying imputed, in Ket. 111b to R. Hiyya ben Joseph, presumes that, at the resurrection, the pious will rise in their תכריכין their burial shroud.¹¹⁹ But the word תכריכין means the robe; "cap" is excluded. Thus it is evident that men were not required to wear any head covering, either in the synagogue or in similar situations.

III. THE HEAD COVERING OF WOMEN IN THE TALMUDIC PERIOD

We must distinguish clearly between that which was expected of men and that which morality and decency, emphasized by religion, imposed upon women. Here again, as in a previous connection, we note what is said upon this subject in extra-Jewish circles, that is, outside of that Rabbinic literature which constitutes our main source of information. Christian theology is obliged to deal with the question because of the passage already quoted from I Cor. 11.5, "For if the woman be not covered,¹²⁰ let her also be shorn;¹²¹ but if it be a shame for a woman to be shorn or shaven, let her be covered."

¹¹⁹ See Tosafot, also Pirke de R. Eliezer, XXXIII; Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judentum*, p. 934. Contrast Saadia, *Emunot we-De'ot*, VII.

¹²⁰ A few words may be quoted here from a modern commentary: "St. Paul first lays down the principle of subordination. He then speaks of the unseemliness of the practice in question, and of its converse, namely, men covering their heads; and shows how this matter comes under the above principle, while women are not degraded by this subordination. He next uses corroboratory arguments from nature, and finally appeals to the practice of all other Churches." (*A Commentary on the Holy Bible*, edited by J. R. Dummelow, London, 1926, p. 909.)

¹²¹ For an honorable woman, shearing of the hair was a great indignity. See A. Buechler, "Das Schneiden des Haares als Strafe der Ehebrecher bei den Semiten," in *Wiener Zeitschrift fuer die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XVIII,

The word *κάλυμμα* and its derivatives have a double meaning. They mean "veil;"¹²² they also mean "head covering," and the distinction is not easily drawn as regards the attire of women. The chaste Susanna appears before her judges veiled.¹²³ According to Philo,¹²⁴ *ἐπίκρανον*, the headband, betokens shamefacedness and innocence. To this, we have a clue in the ordeal of the *Soṭah*, the woman suspected of adultery, as described in Num. 5, 12-31 which directs the priest to "let the hair of the woman's head go loose" *וּפָרַע אֶת רֹאשׁ הָאִשָּׁה*¹²⁵— a point to which we shall soon revert. Philo apparently construes the biblical words to mean that the priest shall remove the covering of the woman's head. But this interpretation, as noted already by Ritter and Heinemann,¹²⁶ does not accord with that of the Rabbis (Soṭ. 9a). Philo who states (III, 60) that the woman has to proceed in the ordeal bare-headed, must have known the Jewish wife as one who ordinarily went about with head covered. This is reported specifically by the famous church father, Tertullian, who wrote about the year 200 C. E. Says Tertullian: "*Apud Judaeos tam sollemne est feminis eorum velamen capitis, ut inde noscantur.*" "So sacred, among the Jews, is the head covering of the women that by this they are recognizable."¹²⁷ Though Tertullian, residing in North Africa,

91-138; also my *Talmud. Arch.* I, 190 ff. On the other hand, much care was bestowed upon depilation, a subject treated at length in my article, "The Archaeological Background of Some Passages in the Song of Songs," *J.Q.R.*, New Series, XXXII (1942).

¹²² In accordance with what has already been noted (*supra* pp. 145, 146) to the effect that covering the head can mean, at the same time, covering the face. The view is supported by Gerhard Kittel, *Theologisches Woerterbuch Zum Neuen Testament*, sub verbo *κάλυμμα*, *Kopfhuelle*, *Schleier*.

¹²³ *κατακεκαλυμμένη*, The History of Susannah, verse 32, Theodotion.

¹²⁴ De Specialis Legibus, III, 56.

¹²⁵ We discussed the root *פרע* above, pp. 128, 130, 140.

¹²⁶ B. Ritter, *Philo und die Halacha*, Leipzig, 1879, p. 81 ff., and I. Heinemann in *Die Werke Philos von Alexandria*, II, 200. A totally different significance was attached to in later ages. Cf. Maharil, Warsaw, 5634, pl 25 already quoted, and also the ritual codes: ראשן (צ"ל פורעות) מה שהכלות הבתולות פורעות (צ"ל -ות) טבילה וחפיפת הראש . . . והמנהג שגם שאר הבתולות פורעות ראשן וסותרות קליעתן כדי לחפות עליה לצניעות שאין לגלות שמיחדת היא לטבילה.

¹²⁷ *De Corona*, edit. F. Oehler, I, 1853, p. 424. This is the correct rendering. Other translations are erroneous.

may have in view only the usages of that region, a broader application need not be excluded. Ginzberg, in *Legends of the Jews*, V, p. 90, quoting from Tertullian's *De Habitu Muliebri* (1), *Adversus Marcionem* (5, 8), and *De Oratione* (22)¹²⁸ says: "The statement made by Tertullian, in the last-named passage, that the unmarried Jewish women cover their heads, contradicts the assertions of the Jewish sources, according to which married women only covered their heads; comp. e.g. Ketubot 2, 1; Yebamot 114b. See, however, Nedarim 3, 8; Sifre N., 11, Berakot 24a." But these texts contain nothing decisive for our question. The only telling evidence is that contained in the Mishna, Ket. II, 1, as will be explained later.

The Rabbis, punctiliously devoted to the Law, pivot their views on the biblical word פָּרַע. Everything revolves on what they understood by that word. When the word is used with regard to the wedding of a maiden (Ket. II, 1), the import is that, on such occasions, the bride wore her hair loose. Rashi and Bertinoro explain: "Her hair would fall over her shoulders. Thus would the maiden be conducted from her father's house to the place of her nuptials." Compare the phrases: "She shows her face," "She makes herself known."¹²⁹ At her wedding, the bride shows herself for the last time as a girl. Having the hair loose and dropping low is, among several nations, the token of the unmarried state, hence of virginity and chastity.¹³⁰ Therefore the married woman who walks abroad with her hair loose (יוצאה וראשה פרוע) violates "Jewish custom."¹³¹ Such is the manner of

¹²⁸ This reference figures also in Kittel's *Woerterbuch* with the edition mark, CCSEL, 20, 193, but I could find there nothing *a propos*.

¹²⁹ Exod. Rab. XLI, 6. See also Cant. Rab. and Yalkuṭ to Cant. 4.11. The expression is מפרסמ עצמה. Cf. Soṭ. 9a, פירסמ בנלי, to divulge, to publish.

¹³⁰ Among various peoples, as among conservative Jews, cutting off the bride's hair is part of the marriage ceremony. The reverse of this is the covering worn on the married woman's head. Cf. Mueller-Mothes, *Archaeologisches Woerterbuch*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1877, p. 588, sub verbo *Kopfbedeckung*, French *cover-chef*, English *coverchief*, Latin (or rather Greek) *calyptra*. See the definition of *kerchief* in H. C. Wyld, *The Universal Dictionary of the English Language*: "Square piece of cloth, lace, or other material worn as a covering for the head by women."

¹³¹ Ket. VII, 6. Tos. *ibid.* (p. 269 in Zuckermann), Giṭ. 90ab. The Mishna, at this point, distinguishes between "Mosaic Law" and "Jewish Law." The

women among pagans (Num. Rab. IX, 16). In all of these texts, the word employed is פרוע derived from Num. 5.18 and aptly translated even by such a conservative as Hertz: "He shall let the hair of the woman's head go loose," with the appropriate comment: "In token of her shame, as it was a sign of lack of morality for a woman to appear publicly with her hair unloosed." The point is the loosening of the hair and not, by any means, the uncovering of the head. The very word ראש in Hebrew often means "hair."¹³²

To show that, by the Rabbis of the Talmud, the word פרע was taken literally, let us note one of many instances. Lev. 13.45 requires that the leper rend his clothes and loosen his hair. The Mishna, in Soṭ. III,8, using the biblical words but reversing the order, appends that a man loosens his hair and rends his clothes but that this is not done by a woman.¹³³ As in the case of a man, so also in the case of a woman, פרע relates, accordingly, to the hair and not to any headwear.

In view of this, it is astonishing that our oldest, so-called "traditional" texts confuse פרע with נלה or with its opposite כסה, applying it not to the hair but to the head. As regards the frequently quoted passage ופרע את ראש האשה, a *Baraita* in Ket. 72a reports that the school of R. Ishmael grounded upon this the אזהרה, the admonition, that the daughters of Israel¹³⁴ should not go outdoors with loosened hair (פרוע). Sifre uses, in this connection, the phrase ראשיהן מכוסין, "that they may cover their heads,"¹³⁵ implying a head covering — which perhaps the school

woman's head covering is subsumed under the latter classification. The comments of the Tosafot Yom Ṭob, excerpted from older authorities, are under the influence of later conceptions and fail to convey the true implications of the Mishna. These comments read: "As to the meaning of פרוע, so far as the Torah ordains, it suffices that the woman's head be covered by a kerchief even when she appears in public places, but Jewish Law (דה) requires that, for such occasions, she wear, on her head, a veil (רדיד)." ¹³²

¹³² See commentaries, dictionaries, and concordances.

¹³³ Out of considerations of decency. For similar compunctions at public executions, see San. VI, 3.

¹³⁴ A fond appellative for Jewish women and of frequent use in the Bible and the Talmud.

¹³⁵ Chap. XI, edit. Friedmann, p. 5a. Cf. Num. Rab. IX, 33.

of R. Ishmael did not mean. In any case, *אזהרה* is a mild expression. It hardly looks like a prescription or a command.

The authentic interpretation of the verb *פרע* in the ordeal of the *Soṭah* was, in the precise language of the Mishna (Soṭ. I, 5) *וְסוֹתֵר אֶת שְׂעָרָה*, "the priest deranges her hair." The word *סתר* can best be rendered by the French *déranger*: to put out of order, to loosen. The word alludes to the artistic head dress¹³⁶ of the stylish lady, Jewish or non-Jewish.¹³⁷ In connection with the *Soṭah*, a *Baraita* in Soṭ. 9a¹³⁸, as well as Tos. Soṭ. III, 3, furnishes an interesting description of a Jewish courtesan: "She plaited her hair to please her paramour, therefore the priest loosens her hair."¹³⁹ Both passages describe a further action performed by the priest: "She had placed a sheet¹⁴⁰ [on the bed for her paramour], therefore the priest pulls her cap (*כפה*) from her head and tramples it beneath his feet." The "cap," however, is not a headcovering but, as archaeologists have shown, a requisite of a lady's coiffure.¹⁴¹ It is then stated, in the same connection, that the priest, in addition to "deranging" (*סתר*) the head, does something further which is likewise included in the term *פרע*: he uncovers the woman's "heart," that is, her breast. At this point, the Mishna (I, 5) observes, in the name of R. Judah: "If her breast was beautiful, he would not expose it; if her hair was beautiful, he would not derange it." The verb, in the first case, is *מגלה*, in the second case, *סותר*, wherefore it is incorrect to assume that, in this context, the Rabbinical interpreters understood *פרע* to mean "uncover."¹⁴² It is true that the Rabbis extended the *מצות פריעה*, "the sacred act of loosening," to include

¹³⁶ This is called *בנה*. See the midrashic explanation of *ויבן* in Gen. 2.22.

¹³⁷ See *Talmud. Arch.* I, 197.

¹³⁸ Cf. Num. Rab. IX.

¹³⁹ In Tos. Soṭ. III, 3, p. 295 in Zuckermannel, the significant words appear only in a note taken from old editions and manuscripts.

¹⁴⁰ The word in the Tosefta is *סדין*, entirely appropriate in this context. In the Talmud, however, the corresponding passage (Soṭ. 8b bottom) reads: "For his sake she placed, upon her head, a beautiful *sudarin*, therefore the priest removes the cap from her head." A close kinship between *sudarin* and *kipphah* is obvious. The variant *צעפה* for the latter in the Tosefta is distinctly erroneous.

¹⁴¹ See the discussion in Strack-Billerbeck, *loc. cit.*

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

the woman's bosom,¹⁴³ which is hardly contained in the words of the Law itself. Apparently the Mishna is either uninformed about this feature or is inclined to ignore it, for the text reads: "The priest seizes her by the garments,¹⁴⁴ heedless whether they be rent or torn, until he exposes her breast." There is mention here of two procedures: pulling off her "cap" as he deranges her hair and grasping her garments as he bares her bosom. In vain did the old *Tanna*, R. Barokba, protest: "You must not dishonor (מנוולים) the daughters of Israel beyond what is prescribed in the Torah." Barokba went so far as to maintain that a curtain had to hang between the priest and the public.¹⁴⁵ But, quoting Ezek. 23, 48, the scholars were preponderantly of the opinion that such a woman deserves no consideration.¹⁴⁶

An aggadic passage alludes to the procedure in the sanctuary as follows: "Like a high priest to whose lot it fell to administer the bitter waters and to whom the woman had been brought. He had already loosened her hair and exposed her breast and was about to take the cup from which she was to drink, when he noticed that it was his mother."¹⁴⁷

Having observed the extent to which the Jewish lady of Talmudic times would cultivate a sumptuous head dress, I reached this conclusion:¹⁴⁸ "The extraordinary care bestowed upon hair dressing reveals that Jewish women did not go about with covered heads. This is substantiated by information from various sources,¹⁴⁹ and there exists no conclusive evidence to the contrary. The numerous indications that women, like men, would wrap (עטף) the head for mourning show that, with women,

¹⁴³ Sifre, N. V. 8, Chap. XI, p. 5a.

¹⁴⁴ As a token of scorn.

¹⁴⁵ Soṭ. I, 6 states explicitly that onlookers were permitted to be present, excepting the woman's menservants or maidservants.

¹⁴⁶ Soṭ. 8b, Tos. Soṭ. III, 2, p. 295 in Zuckermann.

¹⁴⁷ Pesikta Rabbati, Chap. XXVI, p. 129b in edit. Friedmann, Vienna, 1880. The text is uncertain. See Friedmann *ad loc.* In all events, the word used is פריסם.

¹⁴⁸ *Talmud. Arch.* I, 196 ff.

¹⁴⁹ My favorite reference is Sab. VI, 1 which presupposes that a woman took considerable pains in dressing her hair. Cf. the severe punishment favored by R. Akiba for anyone who, to humiliate a woman, would stop in the street and dishevel a woman's head-dress (B. K. VIII, 6).

bareheadedness was the rule. Concealing the head in time of bereavement signified the same as cutting or shaving the hair on like occasions. Whether in mourning, in punishment, or in enslavement, such rites carry the same import."¹⁵⁰

Strack and Billerbeck (*ibid.* III, 427), obliged to treat I Cor. 11.5, and having collected a vast amount of material — derived in part from my *Talmudische Archaeologie* — on the subject of head dress, have arrived at the same conclusion: "Our sources do not specify in what way or by what means the head and the face would be covered . . . This silence forces us to conclude that no particular means were employed for covering the head and veiling the face but that both obtained, as matter of course, whenever a woman would appear in the hair dress customary at that time." These same authors observe apropos the ordeal of the *Soṭah* (*ibid.*, p. 429): "According to the Jewish view, the covering of the woman's head consists in a well arranged hair dress, and her veiling is achieved by means of the bands, the bows, and the כפפה, dangling over her face."

A writer in the above quoted *Theologisches Woerterbuch zum Neuen Testament* of Gerhard Kittel says in a note: "Benziger (*Hebraische Archaeologie*, 3d. ed., 1927, p. 85) and S. Krauss . . . emphasize that, in Israel, veiling was not always customary and was, as late as New Testament times, unenforced. But this tells us little about the actual conditions." The author has in mind here the passage from Tertullian which we have already quoted (*supra*, p. 155).

We have seen that Philo, differing from the Rabbis, finds in the *Soṭah* procedure an actual uncovering of the woman's head and this is also the view of some of the Rabbinic statements cited above. We turn now to a series of passages in which the woman's going about with covered head is treated as a matter of course. We do not, to be sure, refer to such cases as that of Kimḥit¹⁵¹ who exemplifies piety of an extreme kind and is so regarded in the source. But there is a passage which presupposes

¹⁵⁰ The resemblance between marriage rites and mourning customs has already been noted, *supra*, p. 135. We shall soon revert to this point.

¹⁵¹ Yer. Meg. I, 72a. The parallel texts are supplied in the marginal notes of the Krotoschin edition.

that women appear with covered heads ordinarily. An Aggadist remarks that ten curses were imposed upon Eve,¹⁵² the eighth of which involves her going about עטופה כאבל "enwrapped as a mourner."¹⁵³ A parallel is the statement that ten decrees were issued against Eve, the ninth of which requires that her head be covered (מכוסה) like that of a mourner whenever she leaves the house.¹⁵⁴ Or, more explicitly, "Why does the woman cover the head while the man does not? The case is like that of a woman who has done wrong and who consequently feels shame in the presence of others. Similarly Eve, having done wrong, has caused her daughters to wear concealment."¹⁵⁵ Since no scriptural text is quoted in support of this reference, the remark appears to rest on actual observation. And this would seem good evidence. But the passage involves no command, no institution. It entails nothing but some masculine raillery at feminine addiction to stylishness. The passage does not even refer to any actual covering. The woman's own hair forms the covering or wrapping.¹⁵⁶

The observation follows the line of subtle jesting that marks the entire context (Gen. Rab. XVII, 13), for instance, "Why does the woman need perfume when the man does not?" In like spirit are the questions asked of Hillel in Sab. 31a, for example, "Why are the Babylonians round headed?"¹⁵⁷ Similar pleasantries enter into discussions about animals, for instance, "The camel, having presumed to ask for horns, was deprived even of his ears" (San. 106a bottom). The diminution of the moon is attributed to a quarrel between the moon and the sun.¹⁵⁸ The

¹⁵² By "Eve," is meant, of course, women in general, Eve's daughters.

¹⁵³ 'Er. 100b. The text continues: "Like one imprisoned and isolated from all mankind." Another bit of sarcasm is the remark, in the same context, "She lets her hair grow like Lilith," that is, like a witch or sorceress.

¹⁵⁴ 'Ab. R. Nathan, Version II, Chap. 42, Edit, Schechter, p. 117.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, I, Chap. 9, p. 25. Cf. Gen. Rab. XVII, 13 and Yalkut to Gen. 23.

¹⁵⁶ Of the daughter of Nicodemus ben Gorion, Ket. 66b says that, when about to face Rabban Johanan ben Zakkai, she wrapped herself in her hair. For parallel texts, see my article, "*Talmudische Nachrichten Ueber Arabien*," in *Z. d. M. G.*, LXX, 326.

¹⁵⁷ Among the anecdotes illustrating Hillel's extreme patience.

¹⁵⁸ Consult the vast literature listed in Ginzberg's *Legends*, V, 34 ff.; also V. Aptowitzer, "Arabisch-Juedische Schoepfungstheories," in *HUCA*,

legends of all nations abound in such popular musings, usually in connection with stories of creation. In German, there is *Natur-sagen* by Daenhardt and *Weltentstehung in Sage und Wissenschaft* (1925) by Ziegler and Oppenheim; in English *The Golden Bough* and *Folklore in the Old Testament* by Frazer; in French, *La Mythologie Primitive* (Paris, 1935) by Lucien Levy-Bruhl.

Recurrent, throughout rabbinic literature, is the expectation that the Jewish woman should not only keep rigidly within the limits of chastity but that she should abstain from everything that might impair her looks. An example closely related to our subject is the law of the *Nezirah*, the female among those devoted to the Nazirite rules in Num. Chap. 6, a type not yet obsolete in the time of the Mishna. While men are nowhere reproved for engaging in such practices; while, to the contrary, the *Nazir* is highly esteemed, it was otherwise with the *Nezirah*. Concerning her, the bitter words are put into the mouth of her husband: "I do not want a wife who is disfigured. I want no wife with shaven head."¹⁵⁹ Among the ancient Rabbis, a similar debate is precipitated by the law in Deut. 21.12¹⁶⁰

In Hebrew, גלה is easily confused with גלח. "Uncovered" means, accordingly, that the head is hairless, wherefore "covered, the opposite, must mean a head with hair.

What Jewish husband today would ever, in the slightest, restrain his wife from engaging in trade? But a well known Tannaitic text, in Pes. 50b, rebukes the man who depends upon his wife's earnings. "Whoso looks to the earnings of his wife will never in his life see blessing." And what is the type of occupation thus branded? The answer given has been מתקולתא, "weight" which means, according to Rashi, going into the streets and offering the use of scales for remuneration. Such puny traffic is humiliating. The *Aruch Completum* of Kohut (VII, 33) offers two interpretations of this drawback. According to one, the income from yarn which the woman spins and sells is wretchedly small. According to the other, the woman keeps shop and the

VI, 205-246. Civilized people no longer subscribe to such fancies. Why should Judaism be burdened with those infantile notions?

¹⁵⁹ Naz. IV, 5. Cf. Tos. Naz. III, 14, p. 287 in Zuckermanel.

¹⁶⁰ See Yeb. 48a, and Sifre to Deut., Chap. 212, p. 112b.

act of weighing obliges her to lift her arms and expose her elbows, which constitutes פריצות "licentiousness." If such rigidities are antiquated today, why should punctiliousness about headwear be any the less antiquated?

IV. MIDDLE AGES AND MODERN TIMES

In the matter of head covering, Mediaeval times show considerable variety. In one country, covering of the head would be mandatory, at least in prayer. In another country, various synagogal solemnities as, for instance, the public reading of the Scroll would be performed bare-headed. The vast Rabbinic literature of those times informs us what was considered, in this regard, proper or praiseworthy or obligatory, but opinions differ and even conflict. As to the nature of these differences, there is disagreement between Leopold Loew and J. Z. Lauterbach, the two scholars who serve us as guides. Loew maintains that, among the Arabs in the Orient and in Spain, the Jews would wear head-covering, while they would not do so in mediaeval France.¹⁶¹ Lauterbach holds that, in Spain, the Jews followed the usages of Babylon while, in France and Germany, they followed the ways of Palestine.¹⁶² But, while these conjectures may serve to explain the differences between Sephardim and Ashkenazim, they will not suffice for our present problem. In the first place, the question of head covering was, in Babylonia, undecided and, in the second place, many parts of the Islamic Orient, such as Syria, Egypt, and North Africa followed religious customs which were not of Babylonian derivation. Agreeing with Loew, I should say that, among the Moslems, the Jews became accustomed to the covering of the head and naturally carried that custom into prayer and into the synagogue while, in Christian countries, that inducement did not exist. On the contrary, the older custom of bareheadedness survived until there came a time of reaction

¹⁶¹ *Gesammelte Schriften*, II, 317. Elbogen, in *Der Juedische Gottesdienst*, p. 500, maintains that the practice of mandatory head covering originated in the wearing of the *Tallit* and that it made its earliest appearance in Moslem Spain.

¹⁶² *Year Book of the C. C. A. R.*, 1928, p. 598.

against Christianity and of orientation toward the Arabs as a more kindred people.¹⁶³

An account of the Moslem turban will now be in place.¹⁶⁴ The turban, the head dress of the male in the Moslem East, consisted of a cap around which had been wound a length of cloth. "Turban" is usually traced to the Persian *dulband*, from which also is supposed to come the word "tulip," although this view has been disputed. Turbans are said to have been worn by the pre-Mohammedan Beduins of Arabia. The high cap is believed to be of Persian origin and the cloth wound about it is regarded as the element truly Arabian.¹⁶⁵ There are, in the *Hadith*,¹⁶⁶ many details about the turban of the Prophet. Numerous are the *Hadiths* which construe the turban as a badge to distinguish Moslems from unbelievers.¹⁶⁷ The turban is especially recommended for the *Ṣalat*¹⁶⁸ and for visits to tombs and mosques. Other forms of headwear are the *Tarbush* and the *Turtur*. Jewish authors of the Arabic period were familiar with these "Turkish" head coverings and were inclined to identify them

¹⁶³ The article "Headgear" in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1910-1911, adequately describes the situation as it existed among the mediaeval Jews; especially the scruple about avoiding articles of apparel characteristic of other people, particularly when associated with religious practice; and, at the same time, the concern to eschew clothing too much at variance with that of unsympathetic surroundings. Conservatism, of course, plays its role, and mediaeval Jews are always depicted in a characteristic costume. The beautiful plate which the *Jewish Encyclopedia* IV, 294 provides to illustrate Jewish attire has already been mentioned (*supra*, p. 127). All of the men are shown here with coverings on their heads. (See my article, "Kleidung," in the German *Encyclopedia Judaica*.) However, the reverse also can be found, as for instance, in the picture on the title page of a Sephardic *Siddur* (מאח ברכות, 1687), where a servant and a physician (or a Rabbi), participating in a circumcision ceremony, are shown with heads bare. (See my article, "Merkwürdige Siddurim," in *Studies in Jewish Bibliography in Memory of A. S. Freidus*, New York, 1929, p. 132.) It is well known that the peculiar costume of the Jews was, in part, forced upon them by the secular authorities.

¹⁶⁴ W. Bjoerkman in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, sub verbo "Turban."

¹⁶⁵ Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*, pp. 44, 237.

¹⁶⁶ [*Hadith* means: authoritative Moslem tradition.]

¹⁶⁷ The Jewish counterpart of this was considered *supra*, p. 130.

¹⁶⁸ [*Ṣalat* means "prayer."]

with various head coverings of ancient times.¹⁶⁹ Many celebrities of Arabic times, such as Maimonides, Alfasi, Shabbethai Zebi and others are pictured in these forms of headwear.

We are now in a position to understand the viewpoint of the mediaeval Jewish writers. Alfasi, in his *Compendium*, alludes to the above mentioned incident of R. Huna ben Joshua (*supra*, p. 147), and Maimonides, in *Hilkot De'ot* V, 6, regards it as morally incumbent upon scholars to avoid any uncovering of the head or of the body. And yet the juxtaposition of "head" and "body," as well as the remainder of the passage allow no indication of anything like today's *yarmulke* as a requisite of prayer for anyone except a scholar. Maimonides, in *Hilkot Tefillah*, V, 5, goes so far as to declare that one should forbear to recite prayers bareheaded or barefooted, but the latter requirement is limited to localities where having the feet clothed when standing before persons of higher rank is customary. The remark of Israel Abrahams is correct: "The oriental code of manners showed respect by covering the head and uncovering the feet, in exact contradiction to the prevailing custom of Europe."¹⁷⁰ The *Zohar*, originating in Spain, also has a word in favor of the covered head during prayer.¹⁷¹ When R. Abraham ibn Yarhi of France pleads for the covering of the head not only at prayer but also in general life, he does not neglect to state that, among the Jews of Spain, such was the custom.¹⁷² In the age of Ibn Yarhi (13th century) and in his country, a kind of *Minhag* had already become established. He says, on p. 37, that according to the *Minhag* prevalent in France, the leader at grace after meals, "enwraps" himself in a cloth or

¹⁶⁹ In *Likkuṭim min Sefer Melizah* by Solomon ben Samuel of Ġurgang (See Bacher, *Ein Hebraeisch Persisches Woerterbuch aus dem 14ten Jahrhundert*, Strassburg, 1900), No. 970 reads לקקין כולאה נמדין טרטורא לוגי. No. 506 sub verbo חרטין has אלשוכל "a cap with a tail, like that worn by the Turks and called 'Tartur.' "

¹⁷⁰ *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, London, 1896, p. 278. Regarding the Jews of Yemen, the report of Ibn Saphir (I, 57a) states that they remove their shoes but retain their caps.

¹⁷¹ *Zohar* Wa-ethanan, Lublin, 1872, p. 520, quoted by Lauterbach *op. cit.*, p. 599.

¹⁷² *Tefillah*, Chap. 43, Berlin, 1855, p. 15.

puts upon his head a "cap" (כובע).¹⁷³ This shows, first, that the diners ate bareheaded at the meal itself, and second that grace was said by bareheaded participants. In his *Responsa*, Zikron Jehudah,¹⁷⁴ the author, whose father, Asheri, had come to Toledo from Germany, writes: "Anyone who can endure it, should avoid sitting at study bareheaded because, with covered head, he would feel greater reverence. However, sometimes the heat would make such unendurable." This liberal attitude has provoked indignation among more recent halakists.¹⁷⁵ Inasmuch as the codes could not go beyond the limits set by the Talmud, there is hesitancy on this point in the final codification begun by another son of Asheri, R. Jacob (Ṭur Oraḥ Ḥayyim, 2) and continued in the Shulhan 'Aruk (91, 3) by Rabbi Joseph Karo.¹⁷⁶

In France and Germany, as already stated, the practice of covering the head shows but a slow growth. Some of the facts are astonishing. R. Isaac ben Moses of Vienna (1200-1270) who, in his youth, studied in France, reports that a *Minhag* of pronouncing a benediction bareheaded prevailed among "our Rabbis" in that country.¹⁷⁷ This certainly refers to the benedictions connected with the reading from the Scroll. R. Isaac himself does not approve of this *Minhag*. In the Maḥzor Vitry (p. 104), a work originating in the school of Rashi, there is an interesting item to the effect that *Kohanim* are permitted to keep on their caps at the *Dukan* if they do so because of the cold but not if they do so for ostentation (כבוד). We get the impression that some who attended synagogue were given to displaying their caps vaingloriously. And does not this violate the sanctity of the place? This calls to mind the display of hats by women at our synagogal service today. Another departure from the good old custom can

¹⁷³ In meals for company attended by at least three adult males, one is chosen to lead at grace (מומן).

¹⁷⁴ Berlin, 1846, No. 20, p. 4a.

¹⁷⁵ See Loew and Lauterbach; also A. Freimann in *Jahrbuch der Jued. Lit. Gesellschaft*, XIII, 1920, p. 230, note 3.

¹⁷⁶ To them, mandatory head covering at prayer would certainly have appeared as an innovation. How different from the conservative Jews of today!

¹⁷⁷ שמברכין בראש מולה וכו'.

be seen in the decision of a prominent Rabbinical authority that "to a burial, the mourner is not required to go bareheaded."¹⁷⁸

We pass over the utterances of noted Rabbis who, in their day, wielded great influence. We refer the reader to Loew and to Lauterbach. Let us merely note some incidents reflecting the impact of the matter upon Christians. Rabbi Isserlein, a noted Rabbi at the beginning of the 15th century, was asked in an inquiry from Breslau what Jews must do if compelled by the authorities to swear bareheaded.¹⁷⁹ Isserlein frankly replied: "I find, on this matter, no explicit prohibition," even though, in an oath, one has to pronounce the Divine Name. Eventually the authorities came to deal with the Jews according to their own "Law." The Jew had to swear with head covered if his oath was to be valid. Zunz's famous dissertation written in 1850 on the oath *more judaico* quotes a paragraph from a Hanover law of April 25, 1850 which prescribes that "he who swears must swear with covered head."¹⁸⁰ An incident, hard to comprehend, occurred in the district of Bodensee where some Jews, condemned to death, made it their final request that their caps be nailed (?) to their heads and that they be provided with *Zizit*.¹⁸¹

The further question arose whether a king or a prince, graciously visiting a synagogue, should be persuaded, contrary to his custom, to keep his head covered. Loew (p. 325) reports such cases and their disposal. In Austria, during the long reign of Emperor Francis Joseph, there frequently occurred receptions of Rabbis and other representatives of the Jewish community who were allowed to pronounce the required *Berakah* with covered heads. Such scenes, always duly recounted in the newspapers, are also extant in pictures.

¹⁷⁸ *Toratan shel Rish'onim*, II, 8, line 29, quoted by Loew in the Supplement to his *Gesammelte Schriften*, V, 53. Thus has a practice of former times been abolished.

¹⁷⁹ See my work, *Die Wiener Gezerah vom Jahre 1421*, Vienna and Leipzig, 1920, p. 4 and *passim*.

¹⁸⁰ *Gesammelte Schriften*, II, 241-264. Cf. L. Geiger, *Geschichte der Juden in Berlin*, II, 267.

¹⁸¹ L. Loewenstein, *Geschichte der Juden am Bodensee und Umgebung* (1879), I, 146.

The peace of many a community has been disturbed by the issue whether Jewish boys are or are not permitted to attend religious classes bareheaded.¹⁸² The entire question is not worth the time it consumes. Everyone should follow his own wishes. Lauterbach aptly summarizes: "The custom of praying bareheaded or with covered head is not at all a question of law. It is merely a matter of social propriety and decorum."¹⁸³

¹⁸² I have observed this personally in Hungary, Germany, Austria, Bohemia, Poland, England, and Palestine.

¹⁸³ In behalf of this much needed synagogal decorum, I should like to add that, in the house of worship, tattered and soiled *Yarmulkas* are out of place. Improper if worn in public, why should they be any more proper at a synagogal service which is also a public event? This article may fittingly conclude with the observation of a Polish Rabbi who lived long ago, renowned for his scholarship and acumen. I refer to R. Solomon Luria (Responsa of Maharshal, Fuerth, No. 72). "Today we see the reverse. They walk haughtily (בקומה זקופה) and with stretched-forth necks (Isa. 3.16) but their heads are not bare (נילוי הראש). They are prompted, of course, not by piety (חסידות) but by"

THE TRIESCH *HEBRA KADDISHA*, 1687-1828

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AMONG the manuscripts of the Hebrew Union College is the minute book of the Triesch *Hebra Kaddisha*. Triesch was a Moravian town that had a Jewish community since the fifteenth century. After the expulsion of the Jews from Vienna in 1670 quite a number of the Viennese exiles crossed the northern border of Lower Austria to Moravia. A few of them settled in the town of Triesch, near Iglau, in Western Moravia.

Among these Viennese émigrés was David Bachrach, son of the distinguished Viennese Jew, Judah Loeb Bachrach.¹ It was this Viennese exile, David Bachrach, who was one of the three men who wrote the constitution of the Holy Brotherhood which was then established. It was a descendant of this Bachrach, or of a collateral branch of the family, Hermine Bacher, who married the late Gotthard Deutsch, professor of Jewish History at the Hebrew Union College, and it was probably in this manner that the manuscript came into his possession, and ultimately to the Hebrew Union College Library.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The manuscript is an octavo volume of 146 pages. The text of the manuscript is largely Judaeo-German. Some sections, like the story of the later David Bachrach, are almost entirely

¹ For the identification of David Bachrach of Triesch with David Polack of Vienna, see my article, "The Strange Case of David Bachrach," to be published by *Yivo* in 1945. Wachstein is positive that Moses David Bachrach of Vienna is identical with David Polackh (*Inscriben des alten Judenfriedhofes in Wien*, II, p. 268). The name Moses was added later, he believes, during a period of severe illness. A further indication that David Bachrach of Triesch is to be identified with the David Polackh of Vienna is seen in the fact that from 1693 on one of the outstanding citizens of Triesch was Moyses Polackh. This Moyses Polackh is very probably our David Bachrach.

in Hebrew. Pages 3 to 14 contain the original statutes — 43 paragraphs — dated Tuesday, the second day of *Hol Ha-Moed Pesah*, 1687.² The society was probably older than 1687: paragraph XXXIII refers to the payment of annual taxes by the society to the city authorities implying that this had been going on for several year. Pages 15 to 67 include a series of amendments, minutes of the annual meetings, records of gifts, inventories of utensils, etc., for the period from 1687 to 1828. Page 1 of the manuscript, the title page, declares that the statutes were originally promulgated in 1687 and renewed, together with additional statutes, on Sunday, the second day of *Hol Ha-Moed Pesah*, 1708. However the chronogram in the introductory paragraph of the statutes adds up to 1700. It is also curious to note that in the manuscript itself there are amendments and records for 1706 and 1710, but none for 1700 or for 1708. What the writer of the title meant, probably, was that in 1708 all preceding statutes and amendments, already in existence, were reconfirmed by the authorized officers. The inclusion of an adjoining letter in the chronogram would also give us the year 1708, instead of 1700. The scribe who copied the original statutes was Jekuthiel Levi. His entries persist till 1726.

Pages 68 to 116 are blank, and the rest of the book, pp. 117 to 146, are replete with a series of occasional records inserted during the course of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Pages 129 to 130 contain the record of a later David Bachrach — not the original Viennese exile — who in 1734 had the misfortune to have an encounter with the Angel of Death. I have dealt with this incident in "The Strange Case of David Bachrach."³ Pages 133 to 138 consist of an *Einlegbüchel* or *Legbüchel*, a device for recording the donations to the society on days when it was not permitted to write. This device was constructed by the simple expedient of cutting a page half way across into parallel fringe strips. A name was then written at the beginning of each strip. This strip could be bent forward or backward, at the upper or at the lower corner, in order to indicate the amount donated. The sums were collected immed-

² Printed in the Appendix.

³ See above.

ately after the Sabbath or the holyday on which the contribution had been offered. People were warned to pay what they had vowed or to refrain from making vows and offerings if they could not afford to pay or did not intend to pay.⁴

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The statutes and minutes of the confraternity are of considerable interest to the student of Jewish life. In the first place they are among our oldest extant constitutions of an Ashkenazic Brotherhood. It is true that there were societies in Prague (1564), Frankfort-on-the-Main (ca. 1597) and in Worms, Metz, Ofen, and Amsterdam prior to 1687, but the original statutes of the societies of these towns apparently are not extant. Certainly they have not been published. The published statutes of Ashkenazic societies older than the 1687 Triesch statutes, are those of Stanicz, 1655, Boskowitz, 1657, and Göding, 1682. It is interesting to note that all of these are Moravian towns. Our Triesch statutes, thus, are among the oldest published Ashkenazic statutes known. The *taḳkanot* of the Triesch *Hebra* are also of interest in that they are typical. There is very little of the "unusual" among them. They follow the pattern of the earlier Moravian societies and the later Central European and East European *hebrot*. A study and analysis of these *taḳkanot* should, therefore, give us a good picture of the structure and function of the typical *Hebra Qaddisha* as it manifested itself at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The minutes from 1687 to 1828, and the occasional records in the latter part of the minute book throw light not only upon the multifarious activities of the *Hebra* but also illumine the social life of the Jewish community in the late "medieval" or pre-emancipation period. They serve as authoritative historical sources for a study of Jewish communal life.

The Ashkenazic Holy Brotherhood, as I have shown,⁵ passed

⁴ Ecclesiastes 5.4.

⁵ The author has made a detailed documented study of the Holy Brotherhoods in the Ashkenazic lands in his *Communal Sick-Care in the German Ghetto* which is now in the press.

through a series of stages in its development. I can best describe this historical development by the following quotation from *Communal Sick-Care in the German Ghetto*:

"In the Middle Ages — in the Germanic lands with which we are primarily concerned — burials were probably taken care of by the community as a whole or by beadles who undertook this work as a private commercial transaction. This type of mortuary service was true of Prague in the sixteenth century and of Cracow as late as the middle seventeenth century. We have very little information as to the care of the impoverished sick in the pre-Brotherhood period, but it may be assumed that the community took care of such sick solely through the distribution of alms for the local sick and through provisions for shelter and refuge in the local Jewish hospice for the itinerant sick.

"A change in this system — certainly with respect to burials — developed in the last half of the sixteenth century: burials were now taken over by a new institution, the religious Brotherhood. This organization almost always exercised the monopolistic right of burial for the Jewish community. Its charges were on the whole moderate; it did not provide free burials except for the poor. In the first century of its development this new religious guild considered burials as its primary function. This is reflected very definitely in the names of the Brotherhoods which arose in the period from 1564 to 1655. As a matter of fact, most of the Brotherhoods called themselves *Ḳabranim* or *Ḳabbarim* ("Burier") societies up into the early eighteenth century. But it should also be borne in mind that even these early organizations, in addition to their burial activities, were interested in study and in the distribution of alms. One need not doubt that some of these alms also went for the support of the impoverished sick.

"Out of these burial societies, after a century, there developed the Holy Brotherhood which made spiritual and medical sick-care an integral part of its societal work. This was already true in Stanicz in Moravia by 1655. But it was not until the first quarter of the eighteenth century that burials, spiritual benefits, and sick-care became *typical* of the Holy Brotherhood in the

Central European area. Here again the names of the societies help show the development: by the last quarter of the seventeenth century the phrase *Gemilut Hasadim* ("Loving-Kindness") began to appear in the name and title of the societies. This phrase was now understood to connote something more than mere burial.

"The third change, both in name and type of society, does not appear — as far as the records permit us to judge — until about 1750 when the phrase *Bikkur Holim* ("Care of the Sick") occurs in the names of societies (Berlin and Dresden) and reflects an actual change in the organizations themselves. This change is reflected in the statutes of the Berlin sick-care society which concerns itself *primarily* with the sick and apparently does *not* function at burials. Burials were taken care of by the *Hebra Kaddisha Gemilut Hasadim*, a "Loving-Kindness" society which was either closely associated with the sick-care society or was actually affiliated with it in the capacity of a double-society. Berlin now had a distinct and separate organization *for the care of the sick*. It is not improbable that we may have to date this and other real sick-care societies somewhat earlier than 1750, for as a rule the formal written constitutions did not appear until some time after the creation of the organizations whose structure and aims they reflected.

"In the quarter of a century after 1750 other separate sick-care societies were established, although by far the majority of the Brotherhoods now merely added sick-care to their burial activities and expressed this new emphasis by adding the phrase *Bikkur Holim* to *Gemilut Hasadim*. This compound title now becomes frequent, and documents the parity of sick-care with burial in the society activities, etc."

In this historical schema of development the Triesch Brotherhood fits into the second period. The title of this society was the "Holy Brotherhood of Buriers, namely, the Masters of Loving-Kindness" (*H.K. de-Ḳabranim we-hemmah Ba'ale Gemilut Hasadim*). The society, reflecting its origin in the late seventeenth century, had already added some care of the sick to the prime purpose which was always burial.

THE AUTONOMY OF THE HOLY BROTHERHOOD

In determining the relation of the Brotherhood to the Jewish Community Council (*Qahal*) it should be borne in mind that in a formal sense every Brotherhood was a philanthropic agency subordinate to the authority of the corporate Jewish community. The community, as a rule, authorized and recognized the Brotherhood through the action of the local Jewish Community Council and its rabbi, a community official. This *de jure* situation rarely — except in large cities such as Amsterdam and the like — conformed with the *de facto* situation. In reality the burial and sick-care Brotherhood was practically autonomous and frequently exercised a jurisdiction that expressed its independence of the community, which, in theory, had authorized, recognized, or tolerated its existence.

The Brotherhood frequently enacted legislation that touched on the authority or even the finances of the community, prerogatives that normally should have been the lot of the Jewish Community Council. The *Qahal* tolerated this independence because of the fine work done by the Brotherhood which took care of the sick and buried the dead, and because of its financial power and its ability to give or lend money to the Jewish Community in moments of need. The apparent conflict in jurisdiction was sometimes more apparent than real because the most important members of the Brotherhood were frequently the leaders of the Jewish Community Council. The approval of a measure by the Brotherhood leaders would therefore automatically assure its approval by the same men in the *Qahal*.

An indication of this autonomy is reflected in the unilateral decision of the Triesch Brotherhood not to contribute the customary four florin to the City Council but to cut its contribution in half and to inform the Jewish Community Council to pay the other half (1687). They did not ask for permission to do this but simply told the *Qahal* what to do! A generation later, in 1720, the officers of the *Hebra Qaddisha* dispatched a committee to make a collection without regard to the authority or possible objection of the communal leaders. Thirteen years later, in 1733, the society decreed that if a member found it difficult

to attend a funeral, a substitute — a member or a non-member — was dispatched but was paid for his service. If, however, the man hired or appointed, refused to attend, the society exercised the right to impose a fine upon him even though he was not a member of the association. How far reaching the societal authority was may be seen in the fact that when a *Hazzan*, Isaac Wessely (1754), wanted to remain permanently in the community it was the *Hebra* which decided he could be buried ultimately in the cemetery, and till death, enjoy the precious right of denization. That the *Hebra* was conscious of the fact that it was not completely independent of the *Kahal* is evidenced in 1738 when it called in the chairman of the *Kahal* and its rabbi for a discussion on an important matter.

STRUCTURE OF THE SOCIETY AND ELECTIONS

This Brotherhood, in its general structural form, was like any other society of that time, or even of this day. It had a constitution, made provision for elective and appointive officers, possessed certain definite laws of admission and membership, required set dues, maintained discipline through fines and expulsions, and was characterized by special observances, celebrations, duties, etc.

One of the most important occasions in the life of the society was the annual general meeting. This meeting was held during the intermediate days of Passover when the officers for the ensuing year were chosen. The entire society was expected to be present on this important occasion although no member was permitted to vote who had not paid his weekly dues for the past year. There were about twenty members around the year 1738. This was a fairly large society — some societies had anywhere from a half dozen members on up — and probably included every important Jew in the community and in the immediate rural neighborhood.

People who did not pay their dues and free-will offerings were not permitted to participate in the elections and could be expelled. The young and unmarried members were also denied the franchise; if they married they were permitted to vote,

provided that they had been members for two years, and provided that a year had passed since the last general election of the Jewish community itself.

The first act of the society was the election (*hitḥadshut* or *berirah*) of the electors (*borrerim*). Three electors and a substitute (*niknas*) were chosen by lot from an urn. These electors, in turn, chose the three executive officers (*gabbaim*) by majority vote. The electors also determined the order and rank of the executive officers who were elected, giving preference to the older and more experienced men. The electors had a double duty: they were not only to elect the *gabbaim* for the following year but they were also to serve as a committee on the constitution (*ba'ale taḳkanot*) with authority to make any change which they deemed necessary.

The original statutes had been promulgated with the pious wish that they would last "till the coming of the Messiah," but that very year the electors were already making additions and changes. The changes were made at the annual election and an allowance of one-quarter florin for refreshments was granted them. They did not hesitate to exercise their prerogative of amending the laws; sometimes they merely repeated or re-emphasized those found in the original 1687 constitution. In 1744, the electors declared that there was no necessity to make new laws: the old were adequate, if the people would only observe them. In the period from 1687 to 1700 changes and amendments were made in six different years; from 1700 to 1800, forty different times; on a few occasions, twice during the same year.

THE *Gabbaim*

A great deal of the legislation, after 1687, concerned itself with the duties and functions of the executive officers. These *gabbaim* usually rotated in office every month when one was appointed *parnes ha-ḥodesh* or Officer-of-the-Month. The *gabbaim* had a great deal of authority, but if they felt the need of more they coopted a number of the most important members of the society or even called in the entire organization. About 1728, the *gabbaim* were meeting quarterly to carry on their work.

The basic problem that confronted the electors or the constitutional committee during the eighteenth century was to assure the election of qualified executives and to make sure that once they had been elected they would attend to their duties. No man was to be elected *gabbai* unless he had been an active member of the society for at least three years (1710). This was a guarantee that he had some experience in providing for the sick and the dead. Two of the three newly elected *gabbaim* had to be men who had served in this office before. It was even permitted to elect all three *gabbaim* from former executive officers. No man was to become a *gabbai* (1715) if he owed more than a florin. All men elected had to be men of piety and scrupulous observance. A century later — about 1810 — in the attempt to resist the inroads of the modern world, the society, together with the rabbi of the community, declared that any one who shaved would be dismissed from the organization and would not receive a Jewish burial!

Toward the middle of the eighteenth century it became increasingly difficult for the *gabbaim* to attend to their duties. They had the problem of making a livelihood, yet at the same time they had the duty of supervising the multifarious activities of the society. They were obliged personally to visit all sick, to see that the impoverished sick were provided for, that watch was kept at their bedside, and that no member failed to appear when summoned for sick-care. Should a member or an alien Jew die they saw to it that the grave was selected and dug, that the coffin was prepared, and that the members appeared at the funeral. They were charged with the supervision of the annual fast and the annual banquet. They directed the philanthropies of the society, even occasionally collected dues themselves, occupied themselves with societal discipline, and kept a watchful eye on the guild's utensils and its cemetery properties.

The cemetery itself had to be protected from devastation by vandals: a Gentile was therefore employed for this purpose to live on the premises. There were cemetery roads and walls and buildings to be kept in repair, particularly the hut where the bodies were ritually washed and where certain prayers were

recited. In Triesch and other Moravian towns this house was called the *Zidduḥ ha-Din Häusel*.

In 1738 a special meeting of the entire society was called to consider an offer of Moses Barasch. The walls of the cemetery, it appeared, needed repairs and Moses was willing to provide for the payment of these repairs by his heirs, provided he got a grave near his father.⁶ This was an unusual request inasmuch as an old ordinance of the society left the choice of the actual site of the grave to the executives. For the privilege of picking his own grave site Moses made an advantageous settlement with the society. However, in order to accomplish this legally, the head of the local Jewish Community Council, the rabbi, and the society had to express their approval in a formal fashion.

In 1787 when the cemetery required certain repairs the society borrowed fifty florins at six per cent from the Jacob Litz endowment. Jacob had left this money with the understanding that the interest on it was to be given annually to a teacher to instruct a boy in the Jewish religion. On the anniversary of the death of the endower, Jacob, the student was to recite *kaddish* in his memory. The society, in taking over the endowment, guaranteed its repayment by surrendering to the executor of the estate a silver flagon and a cup as pledge of repayment.

There were also shovels, hoes, picks, and iron bars in the cemetery, all carefully listed in the minute-book and an additional responsibility of the overburdened *gabbaim*. It was the duty of these executives to see that these utensils were not used for profane purposes. They were carefully checked whenever a new *gabbai* came into office and if any were missing the old *gabbai* was held financially responsible. The key for the box in which they were locked was in his possession, not in the hands of the beadle. Another charge was the copper kneading vessels for making unleavened bread, and the beds, coverlets, sheets, and pillows used for the impoverished sick. These utensils and furnishings were probably in the possession of the beadle.

The more valuable utensils, however, were kept under lock

⁶ Cf. Will of Eleazar of Mayence, Abrahams, *Hebrew Ethical Wills*, II, 218.

and key at the house of one of the *gabbaim*. These included a gold-plated silver cup, a silver pitcher used for the *kiddush* wine in the synagogue, two silver collection boxes, and a valuable loving cup used at the annual banquet.

Even though the burden of all this detail, supervision, and administration fell upon the current Officer-of-the-Month, the other *gabbaim* also had their hands full. The work was obviously a burden. In 1745 two substitutes (*niknasim*) were appointed to help out for the year. This change was unsatisfactory and the following year an arrangement was made whereby a temporary substitute was appointed to serve whenever a *gabbai* was absent. Although there were frequent changes, from now on there were always two auxiliary officers to help carry the load. The duties of the three *Obergabbaim* (senior executives) and the two *Untergabbaim* (junior executives) were carefully delimited in 1766.

The three *Obergabbaim* concerned themselves primarily with supervising the care of the sick and the finances of burial; *Untergabbaim* were more active in the actual care of the sick and in the details of burials. One of the two junior executives always served as an Officer-of-the-Month alongside one of the three senior executives.

In Triesch the guild administration was apparently democratic. A study of the officers elected — for the period from 1687 to 1800 — indicates that the offices were not monopolized by a few individuals. Occasionally the same men served in two or three administrations; one or possibly two individuals served in four administrations. The man who served in two or three administrations would serve one term, sometimes two successive terms, and might then appear again ten or fifteen years later. Not infrequently, one, or even two of the three *gabbaim*, was a man who had served in a previous administration: the purpose of his reelection was to guarantee the retention at the helm of older and experienced men who would know how to maintain the traditions of the society. At no time throughout the century was the entire administration — all three *gabbaim* — reelected to serve the following term. At least there is no record of this in the minute-book.

THE *Shammash*

The *gabbaim* were aided in their work by a beadle (*shammash*) whose duties were manifold. He substituted for the officers in collecting weekly dues every Friday, assisted in burying the dead, and the actual work of nursing the sick, under the supervision of the *gabbaim* and the members who sat up with the sick, was entrusted to him. He pieced out his income by special grants for collecting dues, by setting up tombstones, by nursing the sick, by fees for help at burials, and by plate-collections on his behalf at festal meals. In 1711 the beadle was paid an annual salary of seven florins. That same year he was retired on half pay with the understanding that he was to train his successor who bore the distinguished — and redundant — name of Moses RMBM. The income of the new beadle was fixed in 1716 as follows: he was to get special fees, in accordance with the age of the deceased, for assisting at burials, and he was to get an additional grant of four florins a year from the society charity funds. He and his wife were also to receive seven *Kreuzer* a night for staying up with the rich sick. No fees were to be charged for this service to the middle-class or poor Jews, and no fees was even to be charged the rich for the night that preceded their death. The annual salary was raised to fifteen florins by 1796, and by 1801 the society apparently employed two beadles. No doubt, in Triesch, as in other communities, the beadle also ran errands, summoned the members to the bedside of the sick, and helped out at the annual banquet.

One of the duties of the *shammash* in 1687 was to put an end to the "danger" (*sakkanah*) of men and women mixing together at the time when the dead were carried to the cemetery and when the people returned home after the burial. The beadle was enjoined to keep the two groups separate, to walk between them, to use every effort to keep them apart, and, if necessary, in order to accomplish this, to throw stones at the offending parties. This physical meeting of men and women was looked upon as something immoral, and a great danger which might cost one his life. Four years later, in 1692, the Prague fraternity had to cope with the same problem. To avoid the danger of

men and women meeting and associating together, some of the pious of the Prague society even refused to participate in the burial. The women, therefore, were warned to keep their distance from the men. If they refused to heed the warning, special officers, who had been appointed for this purpose, were commissioned to exact pledges of good conduct from them, to tear off their cloaks and to give them to the poor, and finally the executives were even instructed to buy two sprinklers and to douse the people the (women?) who did not know their place!⁷

THE *Sason-Simhah* AND THE *Librar*

In addition to the *shammash*, the general factotum of the society, there was, for a time at least, a subordinate employee, the *sason-simhah* (ששון ושמחה, "Joy-Happiness"), who ranked beneath the *shammash* and helped out in the burial of the dead and did whatever menial duties were assigned him in the society. Judging from the work performed by this minor functionary in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in other Moravian communities, he stayed up with the corpse, helped with the ritual washing of the body, dug graves, collected taxes, invited people to the annual Brotherhood banquet and to other festal meals where he also served as waiter, carried the Brotherhood charity box around, etc.⁸

The Brotherhood attempted in 1687 to appoint the *librar* (ליברר) as their *sason-simhah* but were forbidden by the government to do so. Evidently the authorities did not wish at this time to tolerate the creation of another office in the Brotherhood for fear that ultimately this position would be occupied by a non-taxpaying alien who would increase the population of the local Jewish community. The government, however, must have changed its mind later, for in 1726 there was a *sason-simhah* in the society. This office is not documented, however, for any other year after this.

⁷ Prague, 1692, par. 25, in *Jüdische Centralblatt*, VIII (1889), 51-52; cf., also, *MGWJ*, XXI (1930), 224.

⁸ *JGJC*, V (1933), 168, 173-174.

The name *sason-simhah*, as that of a burial Brotherhood employee, seems to have been used only in Moravia where it first appears in Boskowitz in 1657.⁹ It occurred later in Triesch (1687), in Kremsier (1692)¹⁰ in Neu-Raussnitz (1718)¹¹ and in Kanitz (1817).¹² The name "joy-happiness" for a grave-digger is obviously a euphemism. There is no need to derive the term deviously from the abbreviation S'S (*shammash we-sarver*, "beadle and waiter,") which finally became *simhah we-sason*.¹³ The unabbreviated, fully spelled-out form is documented as early as 1687 in Triesch.¹⁴

⁹ *MGWJ*, XXI (1930), 221.

¹⁰ Frankl-Grün, *Kremsier*, I, 199.

¹¹ *MGWJ*, LXX (1926), 172.

¹² *Hickl's jüd. Volkskalender*, XXII (1922-1923), 66.

¹³ *JGJC*, V (1933), 173-174.

¹⁴ There is apparently considerable confusion as to the relationship between the *librar* and the *sason-simhah*. Flesch (*Hickl's j. VK.*, XXII [1922-1923], 66) is of the opinion that *librar* or *liberer* comes from *libens* or *lubens* or *libentia* or *lubentia* and is a Latin translation of the Hebrew word for joy. It is also his argument that the word *librar* appears later than *sason-simhah* and is derived from it through the Latin. This is wrong for both words *sason-simhah* and *librar* occur together as two different offices in Triesch in 1687. It is obvious that in this Triesch Brotherhood the *sason-simhah* who was to be appointed was to be subordinate to the regular *shammash*, that he was to be used for grave-digging, etc. Thirty years before this, in Boskowitz (*JJLG*, XXI [1930], 221), the *sason-simhah* is also subordinate to the society *shammash* or beadle. In Neu-Raussnitz, in 1718, he received less than half the honorarium received by the *shammash* of the society (*MGWJ*, LXX [1926], 172). He was thus an assistant beadle in a Jewish Brotherhood. This was at least true in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Who was the *librar*? What was his function? What did his name mean? The *librar* in Triesch, in 1687, apparently, was not a Brotherhood but a community servant. In 1751 in Pressburg he was in charge of the hospice (*ZGJT*, III [1933], 76); in 1759 in Eisenstadt he was present when the meal-tickets were given out to the itinerants (Wachstein, *Eisenstadt*, pp. 165, 534). Originally, it would seem, he was in charge of the *hekdesch* or communal hospice and looked after the itinerants who lodged there. By the nineteenth century his field of labor was extended and he had become a general community factotum in Moravia although he was still in charge of the *hekdesch* (Briess, *Prerau*, p. 12; II, n. 8).

On the assumption — a wrong assumption, as we believe — that the *librar* originally was employed in the burial of the dead, the name has been

MEMBERSHIP AND DUES

No man could become a member of the society unless he had the right of residence in the local Jewish community (*hezkat ha-kehillah*). When an inhabitant of the town or neighborhood wished to join he announced his intention to the *gabbaim* who usually presented his name at the annual meeting. If he happened to be a distinguished person or possessed a *haber* (a "bachelor's") degree he served a novitiate of only one year. During this year he was called an *Aufwarter*. The Triesch minutes for 1743 interpret this word to mean the one who *waited* till the next applicant appeared. He was *waiting* for an appointment as a full member. The Jews themselves were confused as to the real origin of this word which was used to denote a junior member of the society. The Pressburg Brotherhood defined *Aufwarter* as one who *served* the sick and *waited* till the next relief came.¹⁵ Schay¹⁶ defined the word as one who *waited on the table* at the annual banquet. In all probability the word — stemming from the contemporary German guilds — meant a junior member who served his organization in a variety of ways.¹⁷

The newcomer was elected and admitted by majority vote at the annual meeting where all the members were assembled. He was expected to pay an entry fee and dues (*Wochengeld*) which were collected weekly or monthly. The process of becoming a member through the payment of an entry fee (*hakdamah* or *meot hakdamah*) was called "buying onesself in (*einkaufen*)."

The *gabbaim* determined the entry fee which was fixed according to the wealth of the applicant. By 1705 the *gabbaim* — following a precedent used in taxing — coopted two additional

derived from *liberia*, livery, (Wachstein, *Grabschriften in Eisenstadt*, p. 45, n. 2), from *libero*, to free, a euphemism for death (ZGJT, III [1933], 85, n. 23), from *libitinarii*, corpse-washers (like the Sephardic *Lavadores*) [*Menorah* (German) IV [1926], 363]. The word has also been derived from *liber*, book, and *librarius*, secretary (*Jahrbuch f. j. VK.*, II [1924-1925], 420). Inasmuch as originally the *librar* was in charge of the *hekdesch* in Moravia and *provided* for the itinerants and saw to it that they were fed, I would suggest that *librar* is the German word, *Lieferer*.

¹⁵ Weisz, *Abne bet-ha-yozzer*, p. 79a.

¹⁶ ZGJT, III (1933), 84, n. 16.

¹⁷ Ortloff, *Corpus juris opificarii*, p. 510, par. 9.

members to help assess a new member. If after a man had been elected he balked at paying his assessment, and if the amount was small, the society reserved the right, because of the petty attitude of the man, and because he had put the society to shame, never to admit him into their midst. The entry fee was used to pay the expenses of the annual banquet. The weekly dues were fixed and were the same for all adults regardless of wealth. Boys and young unmarried men usually paid half the dues paid by adults. As soon as a young man married, no matter how old he was, he paid the full amount. In 1687 adults paid two *Kreuzer* a month; in 1797 they paid three *Kreuzer*, and in 1809, four *Kreuzer* a month. No man could become a full member till he had served for at least a year and of course during this period could not vote or accept office. Young unmarried men could under no condition be elected to office no matter how long they were members. The right to vote or to be voted for came only with marriage. The man who did not pay his dues could be expelled after a year; he had to be expelled if he was in arrears for two years. The man who left the organization without a good and proper excuse had to pay all he owed on the books and in addition was mulcted one florin. However if a young man — a member — had married and was to leave town, or if an older householder was compelled to migrate, he paid only what he owed on the books.

SOURCES OF THE SOCIETY INCOME

The income of the society was made up of entry fees, weekly dues, donations made to the society during religious services, charity box collections, the income from setting up tombstones — which varied according to one's status as a rich man, a middle-class man, or a poor man — from fines, and finally of sums collected from the sale of cemetery plots and the charges made for burial.

There were two boxes (*kalpi*) used for the collection and depositing of the societal moneys. The one box, serving as a depository, was kept sealed in the home of one of the *gabbaim*; another *gabbai* kept the key. The second box, probably sealed

also, except for the vent, was in the hands of the collector, the beadle, no doubt. It was probably this box that circulated in the cemetery at funerals, that was carried around at every New Moon service, and on the annual fast day by the Officer-of-the-Month.

Fines were a frequent source of income and no occasion was too remote to serve as a pretext for mulcting people. People were fined for not coming to funerals, for not staying up with the sick and the dying, for insulting fellow-members, for not fasting on the 7th of Adar, for the privilege of being released from fasting on that day, and for a host of other causes. Fines were imposed with equal celerity on officers as well as on the more humble members. Carelessness on the part of the *gabbaim* — such as negligence in adequately preparing the annual banquet! — brought speedy financial reprisal. In all probability the fines imposed were actually collected although there is no record of such collection in the sources.

BURIAL FEES

The chief revenue of the Brotherhood was the income that came in from burials. The deceased were divided into four categories: adults, children over five years of age, under five, and still-births. The burial fees charged were based on two factors, both variable: the income tax paid by the deceased or his parents, and the age of the deceased. The fixed rates were for members only but there were occasional complaints that local non-members and financially able aliens were getting off too cheap. To satisfy this complaint — which was probably not correct except for the poor who received their burials for little or gratis — the rule was laid down at the very first that the *gabbaim*, in consultation with the entire society, had the right to charge outsiders whatever they thought fit. This probably led to abuses, for as early as 1687 it was declared that aliens buried were not expected to pay more than the rate laid down by the Moravian National Jewish Council.¹⁸ The complaint still persisted that aliens were

¹⁸ See, G. Wolf, *Die alten Statuten der jüdischen Gemeinden in Mähren, etc.*, par. 244 (1651). For Polish Jewish decrees of 1683 against burial fee exploitation, see *JE*, "Burial Society."

getting off too cheap and about 1730 it was decreed that the outsiders were to pay at least twice as much for burials as members.

Whether one was a member or not, his family was expected, immediately on his demise, to turn over some collateral to the society as a pledge that they would pay the burial expense. The pledges — as recorded in the minutes of the society — consisted of plates, spoons, and saucers, probably of silver, valuable rings, and books. The family was given thirty days after death to redeem these pledges: if they failed to do so the pledges were immediately sold. As the century passed and the purchasing power of money lessened the *gabbaim* were empowered to demand of the rich members whatever they saw fit. There was no increase in the burial fee collected of the middle class and of the poor. This was in 1772. In 1797 the new variable scales, as in 1687, included all three financial groups; in 1801 the fees for all classes were again raised because "money had changed its value." Non-members and those who lived out of town were still expected in 1797 to pay double the fee charged to members, and the poorest among the non-members in 1801 paid as much as the richest members. The *gabbai* even had the authority to ask more. This differential in the charges made to members and non-members was prompted by the fact that the members had expended a great deal of money in maintaining the organization; it was therefore believed that non-members, who had made no contribution, had no right to expect the same rates as the men who for a lifetime had given generously of their money to the society. These financial demands made upon the non-members are reminiscent of the extremely severe demands made by the Christian states and towns upon Jewish cadavers in transit and upon the estates of Jews who died in towns where there was no Jewish community. The Jews bitterly resented these confiscatory demands of the non-Jewish authorities and they who were non-members of a local *Hebra* resented with equal bitterness, and probably more vigor, the financial demands of the Jewish burial society. From all indications, however, the demands made of non-members, though high, were not exorbitant.

The various funds that flowed into the coffers tended to

assure the financial well-being of the average Brotherhood. Most of them were sufficiently affluent to lend out some of their moneys, particularly to the Jewish community itself. There is no record, however, that the Triesch society lent money to the community directly; it did lend money to individuals.

SOCIETY DISCIPLINE

The Brotherhood attempted to guarantee the observance of its ordinances and statutes through the typical medieval forms of discipline. The basic form of discipline was the fine imposed by the *gabbaim* or the society as a whole. These fines varied in size in accordance with the misbehavior and the rank of the person guilty of the insult and the rank of the man insulted. The final recourse of the society was the threat that it would always collect at death: "his day will come when it will be collected." The impression one derives from a study of the record is that much of the threatening was futile. This impression is based upon the fact that from 1687 to 1828 there were only two cases recorded by name of people to be punished. It is also possible that the knowledge that the society held the upper hand and could withhold Jewish burial was sufficient to whip recalcitrants into line.

The first of the two disciplinary cases recorded concerned two brothers, Zelig and Feibush. At the general annual meeting on Passover, 1726, the guild as a whole decided unanimously that these two brothers were to be deprived of their franchise and never again to be elected to any office. Any one who attempted to oppose this decision was to be fined two *Reichsthaler* and to be expelled from the society. We are not given details of the misbehavior of these two men: we are merely informed that Zelig was not fit to be a *gabbai* and that Feibush, his brother, in giving him the office — Zelig was *gabbai* in 1725 — had acted disgracefully. In spite of the fact that the society now decided that these two men were "never" again to hold office, Zelig made his peace with the *gabbaim* in 1728, and in 1733 and in 1745 we find him again among the officers: Feibush his brother did not come to terms with the society.

The second recorded breach of discipline occurred in 1739. Then the beadle, Jacob, was solemnly warned that he should have been dismissed and that if he committed another offense which involved his office he would lose his position. There is no need to mention what he did — we are told — out of respect for the *Hebra*. He was probably remiss in his work and when reproached “insulted” the officers.

The problems of misconduct and punishment of members and non-members are indicated in some detail in two articles of the original 1687 constitution. The society reserved to itself the right to punish members without coopting the rabbi who was the local judge, and without interference from any other Jewish authoritative body in the community. The impropriety of which such a member might be guilty was the threat to “tattle” about the Jews to the Christian authorities, theft, drinking ritually unfit wine, striking a fellow-member, or some other infraction of personal or religious conduct. Such members of the society when found guilty may be denounced publicly in the synagogue or banned or arrested or expelled from the *Hebra*. No member of the society may intercede for such a culprit and the *gabbaim* were instructed to use all means to collect the charity contributions made by such wrongdoers but not yet paid. In all probability such offenders were not given a ritual Jewish burial.

The society also demanded respect for itself from those people in the Jewish community who were not members of the society. If it could be established through witnesses that any one was attacking the society or scoffing at its work, then the guilty party was summoned to stand trial before the entire society. The *gabbaim*, in this instance, coopted the services of the rabbi-judge and two or three prominent members of the society. No one was permitted to intercede to lighten the sentence. The punishment decreed was normally a monetary fine, but if the sinner did not accept his sentence a note was to be made in the record that at his death he would not receive a Jewish burial, but would be interred in a corner by himself. If at death any one were to intercede for him, or, even worse, attempt to give him a ritual burial without the permission of the society, then that person was to be expelled from the society and a notation

made in the minute-book that at death he was not to receive a Jewish burial.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century the society occasionally cautiously added to its ordinances the phrase: "saving the rights of the Queen (Maria Theresa)" or "saving the rights of the government." This was necessary in that period of enlightened and unenlightened despotism when the government was suppressing the activities of every social organization, both Jewish and Catholic, and attempting even to abolish both the Jewish and Christian religious guilds and to turn over their philanthropic tasks to the state itself.

THE TRIPLE FUNCTION OF THE SOCIETY: STUDY, PRAYER, AND LOVING-KINDNESS

Brotherhoods were originally created because of the need to make provisions for the burial of the dead. However, this social act was at once given a religious motivation in accordance with the concept characteristic of all Jewry of the day, and Christianity, too, that there was no real distinction between social and religious institutions, in their motivations at least. Following the standard pattern which recurs in most constitutions the Triesch Brotherhood also reiterated that the world is supported by the pillars of study (*torah*), prayer (*abodah*), and deeds of loving-kindness (*gemilut hasadim*), and it is for this triple purpose that the Triesch society was founded.

I. STUDY

In quite a number of fraternities regular provision was made for systematic daily or weekly instruction (*torah*) of an elementary or of an advanced nature for members of the society. Triesch, strangely, did very little if anything in this direction throughout the course of its history. It had no classes and no regular paid teachers. Apparently the only study that it encouraged was that which was engaged in by the society immediately after the death of a member. Then, for the first seven days of mourning at least, portions of the Mishna were studied. That this custom was also

followed in Triesch is confirmed by the fact that twice during the century sets of Mishnah were donated to the society. There is an intimation that the Mishnah was also studied regularly in the stipulation governing the donation of the second set in 1801: the books were to be lent to students and were to be brought to the society on the 7th of *Adar* as ocular evidence that they were not lost. The *Hebra* was also expected to keep them in repair.

2. PRAYER

Study was of course closely associated with the prayer service (*abodah*). The study classes which were maintained in most Brotherhoods were often held right after services and were led by the guild chaplain. The Triesch Brotherhood had no regular chaplain and no synagogue or conventicle of its own. It met, apparently, in the community synagogue, and employed the community rabbi whenever his services were required. It did have its own Scroll of the Law which had been written to order about 1690. It was this Brotherhood-owned Scroll which was proudly carried around by the Officer-of-the-Month on the annual holyday of the Rejoicing of the Law. The Synagogue Donation Book (*Einlegbüchel*) of the society (about 1730) with its forty-one names probably listed, not merely the guild members, but also the members of the community, all of whom at some time or another either made or were expected to make a donation on behalf of the society when called to read in the *Torah*.

Among the important functions of the society were the observance of certain fast days and the performance of certain spiritual exercises. On the morning of the afternoon prior to the New Moon ten members were selected to fast and then to repair to the cemetery for prayers at the graves of the departed whose powers of intercession were strong. Every society, in addition, had its own particular fast day which was to be observed by every member of the association. In Triesch, as in most of Moravia, this was the 7th of *Adar*, the traditional date of the death of Moses. On the day preceding the fast, on the 6th of *Adar*, the Officer-of-the-Month and the beadle instructed the members to fast on the night between the 6th and the 7th. That

same night ten men met at the home of the rabbi and recited special prayers, particularly those in the *Shaare Ziyon*. The next morning, the 7th, the entire fraternity held services, and then went to the cemetery. There, at the cemetery, some member of scholarly capacity would make an address of an ethical and admonitory nature and then the members of the society, in a formal fashion, would ask forgiveness of the dead for wrong done to them. This wrong may have been some unwitting insult at the time of their burial or when the bodies were being ritually cleaned.

The next ceremony was to "encircle the cemetery," to walk around the graves, an old custom that may even go back, in one form or another, to talmudic tradition. This society was very punctilious in the observance of this particular ceremony. On the 7th of *Adar*, in the year 1745, the rabbi and ten members went to the cemetery to recite the customary prayers but were hindered by a terrific snow storm. The snow drifts were as high as the walls. They could not enter through the main gate but managed to get into the cemetery by the simple expedient of walking over the walls on the hard packed snow. But though they managed to enter the cemetery they were not able to encircle the graves. This disturbed them and to make sure that there would be no evil consequence for this apparent disrespect of the dead they made a formal entry in the minutes of their attempt to carry out the traditional ritual.

After the ritual of walking around the graves had been completed, a box was circulated for the charities and that brought an end to the ceremonies at the cemetery. In most Ashkenazic communities that very evening was devoted to the annual banquet of the society when the fast was broken. However, Triesch, like most other Moravian towns, did not hold its banquet on the night of the seventh but on the fifteenth of *Adar*. On the 15th of *Shebat*, a month in advance, the *gabbaim* assessed every member according to his wealth for a contribution for the annual feast. Additional funds came from the entry fees and from fines. One month later — the 15th of *Adar* — on *Shushan Purim*, the banquet was held in the home of the Officer-of-the-Month. There they sat down "to eat and drink in love and affection." The

rabbi, the beadle, and the local cantor were given their meal free. Following typical guild patterns the dinner itself was served by the new members, the unmarried men, and the youth of the society.

The members were expected to have a good time. They frequently took this admonition too literally. The annual banquet — where beer and wine were plentiful — was a grand occasion for settling scores, at least verbally. Everyone, therefore, was warned to be on his best behavior: no insults, no innuendos. The *gabbaim*, too, were specifically admonished to say nothing unworthy when they made their addresses. And, in accordance with talmudic law, that no one might say that he was not warned before he was punished, the beadle arose and in a formal fashion told the assembled throng to be careful in all it did.¹⁹

3. LOVING-KINDNESS: CHARITY, SICK-CARE, AND BURIALS

We have already discussed two functions of the society: study and prayer. The third was "loving-kindness" (*gemilut hasadim*). In the terminology of the Jewish confraternity this carried the connotation first, of burials, and later, of general philanthropy and care of the sick. It is particularly the merit (*mizwah*) acquired through the burial of the dead, said the officers in 1751, that will hasten the coming of the Messiah!

The philanthropic interests of the society were quite broad. Various sums of money were collected at every religious and festal occasion: at services, funerals, weddings, during the holy-days, and the like. Apparently — it is not altogether clear — there were two different charity funds: one probably for help at burials, another for non-burial philanthropies. Any poor man seeking charity was helped although the *gabbaim* were limited in their expenditures to fifteen *Kreuzer*. If larger expenditures were necessitated the entire guild had to voice its approval. The officers were not expected to seek such authority, however, for purchasing vessels and utensils needed directly for its work. In 1713 the society turned over nine and one-half pounds of linen

¹⁹ Cf. *Sifre, Shofetim*, 173.

to the Cantor Hillel and made an arrangement with him whereby he paid for this linen in annual installments and guaranteed its payment by assigning his salary. The society thereupon collected the amount owed it by the cantor from the officials of the Jewish community.

A generation later (1743) the society leaders were shocked to discover not that the poor could not and did not buy kosher wine on the Passover but did not care! The *gabbaim* and the electors, therefore, made a decree that the officers were to assemble annually at the home of the Officer-of-the-Month and to distribute a considerable quantity of Passover wine to the poor people. But people also required unleavened bread for this holy-day. This need was satisfied, in part at least, by lending the middle classes and the poor, copper kneading tables and bowls for the baking of *mazot*. These bowls originally came through a legacy of the widow Kila (1745) who left money for this purpose asking the society to record the date of her death, to burn a light in her memory on the anniversary of her death, and to keep her memory alive for she had no children to recite the *kaddish* at *Jahrzeit*. The balance of the Passover utensils had been left to the society in 1801 by Moses Goldfluss who asked that they be brought to the annual meeting during the Passover season so that they could be checked and thus preserved.

In 1766 the society declared that during the seven day period of mourning after death a poor man was entitled to a subsidy of thirty-six *Kreuzer*. Loans to the poor, however, were always considered a higher form of help than the mere giving of money. The officers were permitted to lend a poor man two florin out of the charity funds but they were always required to secure a pledge from the borrower worth more than the two florin lent. No interest, apparently, was charged. By 1725 the society was already lending money at interest to various people. There is no way of determining whether this was done merely to make good use of the idle funds of the society or as a philanthropically-motivated accommodation to credit-hungry fellow Jews. It was now decided that when money was lent it must be done with the knowledge of all the officers and if one was absent an old member was to be coopted in his stead. In 1734 a widow who

required money borrowed fifteen florin and pledged her two seats in the synagogue. If she could not pay her debt within six months, the society reserved the right to rent them out for their own advantage. The record shows, however, that she paid her loan in full the following year.

The society also devoted itself to providing for the circumcision feast of the poor, especially the itinerant poor. In all probability this humanitarian work fell to it because it supervised and supported the local hospice where these poverty stricken women came to lie-in. Strangely enough no mention is made of the hospice until 1816 when it is referred to as a *Schlafstat*; in 1822 it is for the first time referred to as a *hekdesch*, the name by which it was normally known in practically all other Ashkenazic communities since the fifteenth century.

If there was a poor man in town or an itinerant who had a newly born son, and no man volunteered to take over the honor — and the attendant expense of godfather — the society took over. The *gabbai* of the month became *sandik*, a sort of godfather, and was authorized to draw up to one and one-half florin from the society treasury to pay for the expense of the circumcision feast. The *mohalim* or circumcisers of the society took precedence over circumcisers who were non-members. The *mizwah* or religious privilege of circumcising the child and of ushering it into Judaism was limited to members of the society who were chosen for this honor by lot. The society kept a list of their members who were *mohalim*: they had eight of them. Because of the privilege accorded him, the *mohel* was expected to make a gift at the circumcision feast. For the sake of the "record," when an itinerant woman gave birth in the local *hekdesch*, a detailed statement was made of the name of the woman, of her father, of her husband, the city from which they stemmed, and, of course, of the name given to the child. The circumcision ceremony was an elaborate affair. At least ten men took an active part in it: two were given the honor of being *sandik*, one was *Gevatter*, two *mohalim* divided the actual operation between them, two others recited the benedictions, another supplied the knife, another medicaments, the cantor sang, etc. The circumcision feast then followed.

Although, as we have seen, the prime object for which the society was created was burial of the dead, nevertheless, in the Triesch guild, as in most others of this generation, provisions were also made for medical care of the sick and for religious ministrations at the bedside of the dying.

When a man was reported sick the Officer-of-the-Month was expected to visit him and to see what he needed. Food and delicacies were given to him and as much as three florin could be spent for this *Labung*. Although the amount to be expended on the poor was thus limited to three florin this limitation evidently was not slavishly observed, for the general rule was laid down that the poor were to have anything they needed. Rather unusual was the provision that this expenditure was to be made for the rich also when they happened to be sick, but the condition was added that in exchange the rich were expected to make a countergift to the charities of the *Hebra*. Throughout the course of the eighteenth century the legislation was concerned with making sure that the *gabbai* or a proper substitute visited the sick man at frequent intervals. Originally, in 1687, the frequency of the visits was not specified. When about 1762 junior executives were appointed both junior and senior executives were called upon to make a daily visit. Four years later, the junior executive was expected to visit the sick man twice a day. Not typical of the ministrations of the average pious association is the provision in Triesch that the *gabbaim* may even send a non-member to stay up with the sick if the non-member is close to him and understands the nature of his illness (1722). As a rule the societies were very jealous of their sick-care prerogatives and hesitated to invite the services of outsiders.

It was imperative that no very sick or dying man be left alone: to die without the comforting presence of friends, without the call to repentance, without repeating the *Shema*, and to be left alone to face the demonic forces about him. The moment it was known that a man was dangerously ill two men remained at his bedside constantly during the day time; at night, three were present. A tour of duty extended for two hours and the men sent were chosen by lot. When it was obvious that the man was in a serious condition the ritual for the dying was read.

Although Triesch does not specify which ritual it followed in 1687 there were at least three standard books which it could have used; the *Ma'abar Yabbok*, the *Ḳizzur Ma'abar Yabbok*, and the *Sheloh*. In all probability it followed some form of the *Ḳizzur Ma'abar Yabbok*. Later in the eighteenth century some individuals in the community employed the *Ḳizzur Sheloh*.

The moment the sick man died the Officer-of-the-Month at once informed the entire *Hebra* and directed them to stay home till the burial. After the services in the synagogue the guild members in Triesch assembled in the courtyard. Before the actual work of preparing for the burial was undertaken, the family of the deceased paid up all society debts or surrendered a pledge to guarantee payment. These pledges were kept in a special locked box, the key of which was in the possession of the *gabbaim*. Certain members were sent to the cemetery to dig the grave, others to make the coffin, others to wash the dead. In the early days of the society non-members were rigorously excluded from all these activities. Every phase of the burial work service was directed and supervised by the *gabbai*: he picked the grave and conferred the honor of turning over the first shovelful of dirt. Throughout the course of the eighteenth century the great problem was the difficulty of securing officers and members to assemble for the burial. Originally all members and officers were expected to appear at the funeral and no substitutes were accepted. The actual work of grave-digging was to be done by the members themselves — this was an important religious opportunity and duty. However, by 1724, only ten men — chosen by lot — and one *gabbai* were expected to be present. A few years later, 1733, permission was granted to hire non-members to act as substitutes and to perform the duties of digging the grave and the like. By 1806 it was practically impossible to enlist the members for this labor of love and the actual grave-digging was turned over to three professional grave-diggers: probably impoverished members of the society who received a fixed annual fee for this work. The fee in turn was collected from the members, picked by lot, whose duty it would have been normally to dig the grave. We see that more and more work was done by paid professionals, but the effort was con-

stantly being made to require the members themselves to render some service. In this effort they were successful.

Throughout the century appeals were made to the *gabbaim* to come to the funerals and to set an example to the members and to the other townsfolk. The introduction of *Untergabbaim* in the middle of the century was motivated in part by the need of additional executives so that at least one should be present to direct all activities. One *gabbai* had to be present always when the coffin was lowered, and after a grave had been dug a member had to remain at the open hole until it claimed its dead. The Triesch Jews were probably mindful of the injunction of Judah He-Hasid in his "Will" that a grave must not be left empty but must be filled as soon as possible or dire consequences will ensue. There must be no levity, no quarreling, no pranks, no drinking at the grave, and during the ceremonies of washing the body and making the coffin, under penalty of fine. After the funeral the beadle took two *Kreuzer* of the money he had collected at the funeral and used it to buy refreshments which were served the mourner at his home (1716, *se'udat habra'ah*).

APPENDIX

תקנות השייכים לחברא קדישא דקברנים והמה בעלי גמילות חסדים פה ק"ק טרישט וקימו וקבלו עליהם לבל יעבור כל מה שכתוב ומבואר בתוכו נעשה ביום נ' בח'ה של פ' תמ"ז לפ"ק ועתה נתחדש עם איזה תקנות חדשים הנוספים ביום א' שני רח"ה ש' פ' ת"ו סמ"ך ח"ת לפ"ק.

על שלשה דברים עומד העולם ואחר מהם זו גמילות חסדים, ויעקב אמר לבנו ליוסף ועשית עמדי חסד ואמת, איזה חסד של אמת העושין עם המתים.

ואחר שגמילת חסדים היא מצוה גדולה בכך אספנו לש"ש ועשינו אנודות וחברה קדישא להתעסק בצרכי קבורת מתים עכצש"ת וקבלנו עלינו לאשר ולקיים לשמור ולעשות והתקשרנו בקשר חזק ואמיץ ונתחזק, אשר כל איש לא יוכל לנתק, ולהפיל דבר ארצה מכל תקון הרברים בחסד ובאמת יתוקן ונאמרים, בתכלית היופי ואמרי שפרים, לעד ולדור דורים, כמו להבא מבוארים.

א האנשים דיא בחברה קדישא זיין זאלין מידי שבועה ושבועה געבין לקלפי מיוחדת להם שלשה פשיטי' קטנים, והילדים ונערים ובחורים יתנו מידי חודש בחורשו א' צל', והגבאים אשר יהי' בימים ההם מחוייבים לגבות המעות הנ"ל מידי חודש בחורשו כדי קיין לא נתן זאל פר בלייבין. דהיינו איין איטליכר איז מחויב אויש צו צאלין מהיום והלאה לכל הפחות וואו מידי חרש בחדשו קומט דער מיט דז החוב ניט גרעשר וואקסט. ויהי' מי שיהי' דער ניט אויז צאלט בשנה זו זיין חרש געלט וגם הנדרים ונדרות וואו ער מנדר האט גיוועזן, אזו זאל האיש ההוא ניט גיומין ווערין לברירה בשעת התחדשות האלופים גבאים דג"ח. וגם יש כח ורשות לחברא קדישא לרחות אותו האיש מחברא קדישא ועכ"פ זאלין האלופים גבאים ניט מתרשל זיין אום צו גין שבועה ושבועה, לגבות מה שמחויב כ"א ליתן וואכין געלט או אחר במקום שטעלין דער בתמירות זאל אום גין מידי שבועה ושבועה. **ב** בכל שנה ושנה ביום ראשון בח"ה של פסח זאלין זיך אלופים גבאים זעצין ויאספו כל החברא לברירה אונ' מחדש זיין אלופים גבאים ויהי' מה שיהי' דער מסרב ווער אונ' ניט קומט תכף ומיד להתוועדת הברירה יוקנס בעד רביעי זהוב לקלפי בלי הנחה.

ג בשעת הנתחדשות זאלין כל האנשים דיא בחברא אין איין קלפי אריין גליגט וורין אונ' זאלין ארויז גיומין ע"פ הגורל שלשה בוררים כשרים ואחד נכנס, והבוררים זאלין מכין שלשה גבאים כשרים.

ד קסדר עשיית הגבאים כך יהיו, דהיינו השלשה בוררים זאלין איין איטלכר אויף שרייבן בשמו הטוב וועם דז ער צו איין גבאי וויל האבין ואותן שלשה אנשים דיא אויף גינעבין זענין ווארין מהבוררים לגבאים זאלין אין איין קלפי גווארפן ווערין ואיזה שיצא בראשון ע"פ הגורל מהקלפי זאלין הבוררים בהן ולא אום אים רובין וע"פ הרוב כן יהי' וכן יקום. ואף דז שוין הגבאים זיין שוין גימאכט גווארין אונ' ווער בתחילה איין יונגר בן אדם גימאכט לגבאי ואח"כ עלטרי לייט לגבאים

יש כח ורשות ביד הבוררים לשנות אונ' צו שטעלין הגבאים לפי הזקנה והכבוד מי הראשון ומי השני ומי השלישי והגבאים קענין נברר ווערין משני צדדים.

ה' עניי קלפות ווערין זיין אחר קלפי זאל סגור זיין והקלפי יהי' ביד גבאי פרנס החדש וגבאי השני יהי' בידו המפתח, והקלפי השני זאל זיין ביד האיש ההוא דער בכל שבועה אום גיט וכל חדש וחדש זאל המעות אבגפירט וורין לקלפי ביד פרנס החדש במספר וחשבון מה שהוציא.

ו' קגבאים המה מחוייבים להדר רז תמיד קיין לאבונג חסר זאל זיין ולפחות זאל מן מוציא זיין מהקלפי שלשה זה' להוצאות לאבונג כדי תמיד גיט זאל חסר זיין בקנס חצי זהוב על כל חר וחר מהגבאים באים שיחסור הלאבונג, אונ' דאז זאלן גיברויכט ווערין לעשירים ולעניים ווער עז ח'ז פר גיטן ווער, אמנם העשיר בכסף ישלם לצדקה לג'ח ולעניי' ינתן בחנם.

ז' קהוצאות חוץ וואז גיט לצורך ג'ח איז היינו לחלוקת עניים אורחי פרחי האבין הגבאי' גיט מער בכח אויז צו געבין אז ט'ו צ' ולא יותר, גם דרפין הגבאים כלל ניקש אויז געבין צו מאכין אפילו כלי קודש אם לא ביריעת כל החבורא קדישא אמנם כלים וואז חסר איז לג'ח לצורך קבורה יש כח ורשות ביד הגבאים לקנות כאוות נפשם גם דרפין הגבאים גיט מער אוועק מלוה מעות צדקה דג'ח לעני הצורך לזה רק שני' זהובי' ולא יותר ובלי משכון כלל וכלל גיט, והמשכון זאל עכ"פ בעשר ווערט זיין אז שני זהובי'.

ח' קודם התחדשות זאלין הגבאים זיך מאסף זיין 'חד אונ' הפנקס לייטריין ווער חייב איז ולהוציא מאותן האנשים נשאר חייבים בכל כפיות ונגישות ועכ"פ דאז וואכין געלט משנה שעברה.

ט' מאן רהוא דער זיך מהיום והלאה וויל לחברא קדישא אריין בגעבין זאל זיך אן מעלדין אצל האלופים גבאים ובאים שהוא מוסמך לחבר או שהוא איש מסויים זאל ער אויף ווירטין שנה אחת אונ' מח גין לכל ענייני קבורה ולכל מה שיצווה עליו הגבאים הן לחפור קבר והן לילך ולשמור איזה גוסס ב"מ ולכל דבר שבקדושה, און דאך היישט ער קיין קברון גיט עד לאחר השנה זו זאל ער ערשט אויף גינומין ווערין בהן ולא ע"פ הרוב מכל בני החבורא קדישא ברוב דעות אונ' זאל הקדמה געבין לפי ראות עיני האלופי' הגבאים חרשים וישנים, העשר ירבה והדל לא ימעט ואותו מעות הקדמה יקחו לצורך הסעודה, ועכ"פ דרף מען תוך השנה קיינס אויף נעמין, אם לא בשעת התחדשות באסיפת כל בני חבורא קדישא, וגם זאל האיש ההוא גיט גיברויכט ווערין להתמנויות ולברירה אצל בני החבורא קדישא עד אחר שנה זו רז ער אויף גנומין וורט ברוב דעות.

י' יהי' מה שהי' דער זיך אן מעלד אצל האלופי' גבאים רז ער אריין וויל קומין לחבורא קדישא והגבאים העטין לאוין רובין אצל כל החבורא קדישא והאיש ההוא העט רוב דעות ואח"כ מחמת מעות הקדמה רז דבר קל בטרעפט קאנט גיט מושווה ווערין עם הגבאים אונ' איז עי"ז מבייש החברא קדישא בשביל דבר מועט אונ' גיט זיך גיט דריין זאל האיש ההוא גיט מער אן גינומין ווערין אונ' כלל גיט מער גידאכט וורין לכל בני החבורא רז מן זאל אריין נעמין.

יא באם שאחר מבני החבורא זאלט בנערין ברצונו הטוב זיך פורש צו זיין מבני החבורא קרישא אונ' נישט צו פר בלייבן בחבורא קרישא יתן אחר זהוב לקלפי וישלם הכל בפעם אחת מה שחייב בפנקס.

יב עכצש'ט אם יהי' ח'ו איזה ב"מ מחויב הפרנס החדש אן צו זאגן לכל בני החבורא קרישא דיא דער היים זענין דזין דיא זאלין דער היים פר בלייבן אונ' נישט ווייכן ער קבורת המת, ובאם שיהי' איזה אונס דז איינר נישט קענט דער היים פר בלייבן יציע דבריו לפני הגבאים שיהי' בימים ההם מאיזה טעם דז ער נישט קאן דער היים בלייבן, ובאם שיהי' הגון וראוי בעיני הגבאי' הדברים שלו דז בהכרח איז דז ער מוז אוועק גין, אזי יתנו לו רשות לילך לשלום לדרכו ובאם שאחר מבני החבורא קרישא יעבור על זה אונ' זאל זיך נישט שטעלן להגבאים ווען מען אים אן זאגט אונ' זאלט בלי ידעו ורשות אוועק גין יוקנס בעד רביעי זהוב לקלפי בלי הנחה ומחילה כלל.

יג באם שיהי' ח'ו איזה ב"מ קטן או גרול אונ' הפרנס החדש האט אן גיזאקט לחברא קרישא דז זיך זאלין מאסיף זיין לחצר בית הכנסת חכף ומיד אחרי צאת ב"ה זאל איין איטליכר מיד ציות זיין אונ' חכף קומין אונ' כלל קיין אנדרין במקומו שטעלין ובפרט דער נישט אין דער חברא איז דער זאל כלל נישט דער לויבט ווערין בקנס רביעי זהוב בלי הנחה מי שיסרב נגד הגבאי.

יד באים שיהי' ח'ו איזה ב"מ זאל הפרנס החדש אן ארדין בחבורא קרישא איזה אנשים דיא זאלין גין לבית עלמין לחפור הקבר ואיזה אנשים שיעשו הארון ואיזה אנשים שיטהרו המת וע"פ כן יהי' וכן יקום אונ' דרף קיינר נישט אן הובן ביז מקודם הפרנס החדש או הגבאי מכבר מי שיתחיל.

טז קיין קברן זאל זיך נישט דער וועגן איין שטאך צו טאן לחפירת קבר אם לא הפרנס החדש אויזט ווייזט מקדם דאז ארט וואו מן זאל גראבן, והפרנס החדש יכבר לאחר מי שיתחיל לקבור.

טז מן זאל זיך כלל נישט דער וועגן להתעסק בצרכי קבורה אם לא מוז מקודם איין משכון גליקט ווערין, והמשכון ממעות קבורה זאלין הגבאים נישט בידם האבין ומכ"ש השמש שלהם זאל נישט בידו האבין, רק הגבאים זאלין לאוין מאכין איין תיבה ויסגירו המשכנות בתבה שלהם.

יז קיין גבאים ישגיחו השגחה פרטיות ומעולה שחופרי קבר לא ינהגו ח'ו קלות ראש בשום דבר הן בדברים בטלים או באכילה ושתי' על בית עלמין, ומכ"ש שלא לעורר מחלוקת ח'ו או בדברי לצנות רק ינהגו באימה ויראה בכל דבר עשייתו וכרומה לזה בשעת עשיית הארון למת וגם בטהרות המת עכצש'ט כרי שהחי יתן אל לבו דברים של מיתה.

יח דרף קיין גבאי אוועק גין מחפירת קבר בין מען דען ארון אריין שטעלט באופן דז עכ"פ אחר גבאי מוז זיין בייא דען ארון אריין שטעלין, וגם ווען מן פרטיג שון איז בחפירת קבר זאל הגבאי אן שאפין על אחר מקברנים דז ער זאל בלייבן אצל הקבר ביז מן מיט דעים מת קומט.

יט קפרנס החדש זאל מכבר זיין ווער המת ליגן זאל.

כ עשירות של הקבורה כך יהי' ובוה האופן אם יהי ח'ו ב"מ גדול דהיינו איש או אשה יתן מעות קבורה ששה עשר וויישי גראשין חוץ ממה שמניע עליו לפי סכמו דהיינו מכל אחד צל' מה שנערך בסכום יתן חמשה עשר צל' ומבחר או בתולה יתן שמנה וויישי גראשין, וגם ערך סכמו מכל צל' חמשה עשר צל' והקטן שלא הגיע לחמשה שנים ודהיינו עד חמשה שנים יתן ארבע וויישי גראשין וגם ערך סכמו כנ"ל ומניפלי יתן שני וויישי גראשין וחצי ערך סכמו הנ"ל וזהו מהאנשים אשר המה בחברא קדישא, והאנשים שאינם בחברא קדישא וגם אורח אומדני יתן לפי ראות עיני האלופי' גבאים בצירוף החברא קדישא ועכ"פ לא יתנו יותר כפי משמעות תקנות מדינה. ומיד אחר שלושים אחר פטירת המת זאלין הגבאים שיקן להיורשים זאלין המעות קבורה צאלין ובאם המשכון אחר שלשים ניש אוזי גלויט וורט אזי הרשות ביד הגבאים למכור המשכונות בלי רשות אחד מבני החבורא כרי קיינר ניש דרף לענגער חייב בלייבן מעות קבורה עד שלשים יום אחר פטירת המת.

כא דגבאי' ישיחו בהשגחה מעולה על הכלים של הקברנים דזין זיא זאלין ניש גברויכט ווערין לרבר של חול יהי' מה שיהי' ומכ"ש שישניחו השגחה מעולה לקנות כלים חדשים שלא יחסרו מהם שום דבר אונ' זאלין זיא בשליסג הלטין דז מען זיא כלל ניש זאל ברויכין לרבר אחר ובאם שיתרשלו ברבר הזה יקנסו הגבאים בעד רביע זהוב לקלפי בלי הנחה ומחילה כלל. ובכל שנה דז מען מחדש איז גבאים חדשים זענין הגבאים ישנים מחויב צו איבר געבין כל הכלים במספר ובמנין לגבאים חדשים וירשמו בפנקס שלהם וכל מה שיחסרו מהכלים ישלמו הגבאים מכיסם ומכספם. והמפתח מהכלים יהי' דוקא בידי הגבאים לא ביד השמש.

כב באם אחד מבני חבורא קדישא מעכט איין אנדרין קברון איין זלוול רידן ביום הועד או בשעת הקבורה או בשעת עשיית הארון או בשעת טהרת המת יוקנס האיש ההוא המזולל את חבריו כפי ראות עיני החבורא קדישא והכל לפי המבייש והמתבייש והאלופי' הגבאים מחויבים להוציא הקנס בכל כפיות ונגישות בעולם.

כג ובאם דז זיך איינר מבני חבורא קדישא מעכט זיך שלא כהוגן נוהג זיין אשר שלא כדת תורתנו הקדושה כגון שיאמר אלך ואמסור ח'ו או הכה את חבריו או גנב או שחה יין נסך או שיעבור על איזה עבירה שבעולם או יש כח ורשות ביד החברא קדישא לעשות את דינו ולשלם לו כפרי מעלליו בלי רשות שום רב ומנהיג ומושל או ר"ט. זיא מאנין אים מכריז זיין בב"ה ולהחרים אותו אונ' לאזין תפסין אונ' אויז ריא חברא קדישא ארויז שטויסין ואין איש יוכל למחות בידם ואין איש מבני החברא קדישא יכול ורשאי להמליך בערו ועכ"פ מחויבים הגבאים להוציא ממנו מה שחייב לצדקה של הקברנים בכל כפיות ונגישות בעולם.

כד באם שיבורר הדבר ע"פ עדים כשרים דז איינר מעכט ח'ו פוער פיו זיין על כל בני החבורא אונ' מעכט איזה זלוולים רידן או לצנות על כל בני החבורא יהי' מה שיהי' איש או אשה בחור או בתולה, אוז זאל ער קומין לפני כל בני החבורא קדישא אונ' זאל זיין פסק בנערין מהם על שפער פיו לבלי חק ואז זאלין האלופים הגבאים צו זיך מאספ' זיין ב' או ג' יחירי סגולה מבני החבורא ובצירוף הרב אב"ד יצ' אונ' זאלין אים זיין פסק דין מכין לאיש כפי

מעלליו. ואותו האיש או האשה זאלין מקיים הפסק דין זיין בלי שיהי' ורחי' כלל בעולם. ואף גם אחר זאל ניט דרפין פר אים ממליך זיין איזה דבר מהפסק דין מוותר צו זיין. ובאם שיסרב האיש או האשה או מאן דהוא אונ' וואלט ניט מקבל דין זיין, אזו זאל דער יעניגה איין גשריבן ווערין בפנקס הקברנים. אונ' ווען ער שטארבט זאל זיך קיין קברון הי' מה שיהי' מיט איהם מתעסק זיין. וגם דען יעניגען ניט צו ליגן בייא אנדרי גוטי לייט רק במקום מיוחד מן הצד. ובאם המצא ימצא דז איזה מבני חבורא מעכט פר אים ממליך זיין אדר וועלט זיך מיט אים מתעסק זיין שלא ברצון החבורא קדישא זאל מן אותו האיש אויז דיא [חבורא] ארויז שטויסין. אונ' זאלין ג"כ איין גשריבן וורין בפנקס מיט איהם נוהג כמו כן כנ"ל אחר מותו.

כה באם איינר ח'ז גוסס ווער זאלין עכ"פ שני קברונים אצל יציאת הנשמה זיין ע"פ הגורל ואפילו עז מעכט ח'ז גיווערין הגסיסה כמה ימים ולילות זאלין אלי ווייל ב' קברנים בייא דעם גוסס זיין דהיינו ב' ביום וג' בלילה. בקנס על מי שמסרב שני פיהם [Böhm] לצדקה לקברנים. וביקור חולים אין שיעור ובפרט הגבאים ווען ח'ז איין חולי איין עני ווער קערין הגבאים צו אים גין לבקר החולה אונ' זעהן וואז אים פעלט מלאכונג אונ' אים צו שיקן אונ' ווען אים וואז מער פר גטין ווער אותו החולה ניט צו פר לאזין.

כו ראינו לתקן צו פר היטן הסכנה גדולה שלא יתערבו האנשים עם הנשים בשעה שהולכי' ונושאים המת ובחזרתם מן הקברות פקחנו ע"ז שהשמש של החבורא קדישא מחוייב לילך בין האנשים ובין הנשים שלא יקברו זה אל זה. והשמש מחויב לדחות אותם בכל כוחו אפילו לזרוק אותם באבנים אם לא יוכל למחות אותם באופן אחר כדי להציל מסכנות נפשות חלילה. ואך גם ווען הנשים וועלין דאז ערד זעקיל אן פילן זאל זיא השמש איין מילטרל [Mülderel] מיט ערד אהין ברענגין אונטר דעם צידק הדין הייזל. ושם יעמדו הנשי' כדי שלא לקרבם לאנשים.

כז ובאים ח'ז איין אשה וורט נפטר מהעולם זיין וליילך בחיי עולם זאלין ניט מען אז שני נשים צו ליגן גין לתוך הקבר ולא יותר. והשארי נשים יעמדו תחת צידק הדין הייזל.

כח קמעות של צדקה תציל ממות וואז גיפאלט בין הנשים יהי' שייך לצדקה קברנים ואין משנין מצדקה לצדקה.

כט קיין ב[על] ה"ב[ית] יהי' מה שיהי' הן שהוא בחברותא קדישא הן שהוא חוץ מחברא קדישא זאל זיך ניט דער וועגין איין מצבה צו שטעלין בלי רשות הגבאים והגבאי' מחוייב איזה אנשים מחברא קדישא מיט צו שיקן לבית עלמין לסייע אותם להעמיד המצבה על מכונן והעשר מחוייב ליתן מעמידת המציבה לקלפי דג"ח מ"ה צ' [למים] והבינוני חצי זה' רייכש ועני חמשה עשר צל'.

ל בכל ערב ראש חדר זאלין הגבאי' אן זאגין ומודיע לעשרה אנשים שבחבורא שיקבלו עליהם תענית אונ' זאלין הגבאי' ארויז גין עם איזה אנשים על בית עלמין ולערב בב"ה זאלין הגבאי' אום גין מי שיהי' פרנס החדש והקמעות שייך לקלפי דג"ח.

לא ראינו לתקן מנהג הגון אשר בשערי [בשארית?] קהלות אשר להם דת ישראל מניע דו כל בני החבורא קדישא זאלין מקבל תענית זיין ז' אדר יום שמת בו משה רבינו ע"ה ובאותו יום הולכין כל בני החבורא קדישא על בית עלמין בשחרית מיד אחר יציאת ב"ה ומכבדי' איזה לומדי תורה שבחבורא קדישא לדרוש דברי כבושין על ב"ע ואחר הדרשה יבקשו מחילה מהמתים שמא לא נעשה להם לפ"כ בשעת עסקות הקבורה וטהרה. ואחר זה יסבבו בית עלמין והגבאי פ"רנס] ה[חדש] יסבב עם הקלפי של צדקה דנ"ח שיתנו בשביל נשמת המתים. גם אנחנו נצא בעקבותיהם. והקנה זו נאך צו פאלגין. ועכ"פ זאל התקנה הנ"ל נור בתוקפו פר בלייבין עד שיתאספו כל בני החבורא קדישא אונ' בפניהם פאר טראגין באם שיקבלו עליהם בנדר להתענות ולקיים כל הנ"ל ובא' שיקבלו כנ"ל אזו זאל התקנה מחדש בקרעפטיג ווערין ובקנס איין גשריבן על מי שיעבור ולפרוש עצמו מחברא קדישא ושלא להתענות ביום הנ"ל וכנ"ל.

לב ווען איינר וויל קויפין בחיו וכעת בביאתו איין מקום על הקברות זא זאל ער זיך אן מעלדין אצל הגבאים, והגבאים זיין מחויב צו זיך מצרף צו זיין ארבע אנשים כשרים מבני החבורא אונ' זאלין אותו המקום שאצין וואש אותו ב"ב זאל געבין בעד המקום ואותו ערך זאל ער תכף בצאלין.

לג גם את אלה פקחנו וראינו בדבר הארבע זהו' רז מן האט געבין מקלפי דנ"ח להעצה זאל מהיום ניקש מער געבין ווערין מהקלפי רק שני זהובי' והמותרות שני זהובי' זאל נגבה ווערין מקהל יצ"ו כשארי גביות. ווייל הפשר עם העצה ניט איז מחמת הבית עלמין לבר. רק העצה וויל גניסין ערד ישראל. אז וויא אנדרשט וואו ג"כ דער סדר איז בכך זאל ניקש מער גינומין ווערין מהקלפי רק שני זהו' לחשלוס ארבע זהו' כנ"ל.

לד קבוררים דיא גבאים מאכין דיא זיינין ג"כ בעלי תקנות ויש להם כח ורשות להוסיף על התקנות וואו מהצורך ווער בכל שנה ושנה.

לה קבוררים ובעלי תקנות האבין צו פר צערין מהקלפי בשעת התחדשות רביעית רייכשטאליר.

לו קבוררים והנערים והילדים דיא בחבורא קדישא זיין זאלין געבין כל חדש אחד צל' וכך יתנו עד החתונה שלהם ואחר החתונה יתנו כל חדש שני צל' כשארי בעלי בתים אונ' שארין ג"כ ניט קומין להברירה והתמנויות אצל החברא עד שנה אחד אחר החתונה שלהם.

לז מאן דהוא מהבחורים והנערים והילדים דיא בחברא קדישא זיין אונ' זאלטין למז"ט חתנים ווערין אונ' שידוכים טאן במקומות אחרים ושמה בעלי בתים פר בלייבין אזו זאלין זיא אויז צאלין מה שחייבים בפנסק וגם הבעלי בתים יהי' מה שיהי' דער ע"פ ההכרח מחט עוקר זיין מקהלתו אזו איז ער ג"כ ניקש מער חייב צו צאלין רק וואו ער חייב איז בפנסק והגבאים זאלין מוציא זיין המעות הנ"ל.

לח בכל שנה ושנה בחמשה עשר בשבט זאלין הגבאי' איין ערך מכין לפי ראות עיניה' העשיר ירבה והדל ימעט לעשות ימי משתה ושמחה לכל בני חבורא קדישא אונ' קיינס כלל אין ערך אויז צו לאזין והמשתה ושמחה יהי' בכל

שנה בשושן פורים בבית הגבאי אשר יהי' פרנס החדש בעת ההיא לאכול ולשתות שמה יחד באהבה ובחבה ולעשות טוב ואף א אחר מבני החבורא זאל ניט דרפין אויסין בלייבן ויבואו כולם הסעודה בקנס רביעית זהוב בלי הנחה ומחילה כלל דער אויסין בלייבט. ועל הגבאי בקנס א' ר"ט על כל חד וחד ווען זיא מתרשל זיין בעסק עשיית הסעודה לזמן הנ"ל ועל הסעודה זאל מן בעטן להרב אב"ד ומ"ץ וחזן ושמש אונ' זונשט קיינים ניט דער ניט בחברא איז. ואותו אנשים דיא מחדש ווערין אויף גינמן בחברא וגם הבחורים ונערים שבחבורא מחוייבים להתעסק בכל צורכי סעודה וואו דיא גבאי' פר שאפין מחין סרבין [servieren, sarven] לכל בני חבורא קדישא.

לט האנשים דיא מחדש ווערין אויף גינמין זאלין מקבל עליהם זיין בת"כ דזין זיא וועלין התקנות נאך קומין.

מ הגבאים ישיחו בהשגחה מעולה בעת הסעודה דז איינר דען אנדרין זאל קיינה שטיך וורטיר געבין ומכ"ש וק"ו ולזולים רידן ועי"ז זאלט מעורר ווערן מחלוקת ומכ"ש קיין גבאי ניט דברים רידן בתוך הסעודה דז ניט לפי כבודם ווער בקנס לפי ראות עיני הגבאים על מי שיעבור ועכ"פ קודם אכילת הסעודה זאל איין כרוז גישעהן עפ"י השמש דז זיך זאלין גבירלך הלטין כי אין עונשין אלא מזהירין.

מא יצא מאתנו בעלי תקנות החתומים מטה דז השמש של החברא קדישא זאל תמיד בכל שבועה ושבועה אום גין עם הקלפי אונ' וואכן געלט גובה זיין ובעד הטרחא שלו יהי' לו שכירות על שנה מקלפי אחר רייכש טאליר.

מב הגבאים זאלין בבית הכנסת איין איין ליג ביכל האבין אונ' איין ליגן המתנות וואו איינר מנדר איז בכל שבת וי"ט כשעולה לתורה. אונ' תכף אחר שבת וי"ט איין פערדין והגבאי פרנס החדש זאל השגחה מעולה דרויף האבין וטוב שלא תדור משתדור ולא תשלם.

מג כל התקנות הנ"ל זאלין בכל שנה ושנה בעת התחדשות הגבאים באסיפת כל בני חבורא קדישא פיה גיליאנט ווערין בקול רם דער מיט דז איין איטלכר ווייש וואו התקנה מיט ברענגט לבל יעבור.

תקנות הגונות וישרות. קביעות ונטיעות כמסמור' להיות למשמר ולמשמרת. לעד ולדורי דורות. עד ביאת משיחנו וינאולינו מכל הצרות. וזוכה בבנין בית הבחירה לראות. נשלמו וחתמו יום ג' ב' ח"ה ש"פ ת"נ מ"ם ז"ן לפ"ק ע"י בעל' תקנות החתומי' מטה.

דוד בן הר"ר יהודא ליב בכרך ז"ל ממגורשי ווינא.

ונא' ה"ק יצחק בן א"א הר"ר יעקב שמעון שליטא.

ונא' הלל בן לא"א כהר"ר יום טוב כ"ץ.

NEW STUDIES IN THE PSYCHOLOGY OF JUDAISM

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IN THIS study, we shall review literature which has appeared since 1929, and which treats various phases of Judaism from the psychological standpoint.¹ While this Jewish material will furnish our examples, the theses to be illustrated may prove no less pertinent to other religious affiliations.

PART ONE: SURVEY OF THE FIELD

That the meanings of words constantly shift and change has become a semantic commonplace. This applies particularly to the word "religion." "Religion," in one context, can bear a sense totally different from that of "religion" in another context. The whirlings of a dervish constitute religion; similarly do the loftiest utterances of Robert Browning. A parental blessing represents religion; so also does an *auto da fé*. For our present purpose, religion comprises anything to which — whatever the reason — the name "religion" has come to be attached. Debate on the propriety of appending the term "religion" to this, that, or the other manifestation merely exemplifies how the import of the term tends to vary.

Our initial step shall be to take caution from a warning issued years ago by William James. James exposed what he called "the psychologist's fallacy."² We commit the psychologist's fallacy when we confuse the mentation of the investigator with

¹ The psychoanalytic material on this subject was synopsized in "The Psychoanalytic Study of Judaism," *HUCA*, VIII-IX, (1931-32), pp. 605-740. This is the publication called, in the second part of this article, "No. 34." It was necessary to include one publication dated 1928 (our No. 2).

² William James, *Psychology*, Vol. I, pp. 196, 197, New York, 1899.

that of the person investigated. In order to avert that confusion, let us begin by setting forth what is done by the psychological subject. Afterward we shall consider the procedures of the psychological researcher.

I. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL SUBJECT

As we survey the activities of the psychological subject, the following arrest our attention:

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Rituals | 7. Controversy |
| 2. Doctrines | 8. Rationalization |
| 3. Symbolization | 9. Factualization |
| 4. Verbalization | 10. Social Control |
| 5. Dramatization | 11. Beneficence |
| 6. Evaluation | 12. Missionarization |
| 13. Religious Art | |

These items, while overlapping at various points, warrant separate enumeration inasmuch as the overlapping is nowhere complete. It is further desirable to guard against their ambiguities. We can use these terms to designate what people do unreflectively, or we can allow for some measure of self-observation. Ceremonials, as Prof. E. S. Ames puts it, in a letter commenting on this article, "may be symbols to the observer, but to the performer they are just the prescribed and customary activities. So far as they are symbols or symbolic, they are lifted out of their original depth of direct action, and have become modified by the infusion of consciousness." People can act with little or no self-perception, or they can act with a degree of introspection. They can be unaware of the broader psychological bearings of their activities, just as a sleeper can be unaware of his tossings; or they can possess a measure of self-consciousness, a modicum of reflection, in which case the subject draws nearer the line which separates the subject from the investigator. The characteristic of the investigator is that of inspecting human mentation with precision, with a reflection that is organized, with attention to details, and with scruple about accurate reporting, whether

he directs his observation toward others or looks introspectively within himself.

The symbolic character of rituals is widely recognized. Less generally understood is the symbolic nature of doctrines. Acceptance of a doctrine can symbolize loyalty to a group. This can be perceptible to an observer even if the devotee himself is unaware of that symbolistic potency. A doctrine can symbolize such loyalty even when the doctrine's content awakens little interest. This obtains in politics no less than in religion. Free trade or protective tariff, armament or disarmament, private enterprise or collectivization can indicate one's group allegiance, though one little understands or cares to understand the proposal itself. The Declaration of Independence still awakens our enthusiasm although a critical reading of that famous document might disclose that its thoughts no longer comport with our thoughts. Doctrines are catchwords as well as programs, perhaps more extensively catchwords than programs. Doctrines resemble not only a map which one traces but also a flag which one waves — perhaps less frequently a map than a flag. Doctrines no less than rituals exhibit a symbolistic propensity.

This symbolistic function is akin to that of verbalization. Verbalization denotes the well known human bent for slogans and clichés. The mere sight or sound of a word can evoke certain feelings and actions. Examples are: "That blessed word 'Mesopotamia,'" "Glory Hallelujah," "For Thy name's sake," "God is one." Frequently such terms as "Judaism" and "atheism," likewise "Communism," "Fascism," and "Democracy" behave in this manner. Verbalization also accounts for the willingness or the unwillingness of people to regard as "religious" any given activity. To some, the word "religion" appeals and therefore labels that which appeals. To others, the word is hateful and labels only that which the user detests.

Another form of symbolization is dramatization. Dramatization occurs when something easily pictured is substituted for something intricate, complex, subtle, far reaching, or too abstract to comprehend. Hitler dramatized the hostile urges of the German nation. Uncle Sam dramatizes our federal government. Santa Claus dramatizes the gayety and the prodigality marking

the end of the year. "Freedom on her mountain height" dramatizes American ardor for American institutions. Dramatization invests every cartoon.³

Science itself dramatizes. Science does not scruple to credit water with "seeking" the lowest level or the sun with "attracting" the earth or the white corpuscles with "rushing to the defense" of the organism or a watch spring or a battery with "storing up" power.⁴

Most striking are the dramatizations of religion. The prevalence of good will in the congregation can be dramatized by the minister's benediction. The supreme seriousness of some of life's concerns can be dramatized by the act of prayer. The redemptive aspects of experience — the moment's of triumph amid life's affliction and adversities — can be dramatized by affirming: "There lives a God!" Recovery from illness, the rain which terminates drought, escape from danger, reconciliation with one's enemies and the like — above all, the change from turbulent to quiet states of mind — imbue the word "God" with its dramatistic force. Such is the import of the word in every psalm and hymn; in "The Lord is my shepherd" (Ps. 23.1), in "Behold the Lord's hand is not shortened that it cannot save"

³ The possibility of having one object or situation represent another object or situation becomes obvious every time we anticipate some future event. Our mental images of future situations can be true without being photographic. We can, without error, find our way to a city which we have never before visited although our image of the city, before we arrive, may differ *in toto* from what we find after we arrive. Is there perhaps some kinship between this and dramatization? And may not people's mental images of God similarly prove useful though, in no way whatsoever, photographic? Dramatization is closely akin to metaphor and still more closely akin to personification. It is surely akin to reification, as expounded by Morris Cohen in *Reason and Nature*, New York 1931, pp. 225, 302, 390. Science bristles with reifications such as: mind, matter, time, space, force, electricity, magnetism, heat, consciousness, and the like. Reification means the use of a noun as if some specific thing were under consideration when the reference is not to any specific thing but to a wide and diversified sweep of events, actions, and expectations which are somehow gathered up in the scope of the noun's application.

⁴ Under different terminology, these dramatizations of science provide the theme of a large volume, *Die Philosophie des Als Ob* by Hanz Vaihinger, Tenth Edition, Leipzig, 1927.

(Isa. 59.1), and even when "One that was ancient of days did sit: his raiment as white snow and the hair of his head like pure wool" (Dan. 7.9). A world devoid of pain would be a world devoid of God, inasmuch as rescue from pain is the very significance of God. Nor can we overestimate, among the aforementioned states of mind, the potency of hope. The hope for deliverance can be itself a momentous species of deliverance. "Thy will be done" can dramatize mental accommodation and resourcefulness.

Our next item is that of evaluation. Evaluation articulates our likes and our dislikes. It is the process of finding things good or bad, right or wrong, beautiful or ugly, agreeable or disagreeable.⁵

The God affirmation embraces not only dramatization but also evaluation. Affirming God, besides dramatizing life's deliverances, voices at the same time, our joy and acclaim over those deliverances. Religious dramatizations thus contrast with those of science. From the scientific dramatizations, that ingredient of evaluation is absent.

One can evaluate the total universe. The beauties and the sublimities of the cosmos furnish the theme of many a religious outburst. Often evaluation veers toward the phenomenon of evaluation itself. Religious rapture has been stirred not only by "the starry firmament without" but also by "the moral law within." The circumstance that the universe engenders evaluation of any kind — ethical, esthetic, biological, social — becomes itself evaluated. That change from maladjustment to adjustment,⁶ that emergence of good from backgrounds of evil whence

⁵ The science of semantics takes definite cognizance of the difference between the designative force of language and its evaluative force. Ogden and Richards, to indicate the distinction, use the terms "descriptive" and "emotive." (*The Meaning of Meaning*, New York and London, 1925, pp. 13, 226-229, 255-260, 263-271, 355-360, 366-373).

⁶ Although adjustment and maladjustment belong to the vocabulary of science, these terms conceal evaluation. The change from maladjustment to adjustment or *vice versa* is not a mere relocation of matter in space. Adjustment is always something desired and maladjustment something disliked by the organism and, in a way, by the scientific observer, in behalf of the organism. Nor is it the organism that becomes adjusted to the environment.

evaluations emanate, can impress one as reality's outstanding trait. On this trait, the purport of the word "God" can feed and grow.

Among the objects of evaluation are the activities listed in the present survey. People can evaluate the doctrines, rituals, symbolizations, verbalizations, and all the rest characterizing our psychological subject, sometimes praising and sometimes disparaging. There can further occur evaluation of the work performed by the psychological inquirer — including our present effort. We may like or we may dislike the psychological approach. We may favor or may repudiate any given conclusion. What needs to be stressed is that evaluation is an activity of the psychological subject and not that of the psychological investigator. The observation and explanation which we shall presently assign to the investigator entail not evaluation but scrutiny and testing. The investigator seeks not edification, pleasure, or consolation. The investigator asks: "Is the statement correct?" "Does it meet the empirical test?" "Does it fit the facts?"

Evaluation is subjective and individual. The same object or situation can be differently evaluated by different persons. What one person lauds, another disdains. These diversities of evaluation lead to controversy, and when controversy affects anything classified as "religious," we stand amid *religious* controversy.

Out of controversy, grows rationalization. Engaged in controversy, the individual reaches out for social support. The arguments advanced during controversy aim at winning social support. In these arguments, fidelity to facts is secondary, while the capturing of social support is primary. This subordina-

Environment undergoes alteration simultaneously. Indeed, it is not always easy to determine where organism ends and where environment begins. We are dealing not with organism and not with environment but with a synthesis absorbing both. It is this synthesis which, as maladjustment and adjustment, receives evaluation. That adjustment (i. e. the fulfilment of an urge) should lie in one set of events and not in another is perhaps the ultimate mystery. The philosophical discernment that the aspects of the universe apprehended through evaluation are primary and that those apprehended through cognition are ancillary to those apprehended through evaluation can itself call forth evaluation of a deeply religious tenor.

tion of facts to propaganda is what we mean by rationalization. So vast is the sweep of rationalization that illustration were almost superfluous. "You must not dance because dancing ruins morals." "You had better subscribe to the resurrection of the dead because Hell awaits him who denies the resurrection of the dead." "To worship with uncovered head is to disrespect one's deceased parents who, when they lived, insisted that, during worship, the head be covered." "The minister should wear a gown because that will increase attendance at the services." Such will serve as examples.

Rationalization avails itself of the fact that sometimes an untrue statement can be true in part. "I can not attend synagogue because I have to work every Friday evening and Saturday morning." That the individual works Friday evenings and Saturday mornings may be true, but that this is the reason or the only reason for non-attendance need not be true. "I reject religion because science contradicts the Bible." That science contradicts the Bible is indeed true, but other factors in the life of the individual may bear more vitally upon his rejection of religion than the clash between science and Scripture. Many people continue devoted to religion long after the conflict between religion and science has become, with them, a matter of course.

Or a statement, though true, may embody untrue implications. "Scripture forbids the eating of swine's flesh." That assertion is, of course correct; but the implication need not be correct that the speaker's aversion to certain meat products proceeds from a determination to comply with Holy Writ. What about other scriptural commands to which the speaker may have shown himself indifferent? Again, may not the speaker's dietary habits betray the conditionings of childhood rather than the effects of perusing sacred lore? Still further from correctness lies the implication that, because the dietary prohibition happens to be preserved in the canon, the ordained abstinence is incumbent upon the listener. In short, the winning of social support, on the one hand, and the stating of facts, on the other, generally prove incompatible; and, in that incompatibility, rationalization has its wellspring.

To single out one particular species of rationalization, we invent the word "factualization." "Factualization" names the tendency to overlook the processes of symbolization, verbalization, dramatization and evaluation and to treat, as statements of fact, statements whose office is not that of reporting facts but that of symbolizing, verbalizing, dramatizing, and evaluating.

Let us cite as an example the doctrine of bodily resurrection. The doctrine can dramatize the rebound from frustration. Comfort, hope, and joy do enter human life, and the imagery of bodily resurrection can dramatize those deliverances. That imagery can even avail as part and parcel of those deliverances. It can accompany upsurges of longing and of love.

Yet while the doctrine fascinates some people it repels others. Controversy ensues, and then the biproduct of controversy — rationalization. The doctrine of bodily resurrection which functioned as a dramatization, a symbolization, and an evaluation becomes, in the course of rationalization, tested as something different, namely, as the report of a fact. One side "proves" bodily resurrection to be impossible, and the other side answers with a rebuttal. Both sides factualize. Both sides manipulate, as a piece of information, something which was previously not information but dramatization, symbolization, and evaluation but which has become overwhelmed by that precipitate of strife — rationalization.

We call to mind the huge array of argument to prove that "God is one." "God is one" provides stimulating verbalization — until it provokes controversy, rationalization, and factualization. We may wonder whether Maimonides' dissatisfaction with the proposition that God is one,⁷ after he has labored so assiduously to "prove" that God is one, may not, in some way, link with a suspicion that, whatever one "proves" in this domain, one proves the irrelevant.⁸

⁷ *Moreh Nebukim* I, 58. Pp. 82, 83 in M. Friedlander, *Guide for the Perplexed of Moses Maimonides*, London, 1904. Maimonides, permitting the ascription not of positive but only of negative attributes to the Deity, maintains that God is one only in the sense that He is not many.

⁸ No one would ever have found occasion to coin the notorious *credo quia absurdum* had it been realized that doctrines, though defective as pieces of

A species of factualization comes to light in discussions regarding prayer. People pray because they wish to pray. Why any given individual, at any given time or place, should wish to pray offers a legitimate topic of psychological inquiry. Prior to such inquiry, all that can be alleged with certainty is that the individual desires to pray and does so; just as one studies science because one desires to or visits an art gallery or hears a symphony or chooses an occupation because one desires such.

However, in a diversified society, those arise who find prayer objectionable. Why any given individual should deem prayer objectionable is again a problem in psychology, pending a solution of which all that can be maintained with confidence is that such and such people oppose prayer. Meanwhile, there unfolds the customary pattern — controversy, rationalization, factualization. For both sides, the rationalization pivots on the question whether or not prayer is efficacious, as if people waited with their praying until efficacy is assured or discontinued praying after lack of efficacy had become demonstrated. One side seeks to show that prayers are futile, while the other strives to establish the opposite. Both sides overlook that people pray not because they have discovered prayer to be efficacious but for other reasons. People pray because prayer fulfills some kind of need. What kind of need, let the psychologist ascertain. Obviously it is a kind of need that must be satisfied by means of dramatization and evaluation. The debate concerning efficacy yields another example of factualization.

Factualization perpetuates the warfare between science and religion. So varied are the meanings of the word "religion" that conflict may well flare up not only between science and religion but between anything whatsoever and religion. Life has its deliverances — deliverances from bitterest woe. Both in the moment of need and in the moment of rescue, we exclaim: "God!" Someone — for reasons that a psychologist may ex-hume — protests against our exclaiming "God!" Thence the controversy, thence the rationalization, thence the factualiza-

information, can be well suited to the purposes of symbolization, dramatization, and evaluation.

tion, and thence the collision with science. The remark that science jeopardizes religion holds true only in the sense that when, for reasons which have little if anything to do with science, the God affirmation loses its dramatistic and evaluative power, the persons affected discard the God affirmation and then proceed to rationalize their dissent. In some circles it is customary, for purposes of such rationalization, to quote science. God is "proved" to be contrary to fact, just as, in other circles, men arraign religion as "the opiate of the masses."⁹ It is overlooked that religion encounters antagonism from people who possess little knowledge of science or little interest in science while, on the other hand, there are those who cherish both religion and science — sometimes even at the cost of rationalizations claiming to "reconcile" the two. The bald assertion that science undermines religion is psychologically erroneous. All that science does is to supply the rationalizations for anti-religious attitudes bred by a different set of circumstances.

Factualization will further account for theology. Theology ignores the symbolistic, verbalistic, dramatistic, and evaluative character of religious formulations and handles them as if they were informational. The issue thereupon arises whether the proffered information is correct. Contradictions emerge that clamor for harmonization. Libraries of disquisition accumulate. From all of this, the simple unsophisticated worshiper stands remote. As long as one worships, one does not dispute, and in the absence of dispute, little occasion develops for rationalization. That the purport of the word "God" in a devotional context differs decidedly from its purport in a theological context hardly admits of question.¹⁰

⁹ Whether the statement about the opiate of the masses is true no one has ever inquired, nor need anyone inquire. Information is not the purpose of the statement. The statement belongs to the horde of the world's rationalizations.

¹⁰ The misgiving about the personality of God is a further upshot of factualization. Through association with felicitous relationships among human beings, personality is a term that evaluates and dramatizes. The questioner's real concern is whether experience actually elicits such evaluation and dramatization. The answer "Yes" is supported not only by the fact that people

Factualization will also explain the religious stressing of belief — belief not in the biblical sense of loyalty (Gen. 15.6, Isa. 7.9) but in the distinctly variant sense of judging a given proposition to be informationally valid. The history of religion exhibits the spectacle of compulsory assent to various theological pronouncements. Doctrines, as we have already noted, can symbolize group attachment. The challengers of doctrines thus become rebels against the group. Enmeshed in contention, challengers and defenders alike resort to rationalization, including the special kind of rationalization which we have called factualization. Steadfastness to the group requires that one factualize in the manner of the group defenders. To believe is to accept, as correct statements of fact, whatever the group defenders assert to be correct statements of fact in the course of their defensive rationalizations.

In conclusion, we must criticize the assumption upon which all factualization rests. This is the assumption that the need for information is man's only need or man's dominant need. Factualization forgets the pressing needs fulfilled by symbolization, verbalization, dramatization, and evaluation. It overlooks that our desire for facts is a comparatively feeble desire. People evince solicitude for facts chiefly in matters pertaining to their occupations. Outside of those occupations, facts exert a relatively scant appeal. There is not a popular publication on any subject or a popular presentation of any kind which fails to illustrate how the need for facts recedes before the need for entertainment, thrills, inspiration, or consolation.

The preconception that a religious statement is necessarily discredited if it falls short of conveying facts and necessarily potent if it does convey facts is itself out of line with facts. Where men crave stimulation, sustenance, and comfort, factual correctness is not always an asset nor is factual incorrectness always a liability. No drawback mars a Shakespearian drama

long to affirm the Divine personality but also by the questioner's own solicitude in the matter. When the word "personality" is used not dramatistically or evaluatively but designatively, the essential point is missed. There is also, by the way, collision with the Jewish compunction about anthropomorphism.

if it condones many a deviation from historical or biological accuracy, nor does defect beset an art gallery which displays a painting of a cherub or an angel or a demon, nor is it a blemish in an oratorio simulating a thunderstorm if some of its musical strains disregard meteorology. How fragile then the notion that, in the sphere of religion, a statement is misleading if it errs as regards facts or that it is compelling if it offers solid information! Yet such is the supposition underlying factualization whether practiced by religion's defenders or by its assailants.

The next item on our list is social control. The social controls exercised by religion are familiar. We need only supplement that these controls utilize not only doctrines, rituals, and evaluations and, of course, institutions (which fall outside of our present theme) but also dramatizations. An example is the stern and punitive God or the worm that never dieth or the fire that is not quenched (Isa. 66.24, Mark 9.48).

Similarly the beneficence attending religion, in some of its phases, foliates not only into acts and ideals of charity and social welfare and not only into deeds and teachings of kindliness and forbearance but also into the dramatizations of God as the Heavenly Father, the Shepherd Who tendeth His flock, the Savior, the Helper, the Redeemer, the Friend. We might add, to the instances of dramatized beneficence, the vision of a blissful hereafter which is to guerdon life's toils.¹¹ Conspicuous as a token of beneficence is intercessory prayer. Devout prayer in behalf of another unequivocally manifests love.

As for missionarization, this takes place, in a way, whenever rationalizations are adduced to convert the listener to the view of the speaker. We must nonetheless allow for deliberate, avowed, and systematic endeavors at persuading individuals to abandon one allegiance or set of ideas and to substitute another. We employ the word "missionarization" rather than "proselytism" because the former encompasses not only the movement from

¹¹ This must not be confused with the role of that doctrine in psychical research or in philosophical discussions about the life to come. The question of a hereafter can be subjected to factual scientific study like the question of the canals on Mars. But such inquiry must be sharply differentiated from the use of the idea in religious edification and devotion.

one group to another but also the creation or the revival of loyalty within the group to which the prospect already belongs.¹²

Finally, we consider religious art, such as sculpture, painting, music, poetry, pageantry, architecture, and esthetic ritual. Moments of artistic exaltation can figure among the moments of precious serenity that shine amid life's encircling gloom. How prominent that quality among the ways in which art ministers to religion!

May not art also reside in the aforementioned dramatizations? Then would those hallowed dramatizations of life's deliverances themselves amount to deliverances. And may not art further include human beneficence — an art of human relationships? "The beauty of holiness" would then constitute beauty in a literal sense.

II. THE INVESTIGATOR

Having concerned ourselves with the activities of the psychological subject, participant, or agent, let us now look at those of the investigator. These can be divided into 1.) Observation and 2). Explanation.¹³

To discern some of the phenomena listed above demands little acumen. Rituals, doctrines, controversy, social control, missionarization, and religious art count as every day events. More searching is the scrutiny required to detect verbalization, dramatization, evaluation, rationalization, factualization and

¹² Among Jews, conversion usually denotes changing from one religious affiliation to another. Among Christians, the word more commonly refers to loyalty within the group itself. Psychologically, missionarizing seems modeled upon the transactions of commerce and seems to promise a *quid pro quo*. The missionary achieves an accession to his group and the kudos of having acquired the accession. The convert gains the friendship of the missionarizing individual or association and, in addition, the emotional satisfactions conferred by the group symbols.

¹³ Between observation and explanation, there is no sharp line of demarcation. Observation is but the initial stage of a process whereof explanation is the later stage. This has been treated by John Dewy in *Logic, The Theory of Inquiry*, New York, 1938. See "Observation" in index.

the symbolistic capacity of doctrines. Both types, for our present purpose, occupy the area of observation.

Explanation appears in much that has already been presented. Without some explanation, it proved impossible to expound dramatization, evaluation, rationalization, and factualization. Explanation entails the discovery of wider phenomena whereof the matter observed is but a phase, the wider being the more frequent and hence the more readily understood and controlled. Thus symbolization, together with its sub-forms, verbalization and dramatization, can be explained as specimens of association of ideas. The association involves, of course, not only ideas but also the affective states fused with ideas. The various urges or drives envisaged in modern psychology must also be taken into account, especially if we would comprehend evaluation and the several derivatives of evaluation. The psychology of religion differs from psychology in general only as regards the situations pondered. It is merely that province of psychology which focuses attention on situations for which the term "religious" chances to be the appellative.

We are, for instance, acquainted with the urge of the Ego. The Ego urge obtrudes itself in the desire for approbation, in the pleasure at being admired, in the chagrin at being disparaged, and in the exasperation at being ignored or disdained. Undoubtedly this urge haunts religion. It surely animates our evaluations. It instigates perhaps all of our controversies. Its buffetings intensify the dark background of the experiences which project the affirmation of God. Its resentments generate the doctrines of Divine punishment and other harsh forms of religio-social control.

Nor is the world of religion void of the aggressiveness born of frustration nor of displaced aggressiveness as elucidated by some noted authorities.¹⁴

¹⁴ *Frustration and Aggression* by John Dollard and others, published for the Institute of Human Relations by Yale University Press, New Haven, 1939. See also Smiley Blanton and Margaret Blanton, *For Stutterers*, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936, p. 54. Perhaps we should mention in this context the phenomenon of wishful thinking so widely prevalent in human affairs. The Yiddisch writer, Sholom Aleichem, tells of an aged Rabbi who, while the

Alongside of the urge of the Ego, our psyché harbors the urge to cooperate.¹⁵ This proclivity ramifies into good will, helpfulness, and love. We glimpsed the cooperative urge when we dwelt upon the religious role of beneficence and recalled not only acts of charity and social welfare but also the delineation of God as a Father, a Friend, a Savior, a Helper. We commented on the beneficence which prompts intercessory prayer and which welcomes allusions to a felicitous hereafter.

Cooperation can be so gratifying as to elicit superlative evaluations: "The greatest of these is love," "Thy love it is my heart desires." In that mingling of adversity and triumph which inspires the devotional import of the word "God," the triumph of blessed human relationships can rank supreme. The realization that "God is love" can tower as the greatest of all discoveries.

Among the drives governing human affairs is that of sex. Does sex reappear in religion? We must remind ourselves that we are now not evaluating but explaining. Whether the sexual ingredient exalts religion or degrades it, the investigator does not ask. Sex, like everything else in the world, is adjudged noble by some and ignoble by others. For the investigator, the question shapes itself merely: "Does or does not sex account for any religious manifestations?" Weighty reasons exist for an affirmative answer. We need think only of circumcision or of the rites of puberty or marriage or of the Book of Canticles. In certain hymns, the element of sex wears but a thin disguise.¹⁶ Wherever supplications or rituals, amid strong accessions of feeling, accentuate submission and self-subordination, reactions akin to those of sex can reasonably be surmised.

town was ablaze, felt certain that God would not permit the fire to reach the holy synagogue and the sacred scrolls. A few minutes later, the synagogue went up in flames. (*Kasrievker Nisrofim*, in *Alle Werk Vun Sholom Aleichem*, New York, 1919, Vol. 13, pp. 22, 23).

¹⁵ The counterpoise to the Darwinian teaching about the struggle for existence appears in such literature as Drummond's *Ascent of Man* (1894), John Fiske's *Through Nature to God* (1899), Peter Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid as a Factor in Evolution* (1915), and Nasmyth's *Social Progress and the Darwinian Theory* (1916).

¹⁶ Examples are: "Blessed submission, Jesus is mine, O what a foretaste of rapture Divine," "Leaning on my Savior's breast," and the like.

The urge of the Ego, the urge to cooperate, and the sex urge represent ordinary psychological happenings. But the psychology of religion does not restrict itself to the ordinary. It also invokes "depth psychology," chiefly psychoanalysis.

We procure an example of depth psychology in the thesis that the responses of infancy and early childhood sometimes continue, little transmuted, into adult life. The attitude of the devout toward the Heavenly Father has impressed some psychologists as the persistence of the child's attitude toward its parents, with its trust, its reliance, and its sense of security. These feelings of trust, reliance, and security, sunk in the matrix of life's tragedies and difficulties, nourish the devotional (as distinguished from the theological) meaning of the word "God." Unmistakable strands of child-parent attachment can further be traced in the Jewish punctiliousness about reciting the Kaddish as also in the wide spread inclination to adhere to rituals which one's parents were wont to emphasize. Conformity in religion is conjectured to stem from habits of filial affection, while tensions between parent and child are suspected of predisposing to non-conformity, neologism, and protest. As differentiated from the rationalizations, the real reasons for a person's acceptance or rejection of a given doctrine can lurk in the pleasantness or the unpleasantness of the human contacts associated with that doctrine — which holds likewise of rituals, verbalizations, dramatizations, and, more or less, the entire remainder of our list.

Subtler penchants such as that of masochism or of the Oedipus complex have also been imputed to the religious domain. That self-punitive impulsions of a masochistic hue break forth in many forms of penance such as fasting, flagellation, isolation and perhaps even in the tedium of lengthy religious services will hardly sound incredible.¹⁷

Nor does the list of explanatory factors omit reference to

¹⁷ On the incidence of the Oedipus complex in religion, *The Psychological Bulletin*, Dec. 1926, p. 701; Dec. 1928, p. 701; May 1933, p. 327. Literature on the Oedipus complex in Judaism is summarized in the article, "The Psycho-analytical Study of Judaism," *HUCA*, VIII-IX, (1931-32), pp. 636-699 and *infra* pp. 223-250.

obsession and compulsions such as characterize certain neuroses.¹⁸

If, mindful of another school of psychology, we reckon with the "inferiority complex," it may be suggested that the inferiority complex operates among the reverses redemption from which imparts to the word "God" its devotional connotation. Exponents of the inferiority complex would probably ascribe to its workings some well known religious pretensions, contentions, and dissensions which a different school of psychology would ascribe to the aggression fathered by frustration.

To the psychology of religion, everything which emancipates the individual from anxiety and conflict can be classed as germane. We need not countenance the facile formula that religion consoles or that it edifies. Religion does not console and does not edify. What happens is that countless forces — biological, social, psychological — encircle and interpenetrate the individual in such manner that consolation or edification is the outcome. Religion is not the cause but the consequence. The causes lie diffused throughout the universe, a universe of endless maladjustment and adjustment, of victory amid defeat. Such of these factors as impinge directly or almost directly upon the individual furnish the data for religio-psychological study.

We must conclude, as we began, with caution against confusing the psychological subject and the psychological investigator. No one mistakes the act of eating for research in dietetics, even though dietitians, like the rest of us, eat in order to survive. The domain of psychology is less fortunate. Confusions here are incessant and disturbing.

Objection, for example, will be raised to what has been said about dramatization. It will be insisted that the worshiper testifies: "God is my Heavenly Father." He does not profess: "By affirming the Fatherhood of God, I dramatize and evaluate the salutary features of an otherwise forbidding experience." Of course, the worshiper does not thus express himself, any more

¹⁸ Theodor Reik, "Dogma und Zwangsideoe," *Imago* 1927, 13, 247-382 and "Endphasen des Religioesen und des Zwangneurotischen Glaubens," *Imago*, 1930, 23-38.

than a sucking infant announces: "I am now ingesting vitamins." Grasping the complexities of dramatization is the work of the psychological researcher, not that of the psychological subject. Dramatization which is what the psychological subject performs is what the psychological investigator observes and explains. Performing is one thing. The study of the performance is a totally different thing.

The religious dramatizations mentioned here must, of course, be distinguished from the dramatizations of science treated *supra* p. 208. It will be recalled that the difference lies not only in the happenings dramatized but also in the merger with evaluation — absent from the scientific, present in the religious.

Sometimes the confusion moves in reverse. Not only is the dramatizer mistaken for an investigator; the investigator often misunderstands himself and is misunderstood by others to be an evaluator. Thus the investigator may have to face the charge of attacking theology when he alleges that theology subsists on factualization or when he records that the meaning of "God" in disputation is not identical with the word's meaning in prayer. The truth is that any psychologist who fashions a statement either with deprecatory intent or with laudatory intent falls, *ipso facto*, out of the role of investigator and into that of the psychological subject. Investigation consists of fact finding and fact interpreting, and these are not the same as praising or condemning. We have adverted to the qualms surrounding sex. Some writers expound the sexual side of religion in a transparently anti-religious manner.¹⁹ Plainly, these writers have, for the time being, transformed themselves into subjects of psychological research and have ceased, for the time being, to render observation and explanation. The process of observing and explaining is not the process of divulging one's likes or one's dislikes.

Concerning the literature which we are now to examine, we

¹⁹ Examples are: H. C. Darlington, "Ceremonial Behavior With Respect to Houses and House Building," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 1931, 18, 23-26. T. Schroeder, "Guilt and Inferiority as Creator of Religious Experience," *ibid.* 1929, 16, 46-53, and "The Psychoanalytic Approach to Religious Experience," *ibid.* 1929, 16, 361-376.

shall inquire: What facts does this literature assemble? For those facts, what are the attempted interpretations? Does this literature cling to observation and explanation or does it, like other literature on the psychology of religion, divagate into the activities of the psychological subject?

PART TWO: SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE

We place in the appendix to this article (p. 271) the list of writings covered in this survey. Each publication is there assigned a number by which, for the sake of convenience, it is to be designated throughout this inquiry.

Distinctly the greater part of this literature chances to be the product of authors whose approach is that of psychoanalysis; while, within these psychoanalytic presentations, the Oedipus complex, which figured so conspicuously in our earlier study, again plays the dominant role.²⁰ Resolved into its components, the Oedipus complex includes:

1. The sexual longing of the son for the mother.
2. The attendant hostility of the son toward the father.
3. The reciprocal hostility of the father toward the son.
4. Reconciliation between father and son.

We take up each of these elements in turn and record the use to which each is put by our writers in the treatment of various Jewish legends, beliefs, and rituals. Our undertaking, at this stage, is purely that of reporting. Later we shall raise the question of our own assent or objection.

I. THE SON'S LONGING FOR THE MOTHER

We are told that a garden, such as Eden, can symbolize one's mother.²¹ The same is asserted of that pleasure giving object, an apple,²² and likewise of cultivated soil.²³ It is maintained

²⁰ No. 34, pp. 636-699.

²¹ No. 27, pp. 179, 197.

²² No. 27, pp. 194, 195, 197. The author with his "apple" seems to follow the Sunday School version rather than the Biblical text.

²³ No. 27, p. 197.

that Paradise takes the form of a woman in dreams to this day.²⁴

Also among the objects that can stand for the mother is a tree such as that whose fruit enticed Eve.²⁵ "Fruit" often means children.²⁶

The mother can further be represented by a serpent such as Eve's tempter,²⁷ or the fish that swallowed Jonah,²⁸ or the Leviathan,²⁹ the female of which is, according to Jewish folklore, served at the banquet of the saints in the hereafter and is brought to mind by the fish eaten on the Sabbath.³⁰

In the story of Paradise, as elsewhere, the mother — if we credit the claims of psychoanalysis — can wear the disguise of the wife.³¹ It is reported that, in modern psychoanalytic practice, a man neurotically equates, with his mother, the woman whom he loves.³² As "the mother of all the living," Eve would naturally be also the mother of Adam.³³ The story of Paradise is asserted to intimate that, to keep the sons from wanting their mothers as their wives, the mother stands in contrast to the serpent which changes its skin and becomes rejuvenated.³⁴

Another symbol of the mother is the earth or land.³⁵ The individual's yearning for his mother is expressed in Adam's return to the dust.³⁶ The reason why implements for cutting are to be kept away from the altar (Exod. 20.22, Deut. 27.5)³⁷

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ No. 27, pp. 179, 180, 194, 195.

²⁶ No. 27, p. 196.

²⁷ No. 26, p. 3, No. 27, p. 180.

²⁸ No. 28, p. 50.

²⁹ No. 28, pp. 49, 92.

³⁰ No. 28, p. 50.

³¹ No. 26, p. 26.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ No. 26, pp. 3, 21. This conflicts, of course, with our previous notation according to which the mother and the serpent are identified. It further conflicts with a statement by the same author that Eve, whose name *Harwah* means "serpent," must be the same as the serpent (No. 27, p. 194).

³⁵ No. 27, pp. 179, 197.

³⁶ No. 26, pp. 26, 197, No. 27, p. 197.

³⁷ Cf. No. 34, pp. 665, 678, 682.

is alleged to lie in the fact that the altar stones are materials of earth and that the use of metal upon the altar would accordingly bespeak incestuous approach.³⁸ The altar of Abraham is associated with the land of promise,³⁹ and the land becomes, in this way, the object of filial attachment.⁴⁰

It is contended that the Jewish devotion to the mother country was a sublimated love for a previously worshiped mother goddess. The same writer maintains that, by sublimation, the sexual interest in the mother goddess became diffused over the entire land.⁴¹ Another one of our writers reports that modern scholars construe Cant. 2.9 ff. as a dialogue between a mother goddess and her son-consort.⁴²

The tabernacle into which the priest would enter and from which he would emerge is declared to picture, in some way, the maternal body.⁴³ The mother is also found represented by such ritual objects as the much kissed phylacteries.⁴⁴ Again, the mother is discerned in the triad — father, mother, child — contrived by the three-pronged finger arrangement of the Kohenites.⁴⁵ The spread of the fingers before the eyes is held to suggest the hide and seek which a mother plays with her child.⁴⁶

³⁸ No. 31, p. 56.

³⁹ No. 31, p. 57.

⁴⁰ No. 31, p. 64.

⁴¹ No. 31, pp. 25, 52, 64.

⁴² No. 10, p. 310. In default of documentation by the author, we offer the following references: Wilhelm Erbt, *Die Hebraer*, 1906, pp. 196-201; Theophile James Meek, "Canticles and the Tammuz Cult," *Amer. Journ. Semit. Languages*, 1922, pp. 1-14; *The Song of Songs, a Symposium*, Philadelphia, 1924, pp. 48-79; "Babylonian Parallels to the Song of Songs," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1924, pp. 245-252; Carl Gebhart, *Das Lied der Lieder*, Berlin, 1931, p. 11; Wilfred H. Schoff, *The Song of Songs, a Symposium*, pp. 80-120; E. Ebeling, "Das Hohelied im Lichte der Assyriologischen Forschungen," *ZDMG*, 1924, 78, pp. LXVIII ff.; Wilhelm Wettekindt, *Das Hohelied und seine Beziehungen zum Istarkult*, 1925; Leroy Watterman, "The Role of Solomon in the Song of Songs," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1925, pp. 171-187.

⁴³ No. 24, p. 336.

⁴⁴ No. 7, pp. 486, 499.

⁴⁵ No. 10, p. 321.

⁴⁶ No. 10, p. 310.

The numerous symbols of birth appearing in Jewish folklore and ritual are said to substantiate those interpretations. A birth significance is seen in the detachment of the fruit from the tree of Paradise;⁴⁷ a child, we again recall, being the "fruit" of the womb. A similar implication is attributed to the expulsion from Eden.⁴⁸ We are also told that birth is symbolized by the passage of the flame between the pieces in the Abrahamic covenant⁴⁹ of Gen. 15 and by the opening of and passing through various doors.⁵⁰ Trumbull's *Threshold Covenant*, p. 13, is quoted for its association of the threshold with that part of the mother's body through which the child enters the world.⁵¹ This, in turn, comports with the psychoanalytic identification of room and womb.⁵² The Hebrew *Dalet*, like the triangular Greek *delta*, not only means door but also implies, according to this writer, the female pudendum.⁵³ The Ashera, with its vouldptuous accompaniments, is declared to have been originally a pair of posts surmounted, door fashion, by a lintel.⁵⁴

Attention is directed to the importance of thresholds in the ancient Canaanitish custom of sacrificing children at the thresholds or at the laying of foundations or in choosing the door of the tent of meeting as the place for burnt offerings.⁵⁵ With the threshold is likewise associated circumcision. Our writer suspects a parallel between the sacrifice at the threshold of the sanctuary and circumcision as a sacrifice at the threshold of life and, akin to that, the sacrifice of the Egyptian first born.⁵⁶ Another of our writers reminds us that there was blood on the doorways of Egypt when the Israelites "went forth."⁵⁷ "As Moses was saved by his circumcision, so was Israel saved, when the Egyptian

⁴⁷ No. 27, p. 196.

⁴⁸ No. 27, p. 197.

⁴⁹ No. 25, p. 455. Cf. No. 34, p. 653.

⁵⁰ No. 31, pp. 60, 64.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* The passage could not be located in Trumbull.

⁵² No. 31, p. 61.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ No. 31, p. 62.

⁵⁶ No. 31, p. 63.

⁵⁷ No. 5, p. 283.

first born were slain, by exhibiting the bloody token of sacrifice."⁵⁸ It is affirmed that the female organ of sex, the physical doorway of life, gives meaning "to all crossings of bourns, limits, boundaries, whether in time or in space, and invested such passings over with such significance as gives rise to ritual."⁵⁹ The crossing of the Jordan is specifically mentioned as one of those genitally significant transits.⁶⁰ Also instanced is the opening of the door for Elijah at the ritual of the Passover.⁶¹

Then there are the various tokens of cohabitation. One of our authors agrees with Levy, in *Imago* V, 19, that the original sin is coitus and that the source of death,⁶² according to that story, is carnality. A sex symbol is the serpent crawling on his stomach and eating dust.⁶³ The serpent of brass in the ancient Temple is asserted to have been originally a god of fertility.⁶⁴ Apples also, as in Cant. 2.5, betoken carnal longing;⁶⁵ likewise the tree.⁶⁶ The tree of life, guarded by a serpent, brings to mind the myths which tell of a treasure or a beautiful woman guarded by a dragon. Eve — again recalling that *Hawwah* means serpent — is identified, by this writer, with the serpent, with the "apple," and with the tree.⁶⁷ This writer quotes Trumbull's *Threshold Covenant* to the effect that, when the story of Paradise was originally composed, the sexual intimations of tree, fruit, and serpent were still familiar.⁶⁸ The eating of the forbidden fruit implies, to this writer, a harking back to the infant's sucking of its mother's breast — by no means, according to psychoanalysis, an "innocent" and sexless activity.⁶⁹

⁵⁸ No. 31, p. 62.

⁵⁹ No. 31, p. 64.

⁶⁰ No. 31, p. 60.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² No. 26, p. 22. Cf. No. 34, pp. 614-619.

⁶³ No. 27, p. 177.

⁶⁴ No. 27, p. 195.

⁶⁵ No. 27, p. 177. Cf. *supra*, note 22.

⁶⁶ No. 27, pp. 179, 180.

⁶⁷ No. 27, p. 194.

⁶⁸ No. 27, p. 179. The passage is on p. 238 of Trumbull's *The Threshold Covenant* (1906).

⁶⁹ No. 27, p. 196.

One of our authors endorses the view of Rank that appetitions toward the mother underlie the conflict between Cain and Abel.⁷⁰ It is noted that the very name Cain is akin to the word for "spear," and that, in neurotic phantasies, a spear can substitute for a phallus.⁷¹ Cain, as a farmer, beats and pounds that virgin stuff, the earth. Something similar is imputed to Gideon with whom the urge to violate his mother comes to light when, in Jud. 6.28, he strikes down the Ashera.⁷²

Also vested with sexual reminders is the goat⁷³ in Lev. 16; Azazel, the hairy, suggests the *pubes*.⁷⁴ It is pointed out that Azazel became identified with one of the fallen angels who courted the earthly women in Gen. 6.2. Our writer holds that the sin for which the goat was to atone was that of the libido. Adduced in evidence of this are the chapters on sex taboos which closely follow upon the chapter in which Azazel is mentioned.⁷⁵ This writer detects a similar import in the red string fastened to the goat's horns (Yoma IV,2), red being the color of sin, especially that of lasciviousness.⁷⁶ He claims that the sins to be expiated by means of the scapegoat are sins of sex also according to Yoma VI, 4 and according to Rashi on Yoma 39A.⁷⁷ The cock, as *Kapparah* fowl, by which the goat was superseded,⁷⁸ is reported to figure as a sex symbol in the dreams of neurotics and, in various parts of the world, to signify the procreating male.⁷⁹

⁷⁰ No. 15, p. 310.

⁷¹ No. 31, p. 56.

⁷² No. 27, p. 199.

⁷³ No. 24, p. 339.

⁷⁴ No. 24, p. 341.

⁷⁵ The author might also have cited the sex regulations in Chap. 15 which immediately precedes that in which Azazel is mentioned; as well as the sex taboos in Chap. 18 which follows the chapter containing reference to the *Se'irim* (Lev. 17.17).

⁷⁶ No. 24, p. 342.

⁷⁷ Rashi, in Yoma 39A, quotes Isa. 1.18 which links sin with the color red. But neither the passage in Isaiah nor Rashi to Yoma 39A nor the Mishna, Yoma VI, 4, specifies the sins of sex.

⁷⁸ No. 24, p. 342.

⁷⁹ No. 24, p. 343. The writer might have instanced a certain American vulgarity.

One of our writers calls attention to Echa Rabbati I, 15 and to Ber. 56 B, lines 11 and 13, which interpret, in terms of incestuous longings, the dream about giving oil to olive trees and the dream in which the dreamer's two eyes kiss one another.⁸⁰ Ber. 56 B (line 15) finds sexual allusions also in the dream about entering the shade of a myrtle⁸¹ and in the dream (line 17) about the escaping doves.⁸² Here a Jewish source becomes not merely the object of psychoanalytic study: the source itself propounds ideas of a psychoanalytic hue.

Also freighted with sexual implications are such ritual objects as prayer shawl and phylacteries.⁸³ We are assured that these have borne a sexual significance in the dreams and phantasies of psychiatric patients. It is recalled that Hos. 2.22, in connection with the phylacteries, involves the word "know" with its familiar sexual connotations.⁸⁴

A genital meaning is also perceived in the three-fold winding of the phylacteries and in the bride's three-fold circumambulation of the groom at weddings, as well as in the three-pronged finger spread of the Kohenites.⁸⁵ Feldman quotes Zoller's "Alphabetstudien" to the effect that the letter *ו*, simulated by the Kohenites, signifies not only tooth but also organ of sex.⁸⁶ In connection with the priestly blessing no less than in connection with the phylacteries, considerable discussion is bestowed

⁸⁰ No. 4, p. 117.

⁸¹ On the sexual significance of the myrtle, something is said by Lauterbach, *HUCA*, 1940, p. 397.

⁸² There are recorded, on Ber. 56B, still other dreams with sexual interpretations. The dream, Ber. 56B (line 17), about removing a shell from an egg, is not interpreted sexually as our No. 4 supposes. Ber. 56B does not mention any dream about a falling branch as our No. 4, p. 118 claims. The writer appears to have mistranslated the passage in Ber. 56B, (lines 15 and 16,) about the shadows, one above and one beneath the dreamer. In the dream which the Talmud interprets as alluding to unnatural sex practices, *Tuna* means not "branch" but "shadow."

⁸³ No. 7, p. 499.

⁸⁴ No. 34, p. 615.

⁸⁵ No. 10, p. 315. No. 34, pp. 689, 691.

⁸⁶ No. 10, p. 317. The passage from Zoller is in *Imago*, 1931, 17, p. 106. An illustrative table of the alphabet is provided by Zoller on p. 117 and in his *Sinai-schrift und Griechisch-Lateinisches*, p. 68.

upon the sexual meanings of "finger" and of "hand." Among other things, it is noted that, in some circles, the finger serves to convey jocular sexual allusions.⁸⁷

Apropos the Kohenitic removal of the shoes, our author tells of a patient who was obsessed with the impulsion to polish the shoes of his father.⁸⁸ In this case, analysis showed "a condensed expression" of the longing for the sexual possession of the mother. This writer insists that the shoe sometimes betokens the male organ of sex and sometimes that of the female — a conclusion which he sees confirmed by the clinical findings in the case of a patient whose phobia related to putting on shoes and going into the street. The command not to look at the functioning Kohenites is connected, by this author, with the inhibition about peering at the coitus of one's parents, lest the mother become the object of incestuous desire.⁸⁹ Our author understands the priestly blessing to express the demand that the incestuous yearnings for one's mother be abjured.⁹⁰ The purport is that the blessing reaches only him who forsakes the incestuous deed figuring in the primeval sin.⁹¹

II. THE SON'S HOSTILITY TOWARD THE FATHER

Alongside of the son's incestuous desire for his mother, the Oedipus complex includes the hostility of the son toward his father. Much of our material follows the Freudian supposition that, in some primitive horde, the sons murdered the father in order to obtain access to the women, and then cannibalistically devoured the father, expecting thus to absorb into themselves his admired and dreaded prowess.⁹² The hostility of the son toward his parent is reported not merely as a phenomenon of the clinic. One of our writers holds that children exemplify the

⁸⁷ No. 34, p. 689.

⁸⁸ No. 10, p. 305.

⁸⁹ No. 10, p. 308.

⁹⁰ No. 10, p. 321.

⁹¹ No. 34, pp. 642, 660, 684.

⁹² No. 13, p. 73. No. 12, pp. 147, 230, 231. Freud admittedly repeats here what he expounded more extensively in *Totem and Taboo*.

rebellious substitution of themselves for those in power when they play "father and mother."⁹³

Roheim traces the consciousness of the son's hostility to his father in the story of the Fall of Man⁹⁴ and in similar legends from other folklores.⁹⁵ He cites, for instance, a certain Pangwe story which views cohabitation as the sinful act of putting one's self in the place of God.⁹⁶ If Eve is but a mask for Adam's mother,⁹⁷ Adam's relations with Eve would imply a victorious battle fought by Adam against his father, the Deity.⁹⁸ Roheim apprises us here that, in certain neurotic conditions, disturbed potency causes the patient to struggle against "imaginary antagonists, policemen, soldiers, mythical beings, monsters, school teachers, friends etc. before he can have access to a woman." As in other myths in which the hero must combat a serpent or a dragon before he obtains the beautiful maiden,⁹⁹ Adam has to resist Yahweh, the serpent-shaped god of fertility, to win the right to the apple, to the tree, to fertility, to Eve.¹⁰⁰ The story of Paradise is thus construed to mean that, as in various non-Hebraic myths, Yahweh is the father and Adam the son, that disobedience to the father appears in sexual maturation and desire,¹⁰¹ and that the son's uprising against the father constitutes the Fall of Man.¹⁰² Referring to the serpent of Paradise, the fish of Jonah, the Leviathan of the Jewish hereafter, and the fish of the Sabbath dietary, Roheim connects these dragon myths with the aggressions and anxieties attendant upon the relationship between the infant and its mother.¹⁰³

Hostility of the son toward the father is discovered also in the story of Cain and Abel.¹⁰⁴ Abel whom Cain slew is, in psycho-

⁹³ No. 14, p. 213.

⁹⁴ No. 26, p. 25.

⁹⁵ No. 26, p. 23.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ *Supra*, p. 224.

⁹⁸ No. 26, p. 26.

⁹⁹ No. 27, p. 180.

¹⁰⁰ No. 27, p. 195.

¹⁰¹ No. 27, p. 177.

¹⁰² No. 27, p. 197.

¹⁰³ No. 28, p. 40.

¹⁰⁴ No. 15, p. 310.

analytic parlance, a father-substitute. The same insurgent tendency, characterizing the Jews as a group,¹⁰⁵ if not mankind as a whole, is described by Isaac-Edersheim in the story of the Tower of Babel.¹⁰⁶ It is maintained, by another of our writers, that the *Berit ben Habetarim*, in Gen. 15, portrays the neurotic dread of being torn to pieces or eviscerated "as the talion representation of the subject's own destructive desires."¹⁰⁷

In No. 12, pp. 64, 160, 161, Freud advances the thesis that the primeval slaying of the father was repeated in the slaying of Moses. For the supposition that Moses was murdered, Freud claims support in the researches of Sellin and in the intuitions of Goethe.

According to Roheim, "the opener of the womb" in Exod. 13 and elsewhere is one who is predisposed to kill his father and to commit incest.¹⁰⁸ A similar import is traced by Isaac-Edersheim in the prophetic denunciation of the Jews as stiff-necked.¹⁰⁹

Rebellion of the son against the father is, according to one of our authors, presupposed in the law, Ex. 20.22 and Deut. 27.5, against the use of an iron implement in the construction of the altar. This author interprets recourse to such implement as detracting from the glory of the father by indicating easy access to the earth-material, that is, to the mother.¹¹⁰ Isaac-Edersheim, like various earlier writers of the psychoanalytic group, attaches a similar implication to the practice of offering sacrifices.¹¹¹ This writer adopts the theory that the meal which followed the sacrifice of the totem animal simulated the primitive devouring of the father, just as the sacrifice itself furnished a replica of the murder.¹¹² Roheim, also echoing Freud, regards the slaughter of the bull or ram as a repetition of the patricide and simultaneously its expiation.¹¹³ Feldman, assigning an analogous im-

¹⁰⁵ No. 14, p. 211.

¹⁰⁶ No. 14, p. 205.

¹⁰⁷ No. 25, p. 456.

¹⁰⁸ No. 10, p. 302.

¹⁰⁹ No. 14, p. 211.

¹¹⁰ No. 31, p. 56. *Supra*, p. 000.

¹¹¹ No. 13, p. 74.

¹¹² No. 34, pp. 665, 675, 678, 689.

¹¹³ No. 24, p. 336.

port to the taboo against pronouncing the Divine Name,¹¹⁴ agrees with Reik that uttering a name was supposed to exert a sinister power over its bearer. "Nomen est omen."¹¹⁵

According to Isaac-Edersheim, the uprising of the son against his sire and of man against God is typified by the Messiah. This writer holds that the act of anointing derives from the notion that one absorbs the power of the totem by taking, into or upon one's body, some part of the totem's body — in this instance, a touch of its fat;¹¹⁶ the totem being meanwhile identified with the deity who is, in turn, identified with one's father.¹¹⁷ Anointing thus signifies the rebellious and aggressive appropriation of the father-deity's prerogatives. The Messiah, the anointed, usurps the Deity's place.

The Messiah impersonates, in addition, says Feldman, the first born, "the opener of the womb" who, when it came to doing away with the father, "must have been the ringleader."¹¹⁸ This view is favored also by Isaac-Edersheim.¹¹⁹ Isaac-Edersheim regards the Messiah as the duplicate of the son who initiated the insurrection against the totem, against the father, against the god; somewhat like Siegfried who bathes in the blood of the dragon which he slew or like Achilles who becomes invulnerable by immersion in a sacred fountain. The son who eliminates the father is thus a familiar mythological figure.¹²⁰ Various disguised, he appears in stories such as those of Zeus, Osiris, Oedipus, Parsifal. Isaac-Edersheim agrees with Reik¹²¹ that Jesus plays this role in the theology of Paul, and Ernest Jones subscribes to a similar conclusion.¹²²

¹¹⁴ No. 10, p. 319.

¹¹⁵ No. 10, p. 319, refers to patients who feel anxiety when their name is mentioned. Our attention is called to the name changes in the Bible (Gen. 17.5, 15 and 32.29) and to the Orthodox Jewish custom of changing the names of the critically ill.

¹¹⁶ No. 13, pp. 74, 79.

¹¹⁷ No. 13, p. 67.

¹¹⁸ No. 10, p. 302, No. 12, p. 156.

¹¹⁹ No. 13, pp. 74, 75.

¹²⁰ No. 15, p. 312.

¹²¹ No. 15, pp. 313, 314. Cf. No. 34, p. 655.

¹²² No. 16, p. 424. Jones refers to our No. 12, pp. 155-159. Isaac-Edersheim, No. 15, p. 307, also sees antagonism to the father when the Christians reject in theory, though by no means in practice, the adage "eye for an eye."

Patricidal impulsions are detected also in the rite of the Aaronides. Feldman, endorsing Reik, maintains that the Aaronide benediction, like the scene at Mt. Sinai, which these writers assume it repeats, signalizes the repression of the urge to hate the father and to kill him.¹²³ The handwashing of the Aaronides, pronounced akin to the handwashing which accompanies neurotic obsessions,¹²⁴ is held to symbolize the wish to become free of patricidal desires.¹²⁵ The same applies to the Kohenitic abstinence from wine, just prior to functioning, wine betokening blood, hence the blood of the slain parent.¹²⁶ Concerning the rule inhibiting the Kohenites from stepping on the threshold, Roheim joins Reik in the theory that stepping on the threshold betrays hostility toward the occupant of the abode.¹²⁷ Bearing in mind that, by certain displacements, the Kohenites become God Himself, the prohibition about looking at the Kohenites links with the thought that to look at someone means to overpower him.¹²⁸ The forming of the Divine Name by means of the fingers is a further step in the process of abandoning the use of the Divine Name altogether, with all the domination over the name's bearer that such use implies.¹²⁹ It is even suggested that "the tune in the blessing might be a reminiscence of the last growling of the 'Urvater.'"¹³⁰

Phylacteries and prayer shawl are asserted to bear a like significance. Feldman seconds the views of Abraham, of Reik, and of Langer that, by means of the phylacteries, the worshipers identify themselves with the primeval totem animal which is, in turn, the replica of the slain parent.¹³¹ Feldman maintains that the swaying in prayer, while wearing phylacteries and prayer shawl, simulated the totem in a manner analogous to the imita-

¹²³ No. 10, p. 311.

¹²⁴ No. 10, p. 301.

¹²⁵ No. 10, p. 306.

¹²⁶ No. 10, pp. 301, 306.

¹²⁷ No. 10, p. 302. However, does such a rule exist? Cf. No. 34, p. 609.

¹²⁸ No. 10, p. 307. The writer might have mentioned the meaning of "look upon" in Psalms 91.8 and 92.12.

¹²⁹ No. 10, p. 319. *Supra*, p. 233.

¹³⁰ No. 10, p. 313.

¹³¹ No. 10, p. 318, No. 34, pp. 681, 691, 696.

tions of the totem in the dances of savages.¹³² A further symbol of such identification is the winding of the phylacteries in such a way as to form the name of the Deity.¹³³ The kisses imprinted on phylacteries, prayer shawl, and *Mezuzah* are presumed, by another of our writers, to reproduce the cannibalistic act by which, according to psychoanalysis, the patricide was followed.¹³⁴

Hostility toward the father is likewise glimpsed in the passage, Ber. 56 B (line 19), which treats the dream and the interpretation of the dream involving Cappadocia.¹³⁵

Observing that, in the dreams of a certain neurotic, a cock indicated a conflict between the patient and his father, Roheim reads a similar conflict in the ritual of the *Kapparah* as well as in that of its predecessor, the scapegoat.¹³⁶

Opposition to the father is detected also in the legend of the Wandering Jew. Though conceding that Ahasuerus may be a personification like Uncle Sam, John Bull, and the like, Isaac-Edersheim insists, nonetheless, that the subject is highly complicated.¹³⁷ This author sees, in the Wandering Jew, a displacement of the feelings of hate and aggression directed by the Jews against their God.¹³⁸ In Ahasuerus, the Jewish Father-God, rejected by His children, goes wandering like Cain, the eternal rebel and murderer.¹³⁹

Isaac-Edersheim is impressed by the demonstrations of hostility toward the father in the legends of the Golem. The Golem, according to this author, divulges a mediaeval Jewish antipathy to the Most High.¹⁴⁰ The Golem signifies belligerence against God on the part of R. Loew and thus on the part of the entire Jewish community for which R. Loew is spokesman.

R. Loew is asserted by Isaac-Edersheim to exemplify the urge to stand on a level with God by performing an act of crea-

¹³² No. 10, p. 311.

¹³³ No. 10, p. 318.

¹³⁴ No. 7, p. 486.

¹³⁵ No. 4, p. 118.

¹³⁶ No. 24, p. 343, No. 34, pp. 675, 686, 698.

¹³⁷ No. 15, p. 304.

¹³⁸ No. 15, p. 314.

¹³⁹ No. 15, p. 315.

¹⁴⁰ No. 14, p. 305.

tion.¹⁴¹ As God made a man out of earth, R. Loew also makes a man out of earth.¹⁴² The elements used by R. Loew resemble the elements which compose man according to the interpretation of Ps. 139.16 in San. 38AB and according to Pirke de R. Eliezer, XI.¹⁴³ The Golem is the servant of R. Loew as Adam, Abraham, Moses, Job, and the prophets were servants of the Deity.¹⁴⁴

Again the Golem, in some respects, becomes identified with R. Loew himself. The Golem is the material man as R. Loew is the spiritual man.¹⁴⁵ The Golem is, in other words, R. Loew's own split-off personality and the eject of R. Loew's repressed wishes.¹⁴⁶ In this aspect, the Golem resembles the gigantic Adam described in Hag. 12A (lines 4, 8) and in San. 38B (lines 18, 20), the Golem returning, like Adam, to its natal earth.¹⁴⁷ This gigantic Adam was originally endowed with supernatural powers which he lost because of his contumacy. It is hinted that R. Loew's status was similar. The Golem, violating the Sabbath, becomes the projection of R. Loew's own concealed rebelliousness, while the Golem's attack on the Jews betrays R. Loew's covert enmity toward his own people.¹⁴⁸

Along with all of this, our author finds that the Golem stands for God.¹⁴⁹ God Himself is ridiculed and degraded in the Golem's clumsiness, dulness, and servility. The reduction of the awe-inspiring Deity to clay is a fitting rebuke for Him Who made man so frail and so fallible.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴¹ No. 14, p. 201.

¹⁴² No. 14, p. 199.

¹⁴³ The author refers also to Jer. 18.6 and Job 4.19. We are reminded of the mediaeval Hebrew hymn: "Like as the clay in the hand of the potter."

¹⁴⁴ No. 14, p. 200.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ No. 14, p. 208.

¹⁴⁷ No. 14, p. 201.

¹⁴⁸ No. 14, p. 212, No. 34, p. 607.

¹⁴⁹ No. 14, p. 212.

¹⁵⁰ No. 14, p. 213. Cf. No. 34, p. 650. None of our writers has noticed the Talmudic and Midrashic passages in which the pious criticize God. Ber. 31B, 32A relate how Hannah, Elijah, and Moses voiced such criticisms and, in so doing, acted meritoriously. Somewhat akin is R. Tanhuma's admonition of God in Lev. Rab. 34.14. Levi, who censures God in Ta'an. 25A (line 42), Suk. 53A (line 27), and Meg. 22B (bottom) is called a great man, although

Tensions patterning the same hostility, we are told, also beset the life of the Jewish community. One of our writers suspects that "even within the older Jewish communities, before the day of the modern Rabbi, there was sufficient proof of the readiness of the congregant to choose for leadership the man who would not be too well invested with uncontrollable authority" — a reminiscence explained by this writer as an Oedipus involvement.¹⁵¹ Filial animosity is spied also in the antagonism leveled at its minister by the modern Reform congregation.¹⁵² The writer instances the resentment felt because the Rabbi calls for discipline. Some parishioners suffer, in the religious leader, a reminder of their Orthodox and poverty stricken childhood the memory of which they desire to escape.¹⁵³ This author adds that the waning of the father image from the popular idea of God increases this resistance. The writer then refers to a certain Rabbi who, because of his abhorrence for his father, proved unable to carry on his work.¹⁵⁴

III. THE FATHER'S HOSTILITY TOWARD THE SON

Among the tokens of the father's antagonism toward the son, one of our writers places the prohibition against eating the Paradisial fruit. This he construes as a paternal act of restriction,¹⁵⁵ displayed likewise in the role of the serpent.¹⁵⁶ By casting its skin, the serpent achieves self-rejuvenation, a quality which one's mother lacks; she grows older and not younger and may therefore not become one's wife. Another one of our authors glimpses the restraining punitive father in the prayer shawl and the phylacteries;¹⁵⁷ while another perceives him in the

lameness came to him in retribution not for the censure but for that censure in addition to the act of prostrating himself by way of illustrating how one prostrates oneself in prayer.

¹⁵¹ No. 32, p. 223.

¹⁵² No. 32, p. 222.

¹⁵³ No. 32, p. 220.

¹⁵⁴ No. 32, pp. 222, 223.

¹⁵⁵ No. 26, p. 25.

¹⁵⁶ No. 26, p. 21.

¹⁵⁷ No. 7, pp. 486, 499.

benediction of the Aaronides; "the father, with his fiery and fearful eyes, deters and overawes the youth about to turn against him."¹⁵⁸ Paternal restraint is also sensed in the ordinance forbidding the Aaronides to step on the threshold of the synagogue:¹⁵⁹ while, of like import, according to Isaac-Edersheim, is the Wandering Jew, a disguise for the Eternal God, the degraded but never completely eliminated predecessor and opponent of Christ.¹⁶⁰

A. CASTRATION

Extensively does this literature recognize symbols of castration, the barrier reared by the older generation against the incestuous proclivities of the younger. Approval is accorded Reik's view, in "Das Kainzeichen" (*Imago* V, 41), that circumcision is castration in an attenuated form.¹⁶¹ To Westermarck's critique of these suppositions, Roheim rejoins that circumcision arises when the latent tendency to castrate is counteracted by tendencies of an opposite nature.¹⁶² As confirmation, Roheim cites the castration anxieties which, he says, accompany all ceremonies of initiation.¹⁶³ Roheim reports that, among the Pitjentara, both initiates and participants tend to dream, prior to the initiation rites, that their organs of sex have been removed.¹⁶⁴ Further evidence

¹⁵⁸ No. 10, p. 320.

¹⁵⁹ No. 10, p. 302. But does such a prohibition exist? See *supra*, note 127.

¹⁶⁰ No. 15, p. 311.

¹⁶¹ No. 30, p. 110, No. 31, p. 58, No. 34, pp. 643, 660, 661. Freud repeats the idea, No. 12, p. 215.

¹⁶² No. 30, p. 111.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.* That initiation rites dramatize the suppression of youthful aggressiveness, Roheim finds evidenced in the initiation rites of the Randa and other Central Australian tribes which believe that uninitiated youth would become transformed into demons that would eat the old men of the tribe (No. 30, p. 109). A similar purport is seen by Roheim in the terrors visited upon the initiates among the Pitjentara (*ibid.*, p. 110). Roheim thinks, in this connection, of old men in our own society who resent being superseded in business by younger men (p. 109). He also surmises elements of latent hostility in the severities practiced by pedagogues. Can the author mean to connect incestuous urges with these manifestations in our own midst?

is adduced from a modern clinical observation that, with Jewish patients, an unconscious symbol of castration attaches to their state of being circumcised.¹⁶⁵ "The acceptance of castration in order to demonstrate the giving up of incest" is Feldman's account of the circumcision depicted in Josh. 5.¹⁶⁶ Cognate to this is the idea of Roheim that, when Gideon, in striking down the Ashera, symbolically violates his mother, the tree reminds him of the oak of Mamre where Abraham, shortly after his circumcision, sat convalescing.¹⁶⁷

A kindred implication is ascribed to the linen breeches worn by the priests.¹⁶⁸ Only the castrated, desexualized male may enter the Holy of Holies, such entrance being tantamount to the incestuous act of entering the Great Mother.¹⁶⁹ Likewise a symbol of castration is the requirement that the priest be ritually pure.¹⁷⁰

Castration is further linked with the observance of Yom Kippur.¹⁷¹ Reconciliation with the father is achieved through a self-emasculation such as would preclude infringement upon the father's sexual privileges.

Castration is predicated also of the removal of the shoes by the officiating Kohenites.¹⁷² It is argued that removal of the shoes bespeaks castration because such removal implies submission. Sandor Feldman, who expounds this theory, holds that, in the *Halizah* ceremony, the sister-in-law symbolically castrates the brother-in-law.¹⁷³ Hence, according to this author, the Kohenitic shoe removal means that castration has been accepted and incestuous desires renounced.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁵ No. 30, p. III.

¹⁶⁶ No. 10, p. 303.

¹⁶⁷ No. 27, p. 199. *Supra*, p. 228.

¹⁶⁸ No. 24, p. 335. The Biblical references are: Ex. 28.42, Ex. 39.28, Lev. 6.3, Lev. 16.4, Ezek. 44.18.

¹⁶⁹ No. 24, p. 336.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ No. 24, p. 344. No. 34, pp. 630, 657.

¹⁷² No. 10, p. 306.

¹⁷³ No. 10, p. 305. Cf. No. 34, p. 641.

¹⁷⁴ No. 10, p. 320. The passage from Ludwig Levy is in *MFWJ*, Vol. 62, p. 182.

In the opinion of one of our authors, castration is represented by the fifteenth century practice of shearing off the hair of the boy at his Bar Mitzvah.¹⁷⁵ This comports with Barahal's interpretation of the hair shearing at the marriage of the Jewish woman.¹⁷⁶ The explanation that the wife is to be rendered unattractive to other men is pronounced a rationalization. The real reason, thinks Barahal, is the husband's fear of homosexuality and his consequent need of intensifying his wife's femininity by recourse to that castration symbol.

The reverse of castration is surmised in the ritualistic covering of the head. Says Eder, discussing this requirement, "A castrated man may not appear before his associates or his elders or his God."¹⁷⁷

B. THE FATHER IMAGE

Also operative here is the father image. Thus one of our writers detects, in the prayer shawl and the phylacteries, mother identifications and also father identifications.¹⁷⁸ This author contends that, as superstition wanes and phylacteries no longer convey the father image and no longer effectuate the presence of God, they cease to fulfill their purpose; the result being neuroses as the only way out of tensions due to feelings of guilt and cravings for punishment.¹⁷⁹

Sandor Feldman surmises that, in the Kohenite blessing, the priests become identical with God and the congregation identified both with God and with the priests.¹⁸⁰ We have already noticed how this author finds God duplicated in the Kohenitic arrangement of the fingers.¹⁸¹ The fingers resemble the lattice in Cant. 2.9 through which the lover, who is God, can look with a frightening gaze.¹⁸² This author asserts that the finger-spread of the Aaron-

¹⁷⁵ No. 7, p. 499.

¹⁷⁶ No. 1, p. 301.

¹⁷⁷ No. 7, p. 484.

¹⁷⁸ No. 7, p. 499.

¹⁷⁹ No. 7, p. 419.

¹⁸⁰ No. 10, p. 310.

¹⁸¹ No. 10, p. 308. *Supra*, p. 234.

¹⁸² No. 10, p. 309.

ides can denote not only the paternal eyes but also the paternal organ of sex.¹⁸³

According to another of our authors, a surrogate for one's father is the modern Rabbi. The minister is "to his congregation the personification of the father image largely concerned with moral values and taboos."¹⁸⁴ This writer claims that, according to Reform Jewish theology, the Rabbi functions either as a prophet or as a priest but that, as a priest, he gains readier acceptance.¹⁸⁵ With modern conditions blurring the father image in the popular conception of God, that image attaches to the Rabbi more and more; just as, in Christian theology, Jesus moves into the foreground while God, the Father, recedes.¹⁸⁶

C. THE SUPER-EGO

Another psychoanalytic concept invoked here is that of the Super-Ego. "Super-Ego" means approximately the same as "conscience." According to psychoanalysis, conscience is a psychic deposit remaining from the demands levied upon us by our parents and subsequently by society as a whole.

One of our writers is aware of the Super-Ego in the story of Paradise.¹⁸⁷ The Super-Ego, he claims, animates the belief there enunciated that cohabitation and its consequences are punitive. The voice of the Deity in Gen. 3.8 is labeled an "introjected father-image and Super-Ego."¹⁸⁸

Roheim calls initiation ceremonies "socialized or institutionalized representations of the Oedipus complex, of castration anxiety and Super-Ego formation," a conclusion which he regards as validated by clinical observation.¹⁸⁹ Castration anxiety connects

¹⁸³ No. 10, p. 320. The attention of none of our authors has been arrested by the passages in Soṭ. 36B (line 31) where literally a father-image deters Joseph from wrong doing, or the passage in Yalkuṭ Shim'oni, 171, on Ex. 3.6 telling how Moses was heartened by an auditory image of his father, Amram.

¹⁸⁴ No. 32, p. 320.

¹⁸⁵ No. 32, pp. 221, 227.

¹⁸⁶ No. 32, p. 222. See *Supra*, p. 233.

¹⁸⁷ No. 27, p. 177.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ No. 30, p. 111.

the Super-Ego with the rite of circumcision. The Super-Ego is also associated, by one of our writers, with phylacteries and prayer shawl.¹⁹⁰

According to Freud, the entire of Jewish history is permeated by a sense of guilt that originated in the killing of Moses which, in turn, repeated the killing of the primeval father. This also would evince the Super-Ego's workings. The role of the Super-Ego, according to Freud, was vested in Moses, the great man.¹⁹¹ Further thoughts of Freud are that the guilt of having killed Moses stimulated the wish phantasy of a Messiah, and that the Christian grievance against the Jews is not that the Jews murdered God but that the Jews refuse to admit the crime (No. 12, pp. 161, 162). Freud terminates the volume by confessing that this refusal on the part of the Jews calls for additional research.

We are further apprised that the modern Rabbi, insofar as he assumes the function of prophet, voices the demands of the Super-Ego and its restraints upon the Id.¹⁹² By "Id" is meant approximately the automatic reactions of the organism. This writer deems the church (including, of course, the synagogue) a group expression of the Super-Ego checking the predatory trends of the Id as these are exhibited in capitalism and its economic warfare.¹⁹³

D. EXPIATION AND PUNISHMENT

Acts of punishment or of self-punishment or of vicarious punishment for the son's aggressiveness are seen by our writers at various points. Roheim maintains that the slaying of the father or, at least, the lust by which the slaying was precipitated is the sin

¹⁹⁰ No. 7, p. 499.

¹⁹¹ No. 16, pp. 418, 421, 422, No. 12, pp. 206, 208, 212.

¹⁹² No. 32, pp. 224, 227.

¹⁹³ No. 32, p. 224. Id, Ego, Super-Ego, as well as the psychoanalytic terms, "the unconscious," "the censor," and the like exemplify the reifications mentioned above in note 3. They may also count as specimens of the dramatizations mentioned in the same context — one of those dramatizations of science whose divergence from those of religion we pondered *supra*, pp. 222.

for which, in the story of Paradise, death is the penalty.¹⁹⁴ Death suggests to Roheim certain clinical types of neurotic anxiety concerning death.¹⁹⁵ He comments that, in Gen. 3, death is represented by the serpent.¹⁹⁶ The serpent eats dust as the dead, in Babylonian folklore, eat dust.

The woman's birth pangs and her desire for the male — in the Biblical account, punishments for partaking of the forbidden fruit — are, psychoanalytically speaking, vicarious retribution for the son's obtrusiveness.¹⁹⁷ The expulsion from Paradise is explained as signifying the punitive character of birth itself; the psychoanalysts denominate it the trauma of separation from the mother's body.¹⁹⁸ Roheim further interprets the account as teaching that growth and sexual maturity are misfortunes. Do they not bring the forfeiture of infantile happiness? Manner for manner, sexual sin is thus penalized by sexual tribulation.¹⁹⁹

Isaac-Edersheim construes the story of Cain to mean that Cain is punished with immortality and, attendant upon that immortality, the compulsion to wander without end.²⁰⁰ That the sin of Cain is the sin of Oedipus has already been brought to our attention.²⁰¹

An expiatory import is attributed also to circumcision and to burnt offerings.²⁰² How the threshold of the sanctuary where sacrifices are offered is equated with the sexual threshold of life has already been explicated.²⁰³ The psychoanalytic teaching is reaffirmed, according to which the sacrifice of the bull or the ram dramatizes both the crime and the doom.²⁰⁴ Roheim maintains that the priest was permitted to enter the tabernacle only after he had expiated the patricide by dying in the guise

¹⁹⁴ No. 27, p. 177. This view is also that of Freud (No. 12, p. 155).

¹⁹⁵ No. 27, pp. 177, 197.

¹⁹⁶ No. 27, p. 177.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ No. 27, p. 196.

¹⁹⁹ No. 27, p. 197.

²⁰⁰ No. 15, pp. 309, 310.

²⁰¹ *Supra*, p. 228.

²⁰² No. 31, p. 63.

²⁰³ *Supra*, p. 226.

²⁰⁴ No. 24, p. 336, No. 34, p. 693.

of the immolated animal. The paschal lamb receives a kindred interpretation. A bloody token saved Israel just as the rite of circumcision saved Moses.²⁰⁵ Expiation is achieved also through the scapegoat. The community symbolically tears itself to pieces as the scapegoat is torn to pieces. The community thus relieves its anxiety about being torn to pieces — an anxiety, we are informed, not unfamiliar in modern clinical practice.²⁰⁶

A double of Cain is the immortal Wandering Jew.²⁰⁷ Why wandering should be the penalty of murder Isaac-Edersheim elucidates for us by reference to the primitive belief that the murderer is pursued by demons.²⁰⁸ This author quotes a legend which recites how Buddha conferred a punitive immortality upon a rebellious disciple.²⁰⁹ Other parallels are the Flying Dutchman and Judas Iscariot.²¹⁰ It is pointed out that, as in the stories of Zeus, Osiris, Oedipus, and Parsifal, gods may be overthrown and yet their vanquishers punished.²¹¹ Of like tenor are the eternal punishments of the Erinnies, Sisyphus, Tantalus, the Danaides, and the denizens of Dante's Hell.²¹²

An identical import is conjectured of the Golem.²¹³ We are told that Golem phantasies, always leading to the Golem's destruction, express the desire to slay the guilt laden self. By menacing its creator, the Golem automatically punishes the audacity of seeking to imitate the creative prowess of God.²¹⁴

Coming now to our own generation, our No. 32 opines that the respect shown by congregants for the modern Rabbi reproduces the subordination of the child to the dreaded parent, the ultimate intent being to ward off "the evil which the father can impose upon his rebellious children."²¹⁵

²⁰⁵ No. 31, p. 62.

²⁰⁶ No. 24, p. 344.

²⁰⁷ No. 15, p. 311.

²⁰⁸ No. 15, pp. 309, 310, 311.

²⁰⁹ No. 15, p. 298.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹¹ No. 13, p. 312.

²¹² No. 15, p. 295.

²¹³ No. 14, pp. 208, 209.

²¹⁴ No. 14, p. 205.

²¹⁵ No. 32, p. 221.

IV. RECONCILIATION BETWEEN FATHER AND SON

After the hostility of the son toward the father and of the father toward the son, the third phase of the Oedipus situation contemplated in psychoanalysis is that of reconciliation between the two. The literature which we are surveying perceives many signs of this in the Jewish domain.

A. CONCILIATORY ACTIONS

Tokens of conciliation are spied by Roheim in the covenant of the pieces (Gen. 15)²¹⁶ and again in the covenant of circumcision, the latter implying, as already noted, castration and feminization which render the son innocuous for advances upon the mother.²¹⁷ Such reconciliation between father and son, between God and man, is descried also in Abraham's readiness to sacrifice Isaac.²¹⁸ A demonstration of submissiveness, the Sinaic theophany likewise announces a reconciliation between remorseful son and irate father.²¹⁹

Analogous, according to Isaac-Edersheim, was the cult of animal sacrifice.²²⁰ While the offering of the animal reiterated the slaying and the devouring of the father, it represented, at the same time, expiation and reconciliation. One of our writers, as we saw, posits an underlying identity between the sacrificial cult and circumcision.²²¹

The altar itself is a monument to such conciliatoriness. "The primitive altar was nothing more than a suitable stone, presumably a phallic symbol. The erection of such a stone amounted to an affirmation of the recognition of the masculinity of Jahweh."²²² This is said especially of the altar built by Abraham: Also symbolic of reconciliation, according to this writer, is the law against using, upon the altar, any tool of iron.²²³

²¹⁶ No. 25, p. 454.

²¹⁷ *Supra*, p. 238, No. 31, pp. 57, 63, No. 34, p. 657.

²¹⁸ No. 25, pp. 454, 459.

²¹⁹ No. 16, p. 427, No. 10, p. 31.

²²⁰ No. 13, p. 74, No. 34, p. 697. The thought is in No. 14, p. 201.

²²¹ No. 31, p. 63. *Supra*, p. 226.

²²² No. 31, p. 57. ²²³ No. 31, p. 56. *Supra*, pp. 224, 225.

The conciliatoriness implied by Abraham's altar is shown by the sequel, Abraham's admission to the mother-land, that is, to the mother.²²⁴ The writer perceives something similar in the grant of Palestine to Israel.²²⁵ As already stated, Israel substitutes a mother land for a mother goddess. And that means the renunciation of all incestuous father-offending designs.²²⁶

Reconciliation is effected likewise by the Day of Atonement. The ritual of that day is asserted to constitute a periodic castration and, at the same time, a periodic orgasm for which the castration is the conciliatory expiation.²²⁷

According to Freud, the Jewish and Christian belief in a Messiah proffers a device whereby the patricide is canceled, rendering it as if it had never taken place.²²⁸ For the sacred and perilous act of killing the sacrosanct totem, the entire community, according to Isaac-Edersheim, was deemed responsible thus rendering a Messiah indispensable.²²⁹ In the Messiah also, the concept of reconciliation thus inheres.

Reconciliation attaches likewise to the phylacteries. As shown by the wearer's kissing of the phylacteries and his solicitous care of them, the phylacteries can stand for the parents, both father and mother, in their genial moods.²³⁰ The kissing and the solicitude are themselves conciliatory gestures. Eder describes a certain patient who recalled how austere and stern his father became as soon as he put on his phylacteries, although the father was otherwise a man of gracious demeanor.

The same is asserted with regard to the kissing of the prayer shawl and the reverence shown the prayer shawl, whose purple fringes are alleged by Eder to represent the blood of the slaughtered totem.²³¹ Pathological cases are reported in which the analyst himself gets to impersonate the genial father behind the well kissed phylacteries, prayer shawl, and *Mezuzah*.

A conciliatory implication is ascribed also to the ritual of the

²²⁴ No. 31, p. 57.

²²⁵ No. 31, p. 55.

²²⁶ *Ibid.* Cf. No. 34, p. 661.

²²⁷ No. 24, p. 344.

²²⁸ No. 16, p. 418, No. 12, p. 161, No. 34, p. 665.

²²⁹ No. 13, p. 74.

²³⁰ No. 7, p. 499.

²³¹ No. 7, p. 486, No. 34, pp. 680, 681, 696.

Aaronides. As one of our writers has observed, washing the hand signifies the wish to be cleansed of the primeval sin.²³² Abstinence from wine, which resembles blood and hence the blood of the slain father, amounts to an abnegation of the patricidal impulse. Removal of the shoes denotes castration and hence impotence as regards appropriating the mother.²³³ The three-pronged finger spacing of the Aaronides betokens the trinity: father, mother, child, and thus the gracious restoration of infancy, lost but much desired.²³⁴ The fingers also represent the hitherto castrated organ, now restored and enlarged. Looking through the fingers reproduces the Divine eyes and also, says Feldman, the Divine genitals affectionately disposed toward God's people. The priests' uplifted hands, as well as the pronunciation, over the people, of the Divine Name and the removal of the shoes, all of them genitally symbolic, proclaim a friendship, indeed a blood covenant, between the people and God.²³⁵

The Aaronide blessing is asserted to restore, in some manner, that which the castration takes away.²³⁶ The land given to Israel constitutes, according to Feldman, the recovery of the lost mother and not only the reinstatement but also, as we saw, the augmentation of the previously detached member. Agreeing with Reik, our author writes: "The Sinai scene and the blessing of the Kohenites which I regard as a repetition of it is in its essence the repression of the urge to hate the father and to kill him and the victory of love and recognition of God over the unconscious hatred and anger."²³⁷

From a conciliatory trend, emanates likewise the tale of the Golem. Though the Golem, as depicted by Isaac-Edersheim, embodies sedition against the Deuty, the stories narrate that the Golem was created by Divine command.²³⁸ This act of obedience spells reconciliation between the outraged father and the obtrusive offspring.

²³² No. 10, pp. 306, 320. *Supra*, p. 234.

²³³ *Supra*, p. 239.

²³⁴ No. 10, p. 322.

²³⁵ No. 10, pp. 305, 321.

²³⁶ No. 10, p. 321.

²³⁷ No. 10, p. 311.

²³⁸ No. 14, p. 205.

Freud rates, as part of the conciliatory process, monotheism itself. According to Freud, the value that monotheists impute to monotheism echoes the devotion of the primitive horde to its leader.²³⁹ In monotheism, Freud claims, the grandeur of the primeval father is restored and the emotions originally directed toward him are revived.²⁴⁰ The obsessiveness of monotheism among the Jews and its persistence among the Christians betrays, according to Freud, its continuity with a primeval order.²⁴¹ Monotheism demands, among other things, abstinence from worshiping the mother and this implies, in turn, such veneration for the father as to preclude incestuous leanings.

Freud holds that, even after the accession of Jesus, God the Father, retained the devotion and adoration of the Christians; former gods, sometimes in the shape of demons, tending to survive in popular belief.²⁴² Whenever the church would deviate from pristine Aton monotheism and deteriorate into rituals, non-conformist movements would develop and seek its revival.²⁴³ Jones adds the qualifying reflection, however, that the Jewish compunction about placating the Father led away from the pure religion of Moses into a cult of ceremonialism.²⁴⁴

Freud would account for many a phase of Jewish history by regarding it as an expression of remorse for the Jewish killing of Moses and as a search for Atonement. In the Jewish reiteration that the misfortunes which had befallen Israel justly punish Israel's sins, that remorse is allegedly demonstrated.²⁴⁵

B. HOMOSEXUALITY AND AMBIVALENCE

In connection with the reestablished harmony between father and son, we must single out two manifestations. These are 1.) Homosexuality and 2.) Ambivalence.

²³⁹ No. 16, p. 426, No. 12, p. 235.

²⁴⁰ No. 16, p. 426, No. 12, p. 235.

²⁴¹ A. A. Brill, "Sigmund Freud, Moses and Monotheism Reviewed," *The Psychoanalytic Review*, p. 388. Our No. 12, pp. 153, 154, 159.

²⁴² No. 15, p. 313, No. 34, p. 611.

²⁴³ No. 16, p. 424.

²⁴⁴ No. 16, p. 423.

²⁴⁵ No. 16, pp. 418, 421, 422, 423, No. 12, p. 237.

The suppression of the mother goddess in Judaism is asserted to have caused a homosexual "directing of the folk libido toward Yahweh."²⁴⁶ Something similar is predicated of *Tallit*, *Tefillim*, and *Mezuzah*.²⁴⁷ Eder claims that erotic sensations and excitations can accompany the customary kissings. Homosexual factors are also traced in the blessing of the Aaronides;²⁴⁸ the priests, identified with God, become the objects of homosexual regard. Homosexual reactions are discernible within the group itself.²⁴⁹ According to this author, the God who looks through the Aaronides' fingers enters into a homosexual bond with His people.²⁵⁰

The psychoanalytic concept of ambivalence rests upon the observation that hate and affection can coexist in the same person toward one and the same individual.²⁵¹ Ambivalence, we learn, can mark the kissing of prayer shawl, phylacteries, and *Mezuzah*. The kiss can express adulation; it can also betoken cannibalism.²⁵² Those ritual objects would thus impersonate the father in his love-eliciting capacity and, at the same time, in his quality as a provocative of detestation.²⁵³

A similar ambivalence operates, we are told, in the phantasy of the Wandering Jew. Ahasuerus, timeless and spaceless like God, is in fact God Himself as an object of aversion, while God otherwise remains an object of veneration.²⁵⁴

The same is predicated of R. Loew and the Golem. The Golem's attack on the Jews discloses a latent enmity toward his people on the part of R. Loew, their leader, servant, and friend.²⁵⁵ With this ambivalence, such incidents comport as R. Loew's slip of the tongue, the taper that goes out during his service in the synagogue, the wine cup that falls out of his hand at a marriage ceremony, and the servant who, in R. Loew's presence, drops a scroll of the Torah.

²⁴⁶ No. 31, p. 50.

²⁴⁷ No. 7, p. 486.

²⁴⁸ No. 10, pp. 310, 311.

²⁴⁹ No. 10, p. 310.

²⁵⁰ No. 10, p. 320.

²⁵¹ No. 34, pp. 606-614.

²⁵² No. 7, p. 486.

²⁵³ No. 7, p. 499.

²⁵⁴ No. 15, p. 314. Ernest Jones, *Der Alptraum*, Leipzig, 1912, Chap. 6.

²⁵⁵ No. 14, p. 208.

The modern congregation, finally, is characterized as ambivalent toward its Rabbi: on the one hand, feelings of esteem; on the other, resentment and hostility.²⁵⁶ "The friendly affect ignores minor errors or differences of opinion; the aggressive seizes upon the smallest error in order to convert it into a weapon of assault In its less intensive phase, the aggression satisfies itself with carping, complaint, or simple resentment."²⁵⁷ Especially conducive to this ambivalence the author regards "the recession of the father-image from its formerly prominent place in Judaic theology."²⁵⁸

This brings to completion our survey of the Oedipus concept as utilized in this literature. We now proceed to consider:

- a.) Psychoanalytic Ideas Outside of the Oedipus Concept.
- b.) The Critique of the Psychoanalytic Material.
- c.) Non-Psychoanalytic Material.

V. PSYCHOANALYTIC IDEAS OUTSIDE OF THE OEDIPUS CONCEPT

The Oedipus Complex, though extensively engaging this literature, does not occupy the field exclusively. Psychoanalytic material of other classifications comes within our purview.

There occurs, for instance, a mother role different from that of the mother in the Oedipus relationship. Man's cleaving to his wife in Gen. 2.24 is taken to imply a mother-imago corresponding to the father-imago discussed elsewhere.²⁵⁹ The benignities and the malignities connected with the phylacteries and the prayer shawl are alleged to belong not only to the father but to the mother as well.²⁶⁰ Supplementing the accounts of the son and father conflict, some of our authors expatiate on an analogous child and mother conflict. The various serpents such as that of

²⁵⁶ No. 32, p. 218.

²⁵⁷ No. 32, p. 219.

²⁵⁸ No. 32, p. 222.

²⁵⁹ No. 27, p. 197. *Supra*, p. 224.

²⁶⁰ *Supra*, p. 246.

Paradise or the fish of Jonah or the Leviathan of the Jewish hereafter are asserted to have parallels in the dreams and phantasies of neurotics where a dragon represents a mother who swallows her young.²⁶¹ Something similar is affirmed regarding the Covenant of the Pieces (Gen. 15). Such imagery is said to enact the infant's hostility to its mother and the destruction of the mother's body.²⁶² Talions of such destruction are stories about the annihilation of a child: for example, the judgment of Solomon in I Ki. 16.34 or Abraham's abortive move to sacrifice Isaac or the sacrifices of children at the laying of foundations as mentioned in Josh. 6.26 and I Ki. 16.34.²⁶³ Roheim reports, from clinical observation, phantasies of opening the mother's body and taking something out of it, or phantasies of sawing or cutting or biting the mother's body in two.²⁶⁴ Roheim recalls, in this connection, that "the hero god Indra represents the body destruction phantasy of the infant who wishes to cleave or pierce the mother's body and tear out the good objects it contains."²⁶⁵ This author attributes that reaction to the distressing separation of the child from the nipple.²⁶⁶ He invokes the psychoanalytic concept of ambivalence to include, on the one hand, the bliss of sucking and, on the other, the annoyance of weaning and the consequent impulsion to do the mother to death.

Also outside of the Oedipus scheme, lies the psychoanalytic doctrine of the masculine protest, which means woman's resentment of man's presumed superiority. On the one hand, Roheim maintains that the story of Paradise affirms male pre-eminence in that it pictures woman as emerging from man instead of man from woman²⁶⁷ while, on the other hand, according to Isaac-Edersheim, the exaltation of Mother Earth in the formation of Adam from earth or of the Golem from earth remonstrates

²⁶¹ No. 28, pp. 40, 50.

²⁶² No. 25, p. 455. Tīhamat is identical with Rahab in Isa. 30.7, Isa. 51.9, Ps. 87.4, Ps. 89.11, Job 9.13, Job 26.12.

²⁶³ No. 25, pp. 456, 459.

²⁶⁴ No. 25, p. 455.

²⁶⁵ No. 28, pp. 44, 45.

²⁶⁶ No. 27, p. 196.

²⁶⁷ No. 27, p. 197.

against the notion that all life originates with the male.²⁶⁸ The theory according to which the masculine protest includes woman's envy of the man's organ of sex is employed to account for the hair-cutting at the Jewish woman's marriage.²⁶⁹ We get the explanation that marriage terminates that envy; hence the hair-cutting to simulate the castration of the male organ of sex which, in her unconscious mind, the woman phantasies attached to her body.

Hair-cutting also involves, outside of the Oedipus framework, some intimations of homosexuality. According to Barahal, as we have already noticed, the husband guards himself against homosexuality by symbolically castrating and thus additionally feminizing his wife.²⁷⁰

Likewise outside of the Oedipus configuration fall some of the Rabbinic dream interpretations treated in our No. 4.²⁷¹ This article sees psychoanalytic surmises in the discussion of the dreams which play on the word Cappadocia and on the words *Shunnara* and *Shinnara*.²⁷² The opinion is ventured that, when Ibn Ezra and Gersonides interpret Job 33.15 to mean that one can derive valuable counsel from dreams, those commentators evince discernments not unlike those of psychoanalysis in our own time.²⁷³

Our attention has been drawn to the psychoanalytic theory that our unconscious desire to slay generates a dread of retribution taking the same form — *Middah keneged Middah* — as our

²⁶⁸ No. 14, p. 199.

²⁶⁹ No. 1, p. 301. *Supra*, p. 240.

²⁷⁰ No. 1, p. 301. Our No. 4, p. 119 claims that Lam. Rab. I, 15 accords an interpretation of homosexuality to the dream about the two eyes of which one swallows the other. This is not stated in Lam. Rab. I, 15. The interpretation there given is that a brother has seduced his sister.

²⁷¹ No. 4, 118, 119.

²⁷² Cappadocia in Ber. 56B, line 19; *Shunnara* in line 40. The author is somewhat inexact when he speaks of a similar play on the word *menappehin* at the end of Lam. Rab. I, 15, the difference here being merely that of a Pa'el and an Ittafal conjugation of the same word. Yer. Ma'as. Sh. IV, 6 which our No. 4 mentions records some of these dreams but not that of *Shunnara*.

²⁷³ This much is said in the text of the Bible itself. It was not possible to locate the references to Ibn Ezra and to Gersonides.

aggressiveness; also to the supposition that stepping on a threshold betrays hostility toward the residents of that domicile.²⁷⁴ Although applied by our writers to the Oedipus construction, these notions also perform service elsewhere. The weird fascination exerted by the phantasy of the Golem marks not only the Oedipus involvement but other situations as well.²⁷⁵ Thus the hostility manifested by Jewish parishioners toward the modern Rabbi is explained not only as a disguised hostility toward one's father but, in addition, as a displacement of the hostility felt by the Jews toward their inexorable persecutors.²⁷⁶ Similarly external to the Oedipus domain is the modern Rabbi's purported capacity to counteract the demonic forces hovering around birth, marriage, and death, a capacity founded, we are informed; on the taboo attaching to the Rabbi in his role as prophet. This taboo is asserted to be the Rabbi's protection.²⁷⁷ To slay a prophet is dangerous (Ps. 105.15). Ordination, according to this writer, confers upon the Reform Rabbi a "contagious magic."

This literature also utilizes, outside of the Oedipus structure, the psychoanalytic concept of Narcissism, by which is meant the sexually tintured love directed toward oneself. A growth away from infantile Narcissism is recognized by Jules de Leeuwe in the development of cosmogonies such as that of the Bible.²⁷⁸ Speaking of the modern Rabbi as a protagonist of social justice, Efraim Rosenzweig identifies economic reactionism with narcissistic, infantile self-love from which industrial democracy is a deliverance into adulthood.²⁷⁹

Also not overlooked is the psychoanalytic concept of *Allmacht der Gedanken*. Omnipotence of thought is bracketed with the evolution of language which tremendously enhances the power of the intellect.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁴ *Supra*, p. 234 referring to No. 10, p. 302. Cf. No. 26, p. 20.

²⁷⁵ *Supra*, p. 249. Cf. No. 15, p. 288.

²⁷⁶ No. 32, p. 227.

²⁷⁷ No. 32, pp. 221, 227.

²⁷⁸ No. 6, p. 442.

²⁷⁹ No. 32, p. 225 which speaks of investing "the libido in a love-object."

²⁸⁰ No. 12, p. 201.

VI. CRITIQUE OF THE PSYCHOANALYTIC MATERIAL

Before we proceed to the non-psychoanalytic material, we pause to estimate the material thus far presented. In so doing, we must adhere rigidly to our role as investigators. The question before us is not whether we are emotionally gratified or emotionally perturbed by these findings or by the possible effects of these findings upon others. Our only question is: Scientifically speaking, are these deliverances correct or incorrect? How near do they come to reporting facts? How adequately do they handle the problems which they undertake to solve? How satisfactorily do they meet the empirical test?

One striking feature of this material is its disregard for our customary departmentalizations. Freud, Roheim, Eder, Feldman, Rosenzweig, Isaac-Edersheim, and some of the others do not limit their range to the clinic and the laboratory. Many are their forays into the realms of archaeology and anthropology. Aside from questions touching psychology, queries therefore arise concerning the distant past. Of course, when a writer like Roheim depicts contemporary practices of primitive tribes, we confront nothing that provokes any challenge. But when our writers indulge in conjectures about usages of prehistoric antiquity, the professional anthropologist may feel tempted to protest.

A. ERRORS OF ANTHROPOLOGY

The amateurishness of the anthropology in Freud's *Moses and Monotheism* was readily exposed, notably by Morris Cohen in *Jewish Social Studies* for October 1939, by Salo Baron in the *American Journal of Sociology* for November 1939, and by A. S. Jahuda in *Bitzaron*, Vol. I, 455 ff. and Vol. II, 6 ff. and 121 ff. Similarly has Clemen, in our No. 3, refuted the anthropological surmises in Fromm's article on the Sabbath,²⁸¹ in Reik's essay on the Shofar,²⁸² in the reflections of Reik and of

²⁸¹ No. 34, pp. 637, 640, 648, 650, 659, 661.

²⁸² No. 34, pp. 668-670, 672-675, 680-685, 697.

Karl Abraham on the Kol Nidre,²⁸³ in the views of Reik on the census of David²⁸⁴ and on the attempted sacrifice of Isaac,²⁸⁵ in Allwohn's interpretation of Hosea,²⁸⁶ in Reik's explication of Michelangelo's "Moses,"²⁸⁷ in Frieda Fromm-Reichmann's disquisition on the Jewish laws of diet,²⁸⁸ and in the psychoanalytic explanations of threshold taboos²⁸⁹ and of the sacred silence admonished in Zeph. 1.7, Hab. 2.20, and Zech. 2.17.²⁹⁰

Clemen holds that nothing whatsoever in Genesis warrants the assumption that Abraham's attempted sacrifice of Isaac conceals an assault by Abraham, Isaac's father, upon Isaac's grandfather.²⁹¹ Reik's interpretation of the injury to Jacob's locomotor tendon in Gen. 32.24, Clemen scorns as far fetched.²⁹² Clemen recognizes a better explanation in Frazer's *Golden Bough* (1912, Vol. II, p. 264 ff.) and in Frazer's *Folklore in the Old Testament* (1919, Vol. II, pp. 423, 424). The notion that there was totem worship in ancient Israel, Clemen pronounces utterly unfounded. Hence the groundlessness of the psychoanalytic claim that the Moses of Michelangelo resembles an animal.²⁹³ Reik's suppositions about the self-punishment of Moses in his demolition of the tablets and pulverization of the golden calf collapses in Clemen's refutation of the entire Freudian anthropology.²⁹⁴

²⁸³ No. 34, pp. 642, 651-653, 658, 664, 666, 675.

²⁸⁴ No. 34, pp. 607, 611.

²⁸⁵ No. 34, pp. 649, 680.

²⁸⁶ No. 34, pp. 623-626.

²⁸⁷ No. 34, pp. 676, 679, 682, 686, 698. It is Reik, not Freud, who equates Moses with a totem. Freud has a brief article on the "Moses" of Michelangelo in *Imago*, 1927, 13, p. 552. Freud explains that this article is supplementary to that which appeared in *Imago*, 1914, 3, pp. 15-36. The 1914 article was published anonymously with an editorial note stating that the subject matter, dealing with art, lay outside the field of psychoanalysis. Neither article speaks of totems. Reik's exposition of the totemism in the Michelangelo statue appeared in *Probleme der Religionspsychologie*, Leipzig and Vienna, 1919.

²⁸⁸ No. 34, pp. 671, 672, 680, 683.

²⁸⁹ No. 34, pp. 609, 610.

²⁹⁰ No. 34, p. 660.

²⁹¹ No. 3, p. 8, No. 34, p. 649.

²⁹² No. 3, p. 8, No. 34, pp. 646, 649, 660.

²⁹³ No. 3, p. 6, No. 34, pp. 676, 677, 693, 698.

²⁹⁴ No. 2, p. 58, No. 34, pp. 678, 686.

Clemen further contends that the Biblical text furnishes no support whatsoever for Reik's theories concerning David's census and that a far more adequate account of this is offered in Frazer's "Folklore in the Old Testament" in *Anthropological Essays Presented by E. B. Taylor*.²⁹⁵ Following Hoelscher, Clemen challenges Allwohn's assertion that Hosea was bidden to marry a harlot and Graber's contention, in *Imago*, 14, 1928, p. 543 that by making his children representative of the children of Israel, God's wife, the text implies that Hosea had incestuously wed his "mother" country.²⁹⁶ Clemen similarly deprecates the suggestion that the story of Jonah alludes to a father who swallowed his offspring.²⁹⁷

Clemen declares that nothing whatsoever in the Bible sanctions Fromm's ideas about the Sabbath²⁹⁸ or Reik's or Abraham's speculations about the Day of Atonement or about the Kol Nidre.²⁹⁹ Older than Exod. 19.19 and 20.18 which Reik takes to contain the earliest mention of the Shofar³⁰⁰ are, according to Clemen, the passages, II Sam. 6.15, 15.10, and I Ki. 34.39. Further opposing Reik, Clemen insists that Isa. 58.1, joining the Shofar and sin, is an exceedingly late utterance. Far more acceptable to Clemen than Frieda Fromm-Reichmann's explanation of the mother-bird law in Deut. 22.6, 7 is Frazer's explanation in *Folklore in the Old Testament* that the measure sought to protect the country's fauna.³⁰¹ Clemen similarly takes issue with the psychoanalytic interpretation of the taboos relating to thresholds, again preferring the elucidations offered in Frazer's *Folklore in the New Testament*, 1919, Vol. III, pp. 1-18.³⁰² For

²⁹⁵ No. 3, p. 8, No. 34, pp. 607, 608.

²⁹⁶ No. 3, p. 2, No. 34, p. 626.

²⁹⁷ No. 3, p. 14, No. 34, p. 674.

²⁹⁸ No. 3, p. 10, No. 34, pp. 637, 640, 648.

²⁹⁹ No. 3, p. 14, No. 34, pp. 642, 651-653, 658, 661, 664, 666, 675, 680, 681.

³⁰⁰ No. 3, p. 2.

³⁰¹ No. 3, p. 12, No. 34, p. 672. It was not possible to find in Frazer's *Folklore in the Old Testament* any reference to the law of the mother bird. Vol. III, p. 111 ff., treats the law mentioned by Clemen, about seething the calf in the mother's milk.

³⁰² No. 3, p. 8, No. 34, pp. 609, 610.

the notion that urges toward rebellion are presumed in the admonitions to silence in Zeph. 1.7, Hab. 2.20, and Zech. 2.17, Clemen discovers no basis at all. More convincing does he find the explanation in Mensching's *Heiliges Schweigen*. In the course of his devastating criticism, Clemen declares it not at all surprising that authorities on Judaism pay no attention to these psychoanalytic ruminations.³⁰³

The psychoanalytic theory of castration is repudiated, from the anthropological standpoint, by Westermarck. Says Westermarck:

Circumcision as an initiation rite has been represented by psycho-analysts as a survival of, and substitute for an earlier act of castration. This is absurd, considering that castration could at most have only taken place in rare cases, whilst initiation rites, where they occur, are general. Or circumcision has been said to serve the purpose of punishing and preventing incest. But its generality as an initiation rite also makes it impossible to take it for a punishment; and as a means of preventing incest it would be useless. It cannot prevent it by inspiring fear where it is performed anyhow; nor does it produce physical incapacity for performing the forbidden act.³⁰⁴

While most of the strictures here summarized relate not to the publications surveyed in this article but to the older ones surveyed in our No. 34, there can be no question that the objections raised in the one case are fully as applicable in the other. The anthropological suppositions of our No. 31, for instance, are surely no less vulnerable than those ventured by Freud, Reik, Fromm, Abraham, Allwohn, and the others as synopsized in our earlier study.³⁰⁵ As for *Moses and Monotheism*, this effusion, far from offering psychological explanations of religious phenomena, lavishes its ingenuity on assumed and hypothetical religious phenomena, not phenomena that exist but, to a great extent, phenomena that are merely conjectured to have existed in an effaced antiquity.

³⁰³ No. 3, p. 14.

³⁰⁴ No. 33, p. 234.

³⁰⁵ See *supra* especially the matter at note indicators 38, 50-56, 58, 71, 110, 202, 205, 224, 225, 335. We also commented *en passant* on various errors, mentioning them in notes 22, 34, 42, 75, 77, 82, 127, 128, 150, 159, 183, 270, 272, 273.

B. ERRORS OF PSYCHOLOGY

Even more vehement are the condemnations visited upon psychoanalysis by the authorities in psychology. The accusation is brought that the methods of psychoanalysis are definitely not scientific. A sample is a statement like that of James Feibleman:

The method of psychoanalysis is not the method of science . . . the scientific claims of psychoanalysis are specious and false . . . In psychoanalysis, scientific method is completely misunderstood, and inductions made at the level of enlightened common sense are taken for both the highly abstractive inductions and the experimentation of physical science.³⁰⁶

An authority no less renowned than Havelock Ellis declares that:

To survey the vast field in which he has desired to move is indeed to raise the question whether Freud is properly regarded as a man of science . . . The varied fields of unquestioned scientific study which Freud has entered, he has entered as an amateur, deliberately disregarding any other method of approach and, when he seeks support, not always selecting that which carries most weight . . . Freud might be termed an amateur throughout, since he has almost ostentatiously ignored the results of previous workers, except when he chanced to find that they supported his own view.³⁰⁷

Ellis, in fact, while discussing Freud in highly gracious and amicable terms, rates Freud not as a scientist but as an artist. Says Ellis:

Freud is a great deal of an artist, though he himself repels that attribution, declaring that he is nothing but a man of science . . . Freud's art is the poetry of psychic processes which lie in the deepest and most mysterious recesses of the organism . . . At the highest points of human genius, science and art become indistinguishable.³⁰⁸

For a completely shattering inspection of psychoanalysis one need go no further than *The House That Freud Built* by Joseph Jastrow (New York, 1932).

Among the frailties imputed to psychoanalysis is that of

³⁰⁶ No. 9, pp. 56, 64.

³⁰⁷ No. 8, pp. 315, 317.

³⁰⁸ No. 8, pp. 314, 315, 316. Commenting on our No. 12, something similar is said by Israel S. Wechsler in the *Menorah Journal*, 1927, 27, pp. 354, 355.

failing to distinguish between fact, on the one hand, and hypothesis on the other. Robert Mac Iver observes:

The lapse from science appears when he claims unwarranted certainty and treats his inferences as though they were established facts . . . The Freudians . . . have widely exposed themselves to this charge . . . Freud tells us, for example, that the rise of religion is due to the child's sense of helplessness and his longing for a father, and that totemism is a device by which the primitive tribe guarded itself against the dangers associated with incest. But these, like countless other examples of psychoanalytic pronouncement, are mere suggestive hypotheses which should be stated and treated as such . . . In the literature of psychoanalysis there is all too frequently contentment with the original guess, the acceptance of analogy as proof, the daring leap in the dark — the *salto mortale* of faith.³⁰⁹

Not far removed from Mac Iver's criticism is that of Clemen who, referring to what Frieda Fromm-Reichmann reports about the erotic reactions of certain Jewish patients to ritually prohibited foods, charges that such may have been produced in the patients by suggestion. Clemen is also among those who protest against applying, to people who are normal, diagnoses obtained by the analyses of neurotics — even granting that those analyses be correct.³¹⁰ He attributes the entire Freudian outlook to the peculiar circles to which the psychoanalysts, together with their patients, belong. He further blames Freudianism on certain literary trends, preoccupied with matters that psychoanalysis love to stress.³¹¹

Particularly subject to question is the theory that certain types of memory are inherited. One of our writers adopts Jung's doctrine of a folk psyche and a collective unconscious manifest in myth, in legend, and in various practices that greatly resemble though occurring among widely separated peoples.³¹² Another posits phylogenetic patterns to which the individual returns when in a group.³¹³ Freud himself sees, in tradition, something that parallels the repressions and recollections in the memory of the individual.³¹⁴ Monotheism, according to Freud, exhibits

³⁰⁹ No. 19, pp. 9, 10.

³¹⁰ No. 3, pp. 5, 12. Cf. No. 34, p. 671.

³¹¹ No. 2, p. 127.

³¹² No. 31, p. 51.

³¹³ No. 10, p. 296.

³¹⁴ No. 16, p. 427. Our No. 12, pp. 130, 134, 135, uses the psychiatric

alternating periods of latency and of recurrence like a mass neurosis.³¹⁵ Dilating on the aforementioned patricide and castration, Freud goes so far as to affirm the transmission of memories by heredity, a supposition also favored by our No. 31.³¹⁶ Likewise Roheim argues that "we have to assume the existence of a collective memory or unconscious,"³¹⁷ while Freud's American disciple, Brill, in his comments on *Moses and Monotheism*, phrases it: "The heritage of mankind includes not only dispositions, but also ideational contents, unconscious memory traces of experiences of former generations."³¹⁸ Isaac-Edersheim finds the same in the beliefs about the Messiah and in the various stories about the Golem. These, he thinks, illustrate the recurrence of an identical theme in the unconscious part of the folk mind and, consequently, in the unconscious part of an author's mind.³¹⁹

And yet, one of our writers, though a Freudian himself, judges the doctrine of inherited memories definitely out of line with scientific findings.³²⁰ The most that this writer will concede is the inherited disposition to react to certain types of situations with certain types of phantasies. De Leeuwe similarly dissents from the view that, to explain Monotheism, we must assume that the memory of an ancient patricide was bequeathed to the unconscious.³²¹ De Leeuwe does, however, grant that a God conception free of egocentricity may be the product of some inborn human propensity.

Further charged against psychoanalysis is the tendency to ignore the multiplicity of factors operative in the human mind

concept of latency in connection with the theory of certain periods during which the Mosaic religion suffered abeyance, pending later resuscitation.

³¹⁵ No. 16, p. 426.

³¹⁶ No. 16, p. 427, No. 31, p. 64, No. 12, pp. 178, 179.

³¹⁷ No. 30, p. 111.

³¹⁸ A. A. Brill, "Moses and Monotheism Reviewed," *The Psychoanalytic Review*, 1940, p. 390.

³¹⁹ No. 14, p. 190.

³²⁰ No. 16, p. 428.

³²¹ No. 6, p. 442.

and to invoke some one single urge to explain entire groups of phenomena.³²²

Nor do our psychoanalytic writers eschew evaluation. Freud's testy reaction to the term "religion," glaringly obvious in his *Zukunft Einer Illusion*, does not obtrude itself in *Moses and Monotheism*. Nevertheless, he does evaluate — sometimes in eulogistic terms.³²³ Meanwhile an undertone of contempt for "religion" and the consequent inclination to apply the word only to matters so preposterous as to evoke contempt pervades some of the other psychoanalytic effusions. In the article on the Reform Rabbinate, the abundance of technical terminology hardly suffices to conceal the writer's dissatisfaction with the existing state of affairs.³²⁴ If we define research as the ascertainment and publication of facts to the exclusion of appraisal, our psychoanalytic writers deport themselves as psychological subjects rather than investigators. The question is not easily dismissed: What has occurred in the lives of these writers to prompt those bizarre constructions proffered without any supporting evidence or with little supporting evidence such as we are accustomed to expect of scientific writings?

C. THE UNDERLYING TRUTH

Meanwhile it is not out of place to ask whether these psychoanalytic ruminations embody any truth at all. We can not remain unimpressed by their extensive acceptance and their zealous adoption by persons widely separated in cultural background and geographical location. The most vehement detractors of psychoanalysis do not deny it every iota of worth. Even

³²² No. 9, p. 61.

³²³ Such as "hoehere Geistigkeit" (p. 116), "die Hoehe der Vergeistigung" (p. 158), "hoehere Stufe der Geistigkeit," "Fortschritte der Geistigkeit" (p. 203), and "Grossartiges" (p. 226). On p. 158, the author speaks of the "kulturelle Regression" of Christianity. On pp. 216, 217, he comments sarcastically on the enviable position of those whose problems are blithely solved by popular theology. On p. 228, he denies that God "exists," thus using "God" informationally, obviously unaware of any other semantic function. See *supra*, pp. 212-214.

³²⁴ *Supra*, pp. 237, 241, 244.

Joseph Jastrow admits that it has some value.³²⁵ Also James Feibleman concedes:

On the theoretical side, psychoanalysis has accomplished much by discovering and emphasizing certain functions and processes which were hardly known before, or if they were known, at least were overlooked. The calling of attention to the importance of the sexual side of man's nature in his total constitution is the contribution of Freud, just as the important part played by the economic side of man's nature in his total constitution is the contribution of Karl Marx.³²⁶

Let the suggestion therefore be entertained that the chief drawback of psychoanalysis may lie in its nomenclature. The writer above mentioned may have uncovered the central difficulty when he observes:

Many entities of psychoanalysis which seem new and strange to the uninitiated are merely old ideas dressed up in new terms and given unusual importance. Thus, for instance, the *ego* stands for the old conception of consciousness, the *super-ego* for the 'still small voice of conscience,' and the *id* for the unconscious . . . Certainly there is no particularly keen insight involved in giving fresh names to old ideas.³²⁷

If the exotic terminology of psychoanalysis constitutes an element of weakness, perhaps the translation of that terminology into familiar language may reveal elements of strength. This we shall now attempt.

One of the best known attributes of our psycho-physical organism is its tendency to repeat. Whatever the organism does successfully,³²⁸ it tends to do again. Habit is one of the most familiar of all phenomena.

Closely related to habit is memory. Memory signifies that, if two presentations are once conjoined, the repetition of the one tends to bring with it the mental repetition of the other. Our word "presentation," it hardly needs explaining, covers both sense perception and mental imagery.

³²⁵ Joseph Jastrow, *The House That Freud Built*, New York and Cleveland, 1942, pp. 288-292.

³²⁶ No. 9, p. 62.

³²⁷ No. 9, p. 58. As Freud puts it, all processes of the Id are unconscious (No. 12, p. 172).

³²⁸ The concept of success takes us into metaphysics. Success implies a purpose fulfilled, and purpose is one of the ultimates of the universe.

Here also belongs heredity. The inherited memories assumed by Freud may be fictitious. Heredity and memory are, nonetheless, phases of the same cosmic manifestation, namely, repetition.

Otherwise stated, if the organism responds successfully to a given situation³²⁹ in a given way, it will tend to repeat that response when the same situation recurs, to the extent to which it recurs, and in part if it recurs only in part.

Of course, it is only in part that any situation can recur at all. Exact repetition is impossible not merely because the universe is constantly changing but also because every occurrence becomes a precedent for its subsequent recurrence, and an occurrence having a precedent differs markedly from that same occurrence minus a precedent.

Amid those partially recurrent situations and the reiteration of response, we sometimes note the functioning of memory. We react as we do because there is something of which we are reminded. But sometimes memory is not involved. The factors constituting memory may not be among the factors that recur. Most of us have completely forgotten how we first learnt to walk or how we first discovered the meanings of certain words or how we first became acquainted with certain commonplace facts. Many of our responses are reflex and automatic and many, like those of healthy digestion, breathing, circulation, or locomotion can be unconscious.

Sometimes these responses are not unconscious altogether but contain elements of emotion. We can experience a repetition of the feelings evoked by past situations even after those situations themselves have faded from recollection. Analogous per-

³²⁹ Admittedly, this is a provisional way of speaking, like "sunrise" and "sunset." Situation and response are, in many ways, interfused. "Situation" refers to one aspect and "response" to another aspect of the same totality. Two people may stand at the same place at the same time and yet experience markedly different situations. Responses determine situations as surely as situations determine responses. Nor will the conscientious psychologist ignore such factors as purpose and personality. The individual's purposes determine the way in which that individual's responses will be rendered. Purpose also regulates the individual's choice of stimuli by which the responses are to be aroused. The uniqueness of a human being, in this regard, constitutes person-ality and individuality. See *supra*, note 6.

haps is the frequent "intuition that something is wrong" with a sentence which we have written or with an article of food. Precisely where the flaw may lurk, we ferret out later. Another example may be the sense of having forgotten something without being able, until later, to determine what. As suggested in the first division of this article (p. 218), mental associations consist not only of presentative factors such as we call "memory" but also of the non-presentative, the emotional.

This region, in which responses occur without memory, seems to be the domain of psychoanalysis. It is misleading to speak of this domain as that of the unconscious. It were more apt to say: the domain of the unremembered. While many of our responses are indeed unconscious, many again, though at their recurrence devoid of memory, do repeat their affective concomitants. It is these affective concomitants that fascinate the Freudian.

Prenatal existence, for instance, may set up certain response patterns destined to figure among the determinants of later behavior. The same may be said of infancy and of early childhood. Happenings of these periods may sink into oblivion and yet initiate forms of response operative throughout life. This may also apply to the events of youth and of maturity. The events, though forgotten may, nonetheless, evoke responses that persist.

Such may be the ingredient of truth in the psychoanalytic doctrines of the traumas of birth and of weaning, of incestuous longings for the mother, and of conflict with one's parents. Parental restraints may generate, in the child's organism, responses partially repeated in later life, although the restraints may have occurred too early to be recalled. We venture the surmise that our responses to music, painting, sculpture, poetry, dramatics,³³⁰ and even to words may derive from similarly deleted incidents.

³³⁰ Charles Baudouin, *Psychanalyse de L'Art*, Paris, 1929.

Superior, unless supplementary, to ours is the explanation of the unconscious given by Edwin R. Guthrie in *The Psychology of Human Conflict*, Harper and Bros., New York, 1938. Guthrie (pp. 108-116) identifies the unconscious with the unnamed as in our No. 34 note 695 and pp. 717, 718.

Why now may not this appertain also to the responses evoked by religion? Why may not the reiteration of response minus memory account for the appeal exerted by certain myths, rituals, and dogmas — exerted not only upon their originators but also upon those who accept or reject or merely ponder those myths, rituals, and dogmas?

A response, successful in one situation, can be disastrous in another. One would certainly fall down stairs were one, descending the steps, to walk in a manner entirely suitable when traversing level ground. Similarly, the mental abnormalities which psychoanalysis treats may exemplify unsuccessful repetitions of responses which, under previous circumstances, may have been entirely feasible. The alteration of the response program from that which was adequate in a prior situation to one which is adequate to the contemporary situation seems to be the essence of psychiatry.

Such may be the modicum of truth in psychoanalysis. Psychoanalysis recognizes that our responses have been fashioned by forgotten experiences as well as by remembered experiences. The problem of psychoanalysis is that of refurbishing the expunged, of exhuming the interred. Every human being undergoes the predicament of being born, of being an infant, and of being a child dependent upon and subject to one's elders. Those happenings generate responses which, by the law of repetition, become response patterns, and those patterns, even when unattended by memory, retain affective components which can permeate many of life's reactions, those of religion included. Psychoanalysis seeks to recover the forgotten incidents which brought those emotion laden responses into being.

This will enable us to specify the shortcomings of the psychoanalytic literature which we have surveyed. To any given religious presentation, different individuals, shaped by different histories, yield different reactions. A minute scrutiny of each individual would be required to determine, with any measure of probability, what was the incident of that individual's babyhood or later life which, though now forgotten, inaugurated the response in question. Our psychoanalytic studies of Judaism report very little observation of individuals; and, where such

observation is recorded, the conclusions drawn are not limited to the individual studied but are stretched to embrace myriads of individuals who, through uncounted generations, have reacted to the beliefs and rituals under scrutiny. Such is the inadequacy of evidence to be charged as the central defect in the present psychoanalytic treatment of Judaism.³³¹

VII. NON-PSYCHOANALYTIC MATERIAL

The non-psychoanalytic material published since 1929 admits of classification under three rubrics:

- A. Non-psychoanalytic Material Appearing in Psychoanalytic Journals.
- B. Statistical Studies.
- C. Jewish Psychiatric Stories.

A. MATERIAL FROM PSYCHOANALYTIC JOURNALS

Some of the material, even when published in psychoanalytic journals, falls outside of the psychoanalytic realm. When De Leeuwe speaks of Monotheism and its attendant diminution of anthropomorphism as resulting from the power of abstract thinking, he is not employing psychoanalytic concepts,³³² although elsewhere in the same essay, he connects cosmogonies with a movement away from Narcissism, which is indeed psychoanalytic language.³³³ In like manner, Darlington uses non-psychoanalytic phraseology when he psychologizes concerning the story of the Exodus, explaining the withdrawal of the Hebrews as a split in the personality of a personified Egypt, Egypt suffering thereby a nervous breakdown, and the blood on the doorposts serving to close the psychic wound and to banish the misfortune-producing evil spirits.³³⁴ Darlington seems to credit the Biblical writer with a knowledge of modern psychiatry.

³³¹ We observed this already in our previous study, No. 34, p. 709.

³³² No. 6, p. 430.

³³³ *Supra*, p. 253.

³³⁴ No. 5, p. 283.

Possibly Darlington means that the author of the story in Exodus had in mind mental disturbances of the kind diagnosed as "dissociation of personality," "nervous breakdown," and the like by us of today.

Rosenzweig's notations on the attitude of the modern congregation toward its Rabbi also carry matter that is not psychoanalytic. This writer speaks of the minister as presenting a rebuke to the middle class reactionary shopkeeper and obtruding an "irksome reminder of mores and restraints," and erecting a defense for traditions which the modern Jew is trying to escape, particularly in large metropolitan centers where adherence to the mores and traditions impede acceptance by the non-Jew.³³⁵ That some of these remarks are evaluative hardly needs indicating.

Moses and Monotheism, our No. 12, likewise abounds in psychological conjectures such as would appear in any anthropological study. Except where Freud quotes or repeats from his previous psychoanalytic publications, the psychoanalytic contents of this book are actually meager.

B. STATISTICAL STUDIES

Then there is the group of studies which exemplify genuine scientific research. One of these is Marvin Nathan's inquiry into the religious life of 1501 Jewish students in 57 colleges and universities, and the striking observation that, among those who attended religious schools, religious loyalty was less pronounced than among those who had not; and that religion is more honored among the men than among the women, possibly, thinks Nathan, because Sunday Schools are attended by girls more extensively than by boys.³³⁶

Akin to this is the article by Markowitz who investigated the "Prayer Life of Adults in a Reform Jewish Community." Forty-four men and twenty-eight women replied to a questionnaire. The findings of Markowitz accord with those of Nathan

³³⁵ No. 32, pp. 225, 226.

³³⁶ No. 23, pp. 52, 57.

to the effect that people with a minimum of religious attachment were among those with a maximum of religious background; although the practice of prayer did prevail, to some extent, among those whose religious background was considerable.³³⁷

These investigators appear to have demonstrated that "religion," in one sense of the term, need not conduce to "religion" in another sense. Ritual or Bible stories can be one thing and consecration something else.

Julius Maller conducted tests of honesty which showed that, the longer the attendance at religious school, the greater the increase of honesty among children coming from privileged neighborhoods but not among children from underprivileged neighborhoods. Otherwise stated, children receiving religious instruction displayed greater honesty than children of *the same economic group* from whom such instruction had been withheld.³³⁸ The question is not raised whether the type of parent who patronizes the religious school may not, for some reason, prove better qualified than parents of the other type to imbue the children with the standards of conduct which the investigator supports.

In another study, Maller examined the Jewish information and the Jewish attitudes of 200 Jewish students who were attending secular schools but who had received little or no formal training. It is one of his conclusions that

Jewish students, coming largely from orthodox homes, tend to be in greater sympathy with conservative and reform Judaism. Jewish students show little familiarity with the names of great Jews, and are badly misinformed in that connection. Jewish students show a fair knowledge of Jewish customs and ceremonies but extremely little knowledge of Jewish history. There is little correlation between the extent of Jewish knowledge and the degree of observing Jewish practices.³³⁹

This study, like the previous one, is all but entirely observational. Perhaps the only explanatory passage is the one which suspects that "supersensitiveness toward praise on the part of the gentiles" will account for the fact that certain derogatory

³³⁷ No. 22, p. 317.

³³⁸ No. 20, pp. 628, 629.

³³⁹ No. 21, p. 1.

statements by gentiles concerning Jews imparted, to some of those students. feelings of joy, pride, and pleasure.

A Yiddish study of 43 Jewish children, of ages ranging from five to twelve, undertakes to determine at what age and in what manner the consciousness of being Jewish arises. The conclusion is reached that nothing in the nature of Jewish consciousness appears earlier than the age of four. At the outset, conceptions are hazy. Later, Jewishness becomes identified with the Yiddish language, with the European place of parental origin, and with certain hallowed practices and beliefs. There is no difference, in this regard, between boys and girls, either as to their answers or as to the emotional coloring of their answers. Schooling plays a barely perceptible role — again reminding us of conditions reported by Nathan and by Markowitz — the Jewish consciousness being well developed before the age of formal education. Variation, in this regard, is also not produced by diversity of milieu, wide though the gaps, in other respects, among the several Jewish groupings in the United States.³⁴⁰

C. JEWISH PSYCHIATRIC STORIES

Then we have a set of studies which, instead of taking Judaism as an object of inquiry, set forth certain Jewish psychological procedures. One of these is Kowarsky's article on Ansky's *Dibbuk*. Kowarsky attempts to explain, in psychiatric terminology, the methods of the *Zaddik* of Miropol as he attempts to expel the *Dibbuk* from the heroine. The problem is that of producing a counter-complex strong enough to overcome the morbid complex by which the heroine is afflicted. The expedients adopted by the *Zaddik* actually avail toward that end. It is only because of circumstances which interrupt and disturb the therapeutic process that the morbid complex represented by the *Dibbuk* dominates eventually.³⁴¹

To this class belongs also Freehof's "Three Psychiatric Studies from Rabbinic Folklore," recounting, from *Die Welt*

³⁴⁰ No. 18, p. 330.

³⁴¹ No. 17, p. 209.

Derzehlt by M. Lipson (New York, 1928), how R. Joshua Leb Diskin cured a woman who, tasting tallow in all that she ate, had ceased eating and become woefully emaciated. The Rabbi's psychiatry consisted in assuring the woman that a candle, which had once fallen into some milk that she had used, measured in bulk only one-sixtieth that of the milk, with the consequence that the milk had remained ritually unimpaired. The article contains also the story narrating how R. Smelke of Nikolsburg healed the Rabbi of Janova of an aberration due to having been lost in the woods and thereby coming to mistake Thursday night for Friday night, the beginning of the Sabbath. The therapy consisted in getting the patient intoxicated and causing him to sleep from sundown Thursday to sundown Friday. The third is a story from *Middor Dor*, also by M. Lipson, narrating how R. Ezekiel Landau induced the recovery of a sick woman by giving her a rolled-up parchment, counseling her to unroll the parchment in thirty days, and predicting that the absence of writing on the parchment would indicate that the illness had vanished.³⁴²

It is obvious that, outside of the psychoanalytic writings, our literature offers little more than recordings of facts. Until we turn to the literature of the psychoanalytic order, explanatory attempts are rare. In the non-psychoanalytic list, appraisal is also rare, although not absent entirely. By and large, this literature deviates from scientific standards not so much in its admixture of evaluation as in the failure of the psychoanalysts to marshal the evidence needed to substantiate their claims.

³⁴² No. 11, p. 185. To this group of articles which discuss Judaism psychologizing rather than Judaism psychologized about, we may add our No. 4, treated in our section on psychoanalysis.

APPENDIX

LIST OF WRITINGS SURVEYED

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4. Cohen, B. "Ueber Traumdeutung in der Juedischen Tradition," *Imago*, 1932, 18, pp. 117-121.
5. Darlington, H. R. "Motherhood Rituals of a Primitive Village," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 1940, July, p. 283.
6. De Leeuwe, Jules. "Ueber die Entstehung Religioeser Vorstellungen," *Internationale Zeitschrift fuer Psychoanalyse*, 1940, 35, pp. 430-443.
7. Eder, M. D. "Die Juedischen Gebetriemen und andere Rituelle Gebraeuche der Juden," *Imago*, 1933, 19, pp. 473-504.
8. Ellis, Havelock. "Freud's Influence on the Changed Attitude Toward Sex," *American Journal of Sociology*, Nov. 1939, XLV, No. 3.
9. Feibleman, James. "A Critique of the Logic of Psychoanalysis," *International Journal of Individual Psychology*, Fourth Quarter, 1936, pp. 55-65.
10. Feldman, Sandor. "The Blessing of the Kohenites," *The American Imago*, 1941, 2, pp. 296-322.
11. Freehof, S. B. "Three Psychiatric Stories from Rabbinical Lore," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 1942, 29, pp. 185-187.
12. Freud, Sigmund. *Der Mann Moses und die Monotheistische Religion*, New York, Toronto, 1939. We shall refer to this by the briefer English title, *Moses and Monotheism*.
13. Isaac-Edersheim, E. "Messias, Golem, Ahasver, Drei Mystische Gestalten, des Judenthums, I. Der Messias," *Internationale Zeitschrift fuer Psychoanalyse*, 1941, 26, pp. 50-80.

14. Same, "II. Der Golem," pp. 179-213.
15. Same, "III. Der Ewige Jude," pp. 286-315.
16. Jones, Ernest. "Moses und die Monotheistische Religion, Bemerkungen zu Freud's Gleichnamigen Buch," *Internationale Zeitschrift fuer Psychoanalyse*, 1940, 25, pp. 418-430.
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18. Lehrer, Leibusch. "Das 'Yiddische' in der Psychik vun Amerikaner Yiddischen Kint," *Yivoblaetter*, 1932, 4, pp. 330-355.
19. Mac Iver, Robert M. "The Imputation of Motives," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLVI, No. 1, July, 1940, pp. 1-12.
20. Maller, Julius B. "Character Growth and Jewish Education," *Religious Education*, 1930, Vol. 25, pp. 627-630.
21. Maller, Julius B. "The Personality of Jewish College Students," *Jewish Education*, Vol. III, No. 2, April-June, 1931, pp. 1-9.
22. Markowitz, S. K. "Prayer Life of Adults in a Reform Jewish Community," *Religious Education*, 1930, Vol. 25, pp. 317-319.
23. Nathan, Marvin. *The Attitude of the Jewish Student in the Colleges and Universities Towards His Religion*. New York, 1932.
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25. Roheim, Géza. "The Covenant of Abraham," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 1939, 20, pp. 452-459.
26. Roheim, Géza. "The Garden of Eden," *Psychoanalytic Review*, Jan. 1940, pp. 1-26.
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31. Rosenzweig, E. M. "Some Notes, Historical and Psychoanalytical, on the People of Israel and the Land of Israel

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34. The article, "The Psychoanalytic Study of Judaism," in *HUCA* 1931-32, Vol. VIII-IX, pp. 605-740.

Dedicated to
 PROF. ISAAC HEINEMANN
 MY MENTOR AND FRIEND

THE DOXOLOGY IN SYNAGOGUE AND CHURCH A LITURGICO-MUSICAL STUDY

By ERIC WERNER, Cincinnati

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INTRODUCTION

Through the magnificent variety of the world of Christian prayer, so manifold in all its forms and churches, there runs, like the proverbial red thread, the rigid cultic formula of the "lesser doxology." It recurs so often in each service, so majestically does it conclude the individual prayer, that this formula is familiar to every Christian, no matter in which ecclesiastic doctrine he is brought up and to what liturgical usage he may be accustomed. Since the doxology emphatically affirms the principle of Trinity, it appears to the Jew as a typically Christian element of the Divine Service. This inference, however, is not correct. It will be the purpose of this study to demonstrate what layman, theologian, and musicologist are likely to overlook, namely, that the doxology is no homogeneous entity but is the manifestation of an extremely complex historical development. As many other liturgical rubrics, the doxology, in both its liturgical and musical aspects, is of distinctly Jewish origin. Then, from the second century up to the fifth it became the No-Man's-land between Judaism and Christianity; later, the Shibboleth between the numerous sects of the Eastern Church on one side, and the Roman Church on the other. Yet, during these formative struggles, the doxology was the soil out of which grew some of the formal principles which determine the shape of ecclesiastical and synagogal liturgies to this very day: the response, the antiphon and the Halleluyah (Jubilus). All of these structures have greatly enhanced the inspirational and aesthetic powers of the Divine Service in both Church and Synagogue.

I. CONCEPTION AND IDEA OF DOXOLOGY

Our examination at its very outset is confronted with uncertainty and ambiguity concerning the term "doxology." Of the more than thirty definitions given in encyclopaedias, dictionaries, commentaries, etc., none are in complete agreement. In most

cases a doxology was explained as a praise of God in solemn, if rigid form, usually at the end of a prayer; sometimes it was considered synonymous with the eulogy, sometimes not. But a clear and general definition has not been attained, even in the most recent literature. Doxology > λέγειν τὴν δόξαν = to proclaim glory. Yet, the word glory, as near as it comes to δόξα, does not contain all of the nuances and ramifications of the Greek term. It has been demonstrated by Caspary,¹ more extensively by Morgenstern,² and lately by G. Kittel,³ that δόξα assumed in the LXX the full meaning and significance of כבוד; even the most concrete sense of כבוד, light, aura, shining glory, was imposed upon the originally unpretentious δόξα. The liturgies of Christianity, following faithfully the vocabulary of the NT, use δόξα almost exclusively in the sense of praise and glory. Yet, not every passage, where there is an affirmation of God's glory, can be termed a doxology. Thus, when Paul proclaims: (II Cor. 1.20) διὸ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀμήν τῷ θεῷ πρὸς δόξαν δι' ἡμῶν this passage is not considered a doxology, although it contains the word δόξα, and is a praise of God through Jesus. On the other hand, the passage I Tim. 6.16 κύριος τῶν κυριευόντων, ὁ μόνος ἔχων ἀθανασίαν, φῶς οἰκῶν ἀπρόσιτον, ὃν εἶδεν οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ ἰδεῖν δύναται· ᾧ τιμὴ καὶ κράτος αἰώνιον· ἀμήν, while not containing δόξα, represents a legitimate doxology.⁴ Paradoxical as it sounds, we must exclude the term δόξα as the necessary criterion of the doxology. We may deduce that only two elements form the criteria necessary for the doxology: the proclamation of God's praise coupled with an affirmation of His infinity in time. The usual Greek formulae for eternity are:

¹ W. Caspary, *Die Bedeutung der Wortsippe כבוד im Hebraeischen*, Leipzig 1908.

² J. Morgenstern, "Biblical Theophanies" in *Zeitschrift fuer Assyriologie* 1911, p. 139-173, and 1913, p. 15-60,

³ G. Kittel, in *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, VII No. 35-36, p. 457.

⁴ It is well known that a paraphrase of I Chron. 29.11 forms the closing sentence in the Lord's Prayer, Math. 6.13. The version in the Gospel is a real doxology: ὅτι τοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν. Recently, however, the passage is considered spurious by several scholars.

εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, (ᾠηγῶ), also ἀπὸ γένεας εἰς τὴν γεννέαν⁵ and already in the early 3rd century: δόξα . . . καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας (τῶν αἰώνων).⁶ Although the term εὐλογία or εὐλογητός occurs not infrequently in the doxologies, it is not an integral part of them. The doxology of the Church is, consequently, *not merely benediction, but a praise into infinity*. The term δοξολογία, in this sense, seems to be generally accepted as early as the late second century, chiefly among the apologetes;⁷ certainly in the third century, where Origen uses the word in our sense: (*De Oratione* ch. 14);⁸ and in the liturgy of the Apostolic Constitutions we find the term δοξολογία next to δόξα in the very body of a doxology.⁹ Up to the fourth century, the texts of the doxologies range widely from a genuine prayer to a short formula at the end of an epistle or from a real liturgical preamble to an interjected, informal confirmation of faith.¹⁰ When the centuries of the far-flung missionary activity of Christianity drew to a close and its expansion had almost reached its height, the internal struggles within the body of the Church occupied more and more of its literature. This development, common to every new religion, might be termed the introspective, and in this period was created the major part of the dogmatic literature, of which liturgy is always a faithful expression.

The originally spontaneous and flexible prayers crystallized more and more into a fixed and well balanced set of liturgical forms. It was at this juncture that the Christian doxology attained its final form and wording. The details and the reasons for this decisive development will be analysed below. Here it shall only be pointed out that, under the pressure of Arianism

⁵ Cf. *Martyrium Polycarp* ch. 21 end, in *The Apostolic Fathers* ed. Lightfoot, London 1891, p. 197.

⁶ Cf. Ps. — Athanasius, *De Virginitate* in PG 28, Col. 265 ff.

⁷ Cf. Justinus Martyr, *Dial. Cum Tryphone*, 29, 1.

⁸ Cf. Origen, *De Oratione* 9 (PG 11, Col. 557). Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ τόποι οὗτοι κατὰ δύναμιν δοξολογίας ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ τῷ προοιμίῳ τῆς εὐχῆς λεκτέον τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ συνδοξολογουμένου ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι συννυμνουμένων.

⁹ Cf. *Constitutiones Apostolorum* VIII Ch. 13, V. 10.

¹⁰ This development is clearly reflected in the gradual expansion of the introductory prayers, which gradually absorbed most of the "mass of the catechumenes." See also *infra* p. 320.

and other Gnostic sects, the Western Church formed two doxological prayers, called to-day the Greater and the Lesser Doxology. The Greater Doxology is already well established in the Apostolic Constitutions and is a poetic paraphrase of Luke 2.14, usually known as the *Gloria in excelsis*, upon which the Great Doxology proper follows.¹¹ It became in time an integral part of the Mass. This article is concerned with the "Lesser Doxology" only, which has the following text:

<p>Δόξα Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.¹²</p>	<p>Gloria Patri et filio et spiritui sancto; [sicut erat in principio] et nunc et semper, in saecula saeculorum. (Alleluja) (Amen.)¹³</p>
--	--

The emphasis lies obviously upon two elements: (a) the Trinity, (b) its preexistence from the beginning of time. The anti-heretic implications are apparent and we need not discuss them here. However, there are some problems imbedded in our formula that are not so obvious and hence warrant a closer examination. In the Latin version, the doxology is usually followed by an Alleluia and concluded by Amen. This structure, however, presupposes a responsory rendition of the text. Why?

We recall that the practice of doxological conclusions goes back to ancient Jewish custom. The five books of the Psalter end always with primitive doxologies requiring responses; sometimes, as in Ps. 106.48 the response is indicated in the text:

וברוך שם כבודו לעולם וימלא כבודו את כל הארץ אמן ואמן.
(Ps. 72.19)

ברוך ה' אלהי ישראל מן העולם ועד־העולם אמן ואמן. (Ps. 41.14)

ברוך ה' לעולם אמן ואמן. (Ps. 89.53)

ברוך ה' אלהי ישראל מן העולם ועד העולם ואמר כל העם אמן הללויה.
(Ps. 106.48)

¹¹ Cf. Const. Ap. VII, 47, 1, ed. Funk.

¹² Cf. Hammond, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, p. 53.

¹³ Translation: Glory be to the Father and the Son, and to the Holy Spirit, as He was in the beginning, so is He now and always unto endless ages. Amen.

ברוך ה' אלהי ישראל מן העולם ועד-העולם ויאמרו כל העם אמן והלל לה'.
(I Chron. 16.36)

כל הנשמה תהלל יה הללויה. (Ps. 150.6)
ואנחנו נברך יה מעתה ועד עולם הללויה. (Ps. 115.18)¹⁴

If we compare the ecclesiastical form with the scriptural versions just quoted, we are immediately confronted with an essential discrepancy. The Christian form starts with *Gloria* or, in Greek, with *δόξα*; its wording is fixed and uniform since the Council of Vaison (529). In the liturgy of the Temple and the Synagogue and in the Scriptures, we find various doxological forms. Frequently, but certainly not always, they are introduced by ברוך, thereby assuming the type of the *Berakah*. The power of Jewish Hellenism, is evident in Justinus Martyr's use of the terms *εὐλογεῖν* and *ἐπευφημί*, familiar through the LXX, for the Hebrew ברוך. Here is the most significant passage: 'Ἐπὶ πᾶσι τε οἷς προφερόμεθα, εὐλογοῦμεν τὸν Ποιήτην τῶν πάντων διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ διὰ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου . . .¹⁵ Καὶ ὁ προεστὼς εὐχὰς ὁμαίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ ἀναπέμπει καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων τὸ Ἀμήν . . .¹⁶ The forms most cognate to the Christian doxology are (a) Eulogy, (b) Invitatorium, and (c) Benediction. A Eulogy is almost identical with our *Berakah*; the Invitatorium is a psalm-verse, containing a call to worship, usually Ps. 95.1-4 at the beginning of the service. The Benediction, however, is a privilege of the ordained priest and has no direct part in the general Church liturgy.¹⁷ Yet the border-line between doxology and eulogy seems frequently to be effaced.¹⁸

Much more complex is the situation on the Jewish side. Here the structure of a doxology is more fluid and not bound up

¹⁴ This doxology is the end of a hymnic prayer of priests and perhaps of professional musicians. We shall refer to this fact later. See *infra* p. 313.

¹⁵ The Eastern Church has never accepted the second part of the doxology, and it has been for centuries an apple of discord.

¹⁶ Cf. Justinus Martyr, *I Apology* 67, in PG 6, Col. 429 ff.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ The blessing of water, of incense, etc., while belonging to the liturgy, precedes the actual service.

with certain unchangeable terms, like *Gloria Patri*, etc. Of the manifold Hebrew passages with doxological implications we quote here only a few which are today still in liturgical use.

1. שמע ישראל ה' אלהינו ה' אחד.
ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד.
2. יהא שמה רבא מברך לעולם ולעלמי עלמא.
3. ברכו את ה' המבורך
ברוך ה' המבורך לעולם ועד.
4. מלך ה' לעולם אלהיך ציון לדור ודור הללויה.
5. ברוך ה' לעולם אמן ואמן . . .
וברך שם כבודו לעולם וימלא
כבודו את כל הארץ אמן ואמן.¹⁹

All formulae, except 4, contain the verb ברך. Thus, we may infer that, in the Jewish custom, a doxology approximates a *Berakah* of God's infinity in time; yet, it is neither a Eulogy among other eulogies, nor, as in the Church, a prayer *sui generis*. We shall arrive later at a more exact definition. While the Christian doxology is an all-important part of the service, repeated many times in each liturgy, the Hebrew doxologies occupy comparatively few passages in the service of the Synagogue. True, these passages are nuclear parts, as the *Sh'ma'* or the *Kaddish*; true, in all our instances just quoted, the responsory rendition is apparent and called for. But we do not encounter a doxology at the end of each synagogal prayer.

The passage לדור ודור (4) is the Hebrew original of the Greek ἀπὸ γένεας εἰς τὴν γένεαν, quoted above, as is לעולם ועד (1, 3) or לעולם עד העולם מן העולם לעולם for "*in saecula saeculorum*" or εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Interesting is 5 which comes as near as possible to the Greek idea of δόξα. Here, again, כבוד is the corresponding Hebrew term.

¹⁹ E. g., in the formal grace of the Roman Church: Benedictus deus in donis suis et sanctus in omnibus operibus suis, qui vivit et regnat in secula seculorum. See also in Const. Ap. ed. Funk VII, ch. 49 (Didascalia): Benedictus es, Domine, qui nutris me a pueritia mea . . .

II. THE OUTSTANDING DOXOLOGIES IN JEWISH LITURGY

In the liturgy of rabbinic Judaism, we frequently encounter doxological formulas, but of outstanding relevance for the spirit of our prayer are only four real doxologies:

1. ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד
2. ברוך ה' המבורך לעולם ועד
3. The קדושה with its various insertions.
4. The short response of the Kaddish: יהא שמה
רבא מברך לעלם ולעלמי עלמיא

That is not a gratuitous enumeration of the best-known parts of our liturgy. It will be noted that these formulas have a number of elements in common: (a) They are all genuine responses, as we shall see presently. (b) They all contain the idea of God's infinity in time. (c) They are frequently mentioned together as one family of prayers, sometimes even considered together.²⁰ (d) They have replaced the old Temple doxologies, taken from the end of the five books of the Psalms, as is indicated in *Ber.* IX,5.²¹ (e) They all have been, at one time or another, subjects of controversy between Judaism and Christianity. (f) They belong to the oldest parts of our liturgy.

It is not the aim of this study to give a full historical account of the genesis of these formulas or of their influence upon the general spirit of our Divine Service. This essay limits itself to investigations of the form and the rendition of these doxologies,

^{19a} On these and the following passages in general, see the Authorized Prayer Book, annotated edition by Singer and E. Abrahams. On Hebrew doxologies cf. L. Blau in *R.E.J.* Vol. 31 and 55; also A. Buechler, *Die Priester und der Cultus* p. 175 ff., E. Elbogen, *Der juedische Gottesdienst* pp. 26, 495 ff. Also Aptowitz in *M.G.W.J.* 73, 1929, p. 93 ff. and L. Finkelstein, "The Amida" in *JQR* N.S. XVI.

²⁰ Cf. *Saferim*, ed. Mueller, ch. 16, last *Halakah*; also *ibid.* 225 ff. See also J. Mann, "Anan's Liturgy" in *Journal of Jewish Lore and Philosophy* p. 345.

²¹ Also: *Tos. Ber.* VII. 4; *Tos. Ta'an.* I. 11; *Ta'an.* 16b. The real birth place of the doxologies was the Temple, not the Synagogue as Hoennicke assumes. (*Das Judenchristentum* p. 258) Concerning the N. T. doxologies see *infra*.

In addition, where the subject under discussion warrants it, certain essential comparisons between Christian and Jewish liturgy will be attempted.

ב ש כ מ ל"ו

The Mishnaic passages, in which this doxology is referred to, indicate quite clearly that it was at all times a genuine responsorium.²² Moreover, this formula belonged originally to the service of the Temple, later to be taken over by the Synagogue. However, this Mishnaic reference to the ב'ש' is rather enigmatic, since it starts out with the "corruption of the Sadducees" (in *Jerushalmi*; here, "of the *Minim*").²³

M: כל חותמי ברכות שבמקדש היו אומרים: עד העולם משקלקל הצדוקים [המינים] ואמרו אין עולם, אלא אחד, התקינו שיהו אומרים מן העולם ועד העולם.

Gem. כל כך למה? לפי שאין עונין אמן במקדש. ומינין שאין עונין אמן במקדש? שנאמר קומו ברכו את אלהיכם מן העולם עד העולם ואמר ויברכו שם כבודך ומרומם על כל ברכה ותהלה. יכול כל הברכות כולן תהא להן תהלה אחת. ת"ל ומרומם על כל ברכה ותהלה. וכו'.

Assuming that the term מנים stands here for Judaeo-Christians, it is interesting to note that the conclusion, מן העולם ועד העולם, used in the *Temple*, and the Amen permitted exclusively in the *Synagogue*, were combined in the standing formulas of the Church: *πρὸ παντὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς πάντας τοὺς*

²² Yoma III, 8, IV, 1, VI, 2. Ber. IX, 5, Ber. 63a. The entire history of the formula has been discussed by Elbogen, *op. cit.*, p. 494 ff. and, more extensively by V. Aptowitz, *loc. cit.*, p. 93 ff. Aptowitz's interesting hypothesis suffers somewhat from his persistence in attributing political reasons to any change of the liturgy. Finkelstein in his article on the benedictions of the *Sh'ma'* (*R.E.J.* 1932 p. 23) and Elbogen *op. cit.*, p. 496 state that the ב'שכמל' involves an antiphonal rendition. That is extremely improbable, since it would imply that the *Shema'* was read (פרס אח שמע) by a group of men instead of the ש"ץ. However, I assume that both scholars really mean a responsorium, not an antiphony.

²³ Cf. Y. Ber. IX, 5, 14c.

αἰῶνας, ἀμήν²⁴ or: εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.²⁵ or: ἀπὸ γένεας εἰς τὴν γεννέαν,²⁶ ἀμήν, εἰς γενεὰν γενεῶν καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, etc.²⁷

The formula בְּשִׁמְלִי, used in the Temple as response upon every *Berakah*, has been a controversial subject within the synagogal service, because it interrupts the *Sh'ma'*. Although it is a genuine response, and has always been understood as such, the real cause for debate was not its text but its rendition. And this, in turn, was a reaction against the "carping of the *Minim*."²⁸ Should it be said aloud or in a whisper? Since every doxology originally had a responsorial function, we ought to assume that the normal rendition would be aloud. And thus it was in the Temple and perhaps in the first decades of our era. But in order to differentiate between the importance and the authority of the שמע and of the בְּשִׁמְלִי, the rabbis ordered that one should say the latter in a whisper.²⁹ Yet the same passage tells us that R. Abbahu said: "It was ordered that men should say it in a loud voice because of the carping of the *Minim*; but in Nehardea, where there are no *Minim*, they say it even to this day in a whisper."

Two main questions arise: Why has the בְּשִׁמְלִי been taken

²⁴ Cf. Jude 25.

²⁵ Cf. *Const. Ap.* regularly at the end of each prayer in the seventh book.

²⁶ Cf. *Mart. Polycarp* 14; (= לְדוֹר וָדוֹר).

²⁷ Cf. *Clement Rom. I.*, ch. 61, 3. (= לְדוֹר וָדוֹר וְלְעוֹלָמִי עוֹלָמִים). Beyond these well known Hebraisms it is worth noting that the practice of the concluding Amen is strictly in accord with the established Jewish usage viz., that it is to be said by the worshipping congregation in answer to the prayer or the eulogy of the precentor. Consequently we look in vain for the Amen in the Gospels, because no congregation is presupposed. Paul, however, takes a very strong and traditional attitude in I Cor. 14.15-17, where he asks: "What is it then? I will pray with the spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also . . . Else when thou shalt bless with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? For thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified."

In my opinion, this passage is an indirect reproach leveled at Philo because of his enthusiastic description of the *silent* worship of the Therapeutes.

²⁸ *Pes.* 56a.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

over from the Temple into the Synagogue? And: In the worship of the Synagogue, whose function was it to pronounce the formula, be it aloud or in a whisper? The first question has, to my knowledge, been answered only by Aptowitzer. He sees in the inclusion of the formula a protest against both the wicked Hasmonaeans and the aristocratic Sadducees. He takes it as a symbol of protest and demonstration, particularly against Alexander Jannai.³⁰ The fantastic Midrash of the dying Jacob, quoted both by Elbogen and by Aptowitzer, offers nothing in the way of real explanation and is, at best, a *vaticinium ex eventu*.³¹ It is evident that, following the destruction of the central sanctuary, the ancient Synagogue attempted to come as near as permissible to the cult of the Temple. Thus the idea of answering the enunciation of the Tetragrammaton by a doxological response and confirmation, as once practiced in the Temple, seems a most natural procedure, especially after the proclamation of the *Sh'ma*.³² Yet this would, to this writer's knowledge, represent the only case in which a genuine response is to be uttered "in a whisper," even though respect for the *Sh'ma* be the reason. Elbogen proposes just this theory. He concludes: "If we assume that the reader said only שמע ישראל and that the congregation repeated and concluded this passage, then we understand why the reader answered the words ה' אלהינו ה' אחר with the whispered response . . . בשכמל'ו. . . . He had to respond in a whisper, so that the scriptural text would not be interrupted . . ." ³³ Indeed, the Talmud implicitly recommends the whispering, as we have seen.³⁴ Nevertheless, there are valid reasons for believing that this was not the original practice. As Aptowitzer rightly remarks, "In public worship there cannot be a whispered response; there is in the literature not one example

³⁰ Cf. Aptowitzer, *op. cit.*¹⁹ p. 102 ff. and 110.

³¹ Cf. Sifre Deut. 6.4, 31, also Pes. 56a.

³² Similar cases of doxologies, borrowed from the Temple, are quoted in Soferim, ed. Mueller, p. 252. (יהי שם ה' מבורך; יהי כבוד) cf. also Midr. Tehillim 104 and the references *infra* in the discussion of the small doxologies.

³³ Cf. Elbogen, *Studien zur Geschichte des juedischen Gottesdienstes*, p. 8 f. The same theory in his *Der juedische Gottesdienst*, pp. 22, 28, 496 ff.

³⁴ Cf. Pes. 56a.

of a whispered response or eulogy."³⁵ Was R. Abahu's report of the loud recitation of the *בשכמל"ו* — against the "carping *Minim*" — not rather a *restitutio in integrum*? We know that our formula was sometimes also used as a response after *ברכו*.³⁶ Yet here there is no remark about the whispering of the response. On the other hand, when the *Sh'ma'* was introduced clandestinely in the *Kedusha*, for religio-political reasons, the *בשכמל"ו* was not added, although we know that the reader could only whisper the *Sh'ma'* (*בלחש*). Why did he not whisper the response as well?³⁷ Finally, why would the *Minim* find the *Sh'ma'* a vulnerable point for their carping and what was their own attitude to the *בשכמל"ו*? Originally the *Sh'ma'* was no bone of contention between Judaeo-Christians and Jews. Thus, in the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies, which show a distinctly Jewish influence, we read that Peter exclaims against the idolators: "Hear, O Israel, thy (!) God, the Lord is one!". Later on, with the trinitarian doctrine prevailing, the situation changed fundamentally.³⁸ Rabbinic literature knows of many instances in which

³⁵ Cf. Aptowitzer, *op. cit.*,³⁹ p. 110.

³⁶ Cf. Sifre Deut. 306. For a full discussion of the passage see Aptowitzer, *loc. cit.*, p. 93, n. 3.

³⁷ Cf. J. Mann, "Changes in the Divine Service of the Synagogue due to Religious Persecutions," in *HUCA* IV., p. 259, n. 32.

³⁸ Cf. Ps.—Clement., *Homilies* III, 57, (in PG II., col. 147). Τοῖς δὲ ἡπατῆμενοις πολλοὺς θεοὺς ὑπονοεῖν, ὡς αἱ Γραφαὶ λέγουσιν, ἔφη: "Ἀκουε, Ἰσραὴλ, Κύριος ὁ θεός σου Κύριος εἷς ἐστιν. Compare with this distinctly Judaeo-Christian attitude, refuting the Gnostic arguments against monotheism, the passage Debarim R. II., 33, 104c. The sentence quoted is only a part of the long and extensive religious disputation between Peter and Simon Magus, the representative of Parsistic Dualism and Pre-Marcionitic Gnosis. It is regrettable that the Pseudo-Clementines, a most interesting document of Judaeo-Christianity, in particular of Ebionism, have thus far obtained little attention from Jewish scholars. To this writer's knowledge, the only recent study of it from a Jewish point of view is J. Bergmann's article in *REJ* Vol. 46, 1903, p. 86 ff. O. Bardenhewer, (*Geschichte der Altkirchlichen Literatur*, II, p. 618) the best authority, writes on that subject: "In diesem Zusammenhang genuegt es festzustellen, dass die Schrift im wesentlichen die Anschauungen der alten Judaisten, Ebioniten oder Elkesaiten, vertritt . . . Die Theorie von der Identitaet des Christentums mit dem Judentum ist mit umso groeserem Nachdruck in den Vordergrund gerueckt."

the *Minim* attempted to prove the existence of the Trinity by quoting scriptural verses which mention the name of God three times.³⁹ On this, Aptowitzer adds the following comment: "They (the Christians) could find their proof even in Deut. 6.4 ה' אחד 'ה' . . . The רוח would not disturb them, it was even wind in their sails: one in three persons. In order to refute this interpretation, the בשכמל"ו was added in a *loud* voice: Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom etc. This means, as R. Simlai (Yer. Ber. IX.1, 12) explains: all three terms designate one and the same being, one Name, one idea; His kingdom."⁴⁰ This reasoning presupposes that the Christians themselves did not make use of the בשכמל"ו. Obviously, if it was to be an anti-Christian demonstration, it would lose its sense entirely, if the Christians used it themselves. Yet just this is the fact overlooked both by Aptowitzer and by Elbogen. We read in the Liturgy of James:

Priest: Ἡ βασιλεία σου διαμένει εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.
Εὐλογητὸν τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν εἰς τοὺς
αἰῶνας.⁴¹

Shortly afterwards *ibidem*:

Priest: Εἴη τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου εὐλογημένον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας
τῶν αἰώνων.
Εὐλογητὸν τὸ ὄνομα βασιλείας σου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

And we read in the *Constitutiones Apostolorum*, the normative work of early Christian liturgy: Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, κύριε, βασιλεῦ τῶν αἰώνων.⁴² Not the literal text, but a majestic paraphrase and augmentation of our formula is to be found in the *Sacramentary* of Serapion: Σὺ γὰρ ὁ ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυριότητος καὶ παντός ὀνόματος ὀνομαζόμενου οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ

³⁹ Cf. Travers Herford, *Christianity in Talmud and Midrash*, p. 307-312, pp. 255-266 *et passim*.

⁴⁰ Cf. Aptowitzer, *op. cit.*,³⁹ p. 113.

⁴¹ Cf. Hammond, *op. cit.*,¹² p. 51 ff.

⁴² Cf. *Const. Ap.* ed. Funk, VII., 34, 1.

ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι.⁴³ With the exception of the last instance, all the quoted examples are real responses in the Christian liturgy; which shows that the "*Minim*" were using formulae very similar to the בשכמל'י. These facts may caution us against accepting uncritically certain statements about the *Minim*; resentment on both sides has greatly impaired the reliability of our sources.

What, then, remains as a plausible interpretation of the changing rendition of the בשכמל'י? It is well known that the *Ma'amadot*, after having attended the sacrificial service at the Temple proper, went to the "Hall of Hewn Stones" within the Temple, where they had a service of their own, in the style of a Synagogue, and were joined by some of the priests.⁴⁴

S. Krauss is entirely right in calling the establishment of the Synagogue within the Temple a "Triumph of Rabbinism" against the monopoly of the Sadducean priesthood. It may have been there that the *Ma'amadot* learned the practice of answering a *Berakah* or the enunciation of the Tetragrammaton by re-

⁴³ Cf. *Sacramentarium Serapionis*, ed. Funk, XIII., 8 (in *Const. Ap.*). It is worth noting that this passage is a literal quotation from Paul's epistle to the Ephesians, I, 21; but Paul refers to Christ, while Serapion praises God, the Father. The Roman Church uses here Dan. 3.52, (not included in the Jewish canon) and Ps. 72.19.

Resp. (a) Benedictum nomen glorie tue sanctum, et laudabile, et superexaltatum in saecula. (Ad laudes in festo Nominis Jesu.)

Resp. (b) Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel, qui facit mirabilia magna solus: et benedictum nomen majestatis eius in aeternum.
Vers. Replebitur majestate eius omnis terra; fiat, fiat, et benedictum nomen. (In festo S. Trinitatis.)

Since the very passage which was to emphasize the exclusively Jewish monotheism against the concept of Trinity was used in the Church on the festival of the Trinity, we must conclude that either the theory of the anti-Christian use of the prayer is wrong or else that its polemical tendency was an absolutely empty gesture.

⁴⁴ Cf. Yer. Ber. I, 7; Tamid V, 1; also Krauss, *Synagogale Altertüemer*, p. 67-72. We know of this remarkable synagogue within the Temple from both Jewish and N.T. sources. It is identical with the "Hall of Stones," where Jesus argued with the Rabbis. (Luc. 2.46). It is the assembly place mentioned in Acts 3.11; 5.12.

sponding בשכמל'ו. These *Ma'amadot* transplanted this venerable practice to the synagogues of their hometowns in the form of a loud response, as all responses must be. When we remember that one of the versions of the Mishna quoted above imputed to the Sadducees the occasion of the entire controversy, our hypothesis gains probability. For the priests of the Temple were preponderantly Sadducean and frequently frowned upon the behavior of the *Ma'amadot*. Now, when the Temple fell, it was a natural reaction to remember its glory with a sorrowful whisper of the very words which were pronounced day by day during its existence. The murmured rendition of the בשכמל'ו may well have been an expression of mourning which was abandoned when the *Minim* began to heckle the praying Jews because of that very silence following the *Sh'ma*.⁴⁵ Only then, and for a comparatively short time was the בשכמל'ו recited aloud.

Yet the question, who recited the בשכמל'ו has, so far, remained unanswered. Elbogen's theory of the division of the *Sh'ma* in two halves seems unconvincing and Aptowitzer quoted against it a Midrash in which the recitation of the *Sh'ma* "in one voice, with one thought, and in one tone" is viewed as the kind of prayer which pleases God most.⁴⁶ Another Agada propounds the same idea strongly recommending complete uniformity in the recitation of the *Sh'ma*.⁴⁷ Thus it seems that Aptowitzer's claim that the *Sh'ma* and the בשכמל'ו were recited by the reader and the congregation in unison is the only one which cannot be easily contradicted, at least not until we have a perfectly satisfactory interpretation of the terms פרס על שמע and כרך את שמע.

⁴⁵ Not because of the *Shema* itself and certainly not because of the בשכמל'ו which they used in some variants. It was the silence or the murmuring after the watchword of Judaism that provoked the embarrassing questions of the *Minim*.

⁴⁶ Cf. Aptowitzer, *op. cit.*,¹⁹ p. 108, n. 5. Also *Cant. R.* to 8.11.

⁴⁷ Cf. L. Ginzberg, *Ginse Schechter* I, p. 120. א' ר' לוי כשישראל קוראין את שמע. אילו מתחלתו ואילו בסוף הן נראים חלוקים אבל כשהן נכנסין כאחת לבית הכנסת וקורים בשפה אחת ובעיצה אחת שמע ישראל ה' אלהינו ה' אחד עליהן הכתוב אומר דודי לי ואני לו. הרועה בשושנים...

ברוך ה' המבורך לעולם ועד

If the *בשכמל"ו* is an insertion into an otherwise closed and well-rounded liturgical form, the recitation of *ברוך ה' המבורך לעולם ועד* represents a spontaneous response answering a call to worship. It is necessary here that we distinguish between "open" and "closed" forms. We shall see that this distinction has considerable bearing upon the liturgical and even more upon the musical evolution of our prayers. The present formula is the prescribed response to the "invitatorium" *ברכו את ה' המבורך*. Although it seems to be a paraphrase of Neh. 9.5 *קומו ברכו את ה' אלהיכם מן העולם ועד העולם* and the omission of *אלהיכם מן העולם* and the addition of *המבורך* are more than coincidental.⁴⁸

The Talmudic prescription in Ber. IX,5 about answering a *Berakah* with *מן העולם עד העולם* does not refer to the exhortation to prayer, as expressed in the *ברכו*. Accordingly, the *מן העולם עד עולם* was dropped. The *המבורך* is attributed by the Talmud to R. Ishma'el who required it. A later source, *Sifre* to Deut. 8.306 connects it with R. Jose. The reason given is that the reader includes himself, as he pronounces the praise of God when summoning his fellow-worshippers.⁴⁹

The *ברכו* and its subsequent response constitute one of the most important doxologies, since it is recited twice daily in the course of the morning and evening prayer. Furthermore, it is the initial formula before grace after each meal and before each public scriptural reading. Here the sharp distinction between the different functions of the doxology in Church and Synagogue becomes obvious. In the Church the doxology is almost

⁴⁸ The Karaite liturgy used the Nehemia passage literally; as for Karaite doxologies, see *infra* p. 316.

⁴⁹ Ber. VII, 3; Ber. 50a. Characteristic is the following *Agada*: *פרם בר פפא איקלע לבי כנישתא דאבי גיבר קם קרא בספרא ואמר. ה' המבורך אמר רבא פתא אוכמא! בהבי פלתי למה לך? ועוד הא נהוג עלמא כר' ישמעאל*. This seems to contradict Elbogen's theory that the *המבורך* was demanded to make sure that the reader was not a *Min*. For here, the *פחיא* (black pot — slovenly, uncultivated man), *Rafram*, did use the *מבורך* while omitting the *ה' המבורך*. Yet even this negligence might have involved him in trouble, as *Rabba* indicated. Cf. Elbogen, *Studien zur Geschichte des Jued. Gottesdienstes*, p. 19, and J. Abrahams, *A Companion to the Authorized Prayer Book*, p. XLII.

invariably the opening or closing formula, in Judaism it is interwoven in the entire texture of the liturgy. We come upon it as an *invitatorium*, like the ברכו, as an intermediate exclamation in the בשכמל"ו, as a hymnic prayer in the קדושה, and as an inserted laudation in the קדיש.

Christian worship contains a rubric which, in many respects, is comparable to the call to worship exemplified by the ברכו. This is the *invitatorium* which, in a technical sense, consists of verses of Ps. 95.1-6, or paraphrases thereof.⁵⁰ Its function is almost identical with that of the ברכו. The daily Matin always starts with that call to worship; but it is also used in other parts of the Church service.

The early Church, however, uses other invitatorial formulae, chiefly before the "mass of the faithful." All of them are genuine *responsoria* and some of them closely resemble the ברכו and its response.⁵¹

Some of them might be quoted here in order to present a comparison between the liturgical forms as employed and expanded by Synagogue and Church.

1. Ἀναστάντες τῷ θεῷ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ κλίνατε καὶ εὐλογεῖσθε. (Clementine Liturgy)⁵²
2. Venite, laudemus Domino, canamus De salvatori nostro. (Liturgy of St. James; Syriac)⁵³
3. Εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν πάντοτε, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν. (Liturgy of Constantinople)⁵⁴
4. Αἰνεῖτε παῖδες, κύριον, αἰνεῖτε τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου. (Apostolic Constitutions)⁵⁵

⁵⁰ The custom of singing the לכו נרננה on the eve of the Sabbath is comparatively recent and owes its origin to the mystics of Safed in the sixteenth century.

⁵¹ Cf. Origen, *De Oratione* 9. (PG 11, col. 557); the text is given in n. 8. The Roman Church uses Ps. 95.6, (94.6) and Tob. 13.10 as invitatorium.

⁵² Cf. Hammond, *op. cit.*,¹² p. 7. If διὰ Χριστοῦ is omitted, the passage is identical with קומו ברכו אה' (Neh. 9.5).

⁵³ Cf. Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 59, at the end of the mass of the catechumens, being the preamble to the mass of the faithful. (Ps. 95.1.)

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 82, at the beginning of the mass of the catechumens.

⁵⁵ Cf. *Const. Ap.* ed. Funk, VII., 48, 1, p. 456; cf. Ps. 113.1.

The importance of the form and rendition of the ברכו and its response is greatly enhanced by the fact that it serves as a convocation to public worship.

The reader "descends before the ark" (יורד לפני התיבה) i. e., he opens the public service while proclaiming the ברכו.⁵⁶ These words have to be drawn out; for meanwhile the congregation is supposed to be reading "in an undertone" the long doxology וישתבח יתברך, which is a kind of Hebrew version of the Kaddish.⁵⁷ Only after that, is the congregation to recite aloud the proper response ועד לעולם המבורך ברוך ה', which is repeated by the reader. These three parts of the ברכו contribute an elaborated variation of the simple idea: נברך. The insertion of the יתברך shows clearly the technique of "progressive" or "pallillogical" parallelism: e. g., ... וישתבח יתברך המבורך ברכו את ה' הקדוש ברוך הוא. שהוא ראשון... ברוך שם כבוד... יהי שם ה' מבורך מעתה ועד עולם. ברוך ה' המבורך לעולם ועד. This technique is characteristic of the so-called "open" forms of poetry, for it develops steadily from one phrase to the next with continual allusion to preceding words or passages. This type of poetry has greatly influenced the music with which it is connected, favoring the retention of and the elaboration upon, certain characteristic musical phrases.⁵⁸ The classic example of this type of parallelism is the *Kedushah*.

The Kedushah

An extensive study of the development and the significance of the *Kedushah* would fill an entire book; and the literature on this subject is so vastly expanded and specialized that it cannot be our task here to deal with it *ab ovo*. We have to limit the scope of our investigation to the following points: (a) Misconceptions in the recent studies on the history of the *Kedushah*;

⁵⁶ Cf. Elbogen, *Der Jued. Gottesdienst*, p. 501, quoting Maimonides.

⁵⁷ The יתברך, a rather late compilation of biblical and rabbinic passages, ends with בשכמליו ועד עולם. This juxtaposition of two doxologies suggests mystic-theocratic influence which always accentuated elements of exultation. Cf. Ber. 50a, representing the other side: בין שאמר ברכו בין שאמר נברך אין תופסין אותו על כך והנקדנים תופסין אותו על כך.

⁵⁸ See *infra*, pp. 338, 347 ff.

(b) The *Qedushah* and the Church; (c) The formal structure of the *Qedushah*; (d) The responsorial doxologies in the *Qedushah* and the tradition of their performance.

Among Jewish scholars, it is chiefly K. Kohler, Elbogen, Finkelstein, Marmorstein, Ginzberg, J. Mann, and Aptowitzer, who dealt with this subject. Among Christians, the main contributions came from A. Baumstark, Paul Drews, Dugmore, A. Fortescue, and W. O. E. Oesterley. As to the respective age of the three *Qedushah* forms, viz., of the *Yozer*, the '*Amida*', and the so-called *Qedushah-de-Sidra*, no unanimous judgement has been reached. Kohler believes that the *Qedushah of the Yozer* is the oldest and was introduced under the influence of the Essenes who are known to have stressed the ideas of the *Merkabah* and to have emphasized God as the giver of light, as expressed in the *Yozer prayer*.⁵⁹ Shortly thereafter, or almost at the same time, the *Qedushah of the 'Amida* was composed. The idea "that the *Qedushah-de-Sidra* . . . is the older one (as suggested by Elbogen) is almost too preposterous for repetition."⁶⁰ Finkelstein suggests that the *Qedushah of the 'Amida* was introduced by the Tannaim at the time of Hadrian, since the priests of the Temple were too conservative and reluctant to allow innovations in the Temple-cult.⁶¹ L. Ginzberg, however, maintains that the Tannaim knew only the *Qedushah of the Yozer*.⁶² Elbogen, basing his theory upon the response of R. Natronai Gaon, views the *Qedushah-de-Sidra* as the oldest and attempts to refute the hypothesis of Kohler and Ginzberg.⁶³ A. Marmorstein, on the other hand, defends Rashi's statement that the *Qedushah of the 'Amida* is actually a post-Talmudic, somewhat recent, composition.⁶⁴ Yet his argumentation is hardly convincing.

⁵⁹ Cf. K. Kohler, "Urspruenge und Grundformen der synagogalen Liturgie," in *MGWJ* 1893, p. 491 ff., and the same author's "The Origin and the Composition of the 18 Benedictions," in *HUCA* I, p. 396 ff.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 398.

⁶¹ Cf. L. Finkelstein, "*Les benedictions du Chema*," in *REJ* 93, 1932, p. 3.

⁶² Cf. L. Ginzberg, "Notes sur la Kedouscha et les benedictions du Chema," in *REJ*, 1934, p. 77; see also *Geonica* I, p. 124.

⁶³ Cf. Elbogen, *op. cit.*,⁵⁶ pp. 520 f., 526 f.

⁶⁴ A. Marmorstein, "L'age de la Kedouscha de l'*Amida*," in *REJ* 97, p. 35 ff.

Marmorstein entirely disregards the passage, *Enoch* 39.12, which includes part of the *Ḳedushah*, and the early Christian documents which will be presented in the following pages. If, according to Dr. Marmorstein's opinion, the *rabbinic* documents do not suffice to prove with certainty the Tannaitic or even the pre-Christian age of the *Ḳedushah*, of the *Yozer*, the documents of the *early Church* leave no doubt as to the pre-Christian age of the *Ḳedushah* itself. However, it must be clearly understood by Jewish scholars that a biblical text does not by itself prove Jewish influence on Christian wording. The Scriptures were, in the original or in translations, familiar to every learned Christian, whether of Jewish or of Gentile descent.

The oldest Christian source of the *Ḳedushah* is Clement of Rome; his version of Js. 6.3: "Ἀγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος Κύριος Σαβαώθ, πλήρης πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ" is not completely identical with the LXX which has γῆ instead of κτίσις.⁶⁵ From here to the next recension, the so-called "Serapion-liturgy" a most important change occurs. This version reads: "Ἀγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος κύριος Σαβαώθ, πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης σου· πλήρης ἐστὶν ὁ οὐρανός, πλήρης ἐστὶν καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς μεγαλοπρεποῦς σου δόξης."⁶⁶ This becomes then the authoritative version, as we see in Athanasius,⁶⁷ Cyril of Jerusalem,⁶⁸ and all outstanding Church Fathers. The final Christian version of the *Ḳedushah* is to be found in the *Constitutio Apostolorum*, where we have the following recension: "Καὶ στρατός ἀγγέλων φλεγόμενος καὶ πνεύματα νοερὰ λέγουσιν· Εἰς ἅγιος τῷ Φελμουνί⁶⁹ καὶ Σεραφίμ . . . ἐπινίκιον ᾠδὴν ψάλλοντα ἀσιγήτοις φωναῖς βοῶσιν· Ἀγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος κύριος Σαβαώθ, πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης σου."⁷⁰ τὰ ἕτερα τῶν ταγμάτων πλήθη, ἀρχάγγελοι . . . ἐπιβοῶντα λέγουσιν· Ἐὐλογημένη ἡ δόξα κυρίου ἐκ

⁶⁵ Clement of Rome, I Cor. 34.6, in *The Apostolic Fathers*, ed. Lightfoot, p. 23.

⁶⁶ Cf. E. v. d. Goltz, *Das Gebet in der äeltesten Christenheit*, p. 337.

⁶⁷ Cf. Athanasius, *De Trinitate et Spiritu* 16. (PG 26, col. 1208.)

⁶⁸ Cf. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* V, 6. (PG 33, col. 1113.)

⁶⁹ Dan. 8.13. In *Constit. Apost.* ed. Funk, VII, 35, 3-4, p. 430.

⁷⁰ Isa. 6.3. In *Constit. Apost.* ed. Funk, VII, 35, 3-4, p. 430.

τοῦ τόπου αὐτοῦ.⁷¹ Ἰσραὴλ δὲ . . . ψάλλει: "Τὸ ἄρμα τοῦ θεοῦ
μυριοπλάσιον, χιλιάδες εὐθηνούντων· κύριος ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐν Σιναί,
ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ."⁷²

The deviation of this version of the *Kedushah*, particularly of Isa. 6.3, from the original text has, to my knowledge, been discussed only by two scholars: A. Baumstark and J. Mann. Dr. Mann well notices the discrepancy but he ascribes the change to a trinitarian interpretation of the *Sanctus*, in which the כַּל = *πᾶσα* is omitted and for it οὐρανός is added, symbolizing Jesus sitting in heaven at the right hand of God.⁷³ And he adds: "It was at a time, when Christianity was not yet triumphant in the Roman Empire, so that 'the whole earth' could not yet be full of Jesus' glory, that in the Christian liturgy this sentence was remodeled in a general way to denote 'heaven and earth are full of thy glory.'" Yet Dr. Mann overlooks two important facts: First, several older versions of the *Sanctus* do have the *πᾶσα κτίσις* or *γῆ* (as seen in the case of Clement Rom. above and Cyril of Jerusalem) both older than the *Apostolic Constitutions*; second, while he well knows that the Targumic version of Isa. 6.3, introduced in the daily liturgy as part of the *Kedushah de Sidra*, contains the paraphrase "heaven and earth" as suggested in the Christian liturgies, he neglects the far more relevant source of שמות רבה של: הקב"ה שנאמר: מלא כל הארץ כבודו . . . אמרו לו: הלא את השמים ואת . . . הארץ אני מלא (Jer. 23.24).⁷⁴ This passage is significant in more than one respect. The story is an incident of the journey of the Rabbis Gamaliel, Joshua, Eleazar b. Azariah, and Akiba to Rome. There, a *Min* approached them and asked them why God does not observe the Sabbath.⁷⁵ Their answer was that any

⁷¹ Ezek. 3.12. In *Constit. Apost.* ed. Funk, VII, 35, 3-4, p. 430.

⁷² Ps. 68.18. In *Constit. Apost.* ed. Funk, VII, 35, 3-4, p. 430.

⁷³ J. Mann, "Changes in the Divine Service of the Synagogue due to Religious Persecutions," in *HUCA* IV, p. 264 ff.

⁷⁴ Shemot R. XXX.6, 44a.

⁷⁵ This seems to have been a Hellenistic idea; cf. Philo, *De Allegor.* I, 3. Παύεται γὰρ οὐδέποτε ποιῶν ὁ θεός, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἴδιον τὸ καίειν πυρὸς καὶ χιόνος τὸ ψύχειν, οὕτω καὶ θεοῦ τὸ ποιεῖν . . . Another midrashic version sets Ps. 113.4 מלא כל הארץ כבודו in opposition to על השמים כבודו (Isa. 6.3) and comes,

man is allowed to move about in his dwelling on Sabbath. What, then, is God's dwelling? At this point, they quote Isa. 6.3 and Jer. 23.24. What was the real purpose of the *Min's* mockery? In this writer's opinion, the sectary intended to vindicate, through Scriptures, what Jesus said in Mat. 12.6-8 and Luke 6.5 "The Son of Man is Lord also of the Sabbath." If he could demonstrate that God was "Lord of the Sabbath," he would, at the same time, identify Jesus with God and thereby justify his statement. Dr. Mann did feel that the Targumic passage had a somewhat polemical character but, by failing to consider the Midrashic passage, he missed bringing this out clearly.

Dr. Baumstark, on the other hand, demonstrated the similarity between the Targumic version of the *Q̄edushah* in the *Q̄edushah de Sidra* and the *Tersanctus* of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. He concludes that the Aramaic *Q̄edushah* is older than the *Sanctus* in the Greek liturgies and ventures the theory moreover that the Aramaic version later appearing in the Jewish liturgy was superseded by authentic Hebrew quotations of Scriptures.⁷⁶ This view implies that the *Q̄edushah de Sidra* is the oldest of all three, an idea which we have seen extensively disputed. Baumstark, in his effort to separate "nationalistic Judaism" from the "universalistic Church," makes two incorrect statements occasioned by this attempted antithesis. Baumstark maintains that Ezek. 3.12, a part of all Jewish *Q̄edushahs* was incompatible with Christian ideas because of its nationalistic מִמְּקוֹמוֹ (by which he understands Jerusalem) and had therefore to be eliminated from the Christian text. Yet, the very text which he discusses contains this passage: Εὐλογημένη ἡ δόξα κυρίου ἐκ τοῦ τόπου αὐτοῦ.⁷⁷ The same *malheur* be-

likewise, to the conclusion that heaven and earth are full of His power. Cf. *Midr. Hechalot*, in Jellinek's *Beth ha-Midrash* I, p. 40-47. (3rd section, end.)

⁷⁶ Cf. A. Baumstark, "Trisagion und Keduscha," in *Jahrbuecher fuer Liturgiewissenschaft*, III, 1923, p. 18-32. His resumé is somewhat peculiar in style and expression. Since it loses its flavor in the translation, it follows here in the original: "An der urspruenglichen Zugehoerigkeit des Trisagion zum Schema des eucharistischen Hochgebets laesst sich *schlechterdings* (Italics mine) nicht mehr ruettern."

⁷⁷ Cf. *supra*, n. 69-72.

falls him when he claims that the conclusion of the Jewish *Kedushah*, etc. יְמִלִּיךָ ה' לְעוֹלָם, was unfit for a Christian prayer because of the emphasis upon Zion. It is true that this verse does not occur in the *Tersanctus*; but it does form a part of the old *Officium Defunctorum* where is it solemnly chanted.⁷⁸ In general, it may be said that Dr. Baumstark, notwithstanding his great knowledge of the Oriental Churches, is frequently inclined to base his conclusions upon rather vague generalizations concerning the "spirit of Jewish and Christian worship." Farther down we shall encounter another instance of his attitude, which is not always "*sine ira et studio*."

Quite recently C. W. Dugmore undertook the meritorious task of comparing the early Christian liturgies with ancient synagogal worship.⁷⁹ Polemicizing against Oesterly, Dugmore maintains, concerning the *Kedushah*, that, in contradistinction to other prayers, "the third benediction, was a new thing, and it is impossible to maintain that it, too, is imbedded in the prayer of Clement of Rome I." This scholar maintains that the reference to Isa. 6.3 was not given in a real liturgical sense. But how can this opinion prevail in the face of the statement of Clement following immediately upon the *Tersanctus*; "Yea, and let us ourselves then, being gathered together in concord with intentness of heart, cry unto him as from one mouth earnestly, that we may be partakers of His great and glorious promises."⁸⁰ What else but a common worship does Clement mean when he

⁷⁸ Cf. *Liber usualis*, ed. Vaticana, Rome and Tournai, p. 1148 ff. On the history of the prayer, see Mgr. Battifol, *History of the Roman Breviary*, p. 149-153.

⁷⁹ C. W. Dugmore, *The Influence of the Synagogue upon the Divine Office*, London, 1944, pp. 76 ff. and 108 f.

⁸⁰ Clement of Rome, I.34, in *The Apostolic Fathers*, ed. Lightfoot, p. 23 and 71. As to the authoritative Christian interpretation, see *Handbuch zum NT*, ed. H. Lietzmann. (*Ergänzungsband, Die Apostolischen Väter*, Tübingen, 1923.) The commentator of Clement, Dr. Knopf, offers proof, (p. 102 ff.) in various ways convincing, that the pertinent passage in Clement is an integral part of a liturgy. "Clement presupposes in this, as in all other liturgies, the Trishagion pronounced by the congregation (ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος βοήσωμεν) or at least repeated by it. The ἐπινίκιος ᾠδὴ (the Trishagion) is certainly one of the very oldest parts of our liturgy."

speaks of a gathering in concord whereby many cry out as from one mouth? Moreover, Dugmore entirely overlooks the clear statement of Clement of Alexandria that "we ever give thanks to God, as do the creatures (ζῶα) who praise Him with hymns of whom Isaiah speaks in an allegory."⁸¹ Dugmore also completely neglects the *Sanctus* of the Egyptian Papyrus *Dêr-Balyzeh* of the early third century.⁸²

Returning to the chief question, the age of the *Ḳedushah*, it is certainly not easy to find one's way through this maze of contradictions and conflicting opinions. However, the following facts stand out as indisputable:

1. The early Church knew the *Ḳedushah*, at least the juxtaposition of Isa. 6.3 and Ezek. 3.12.
2. The change from כל הארץ = πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις (or γῆ) to οὐρανοὶ καὶ ἡ γῆ must have occurred between the time of Clement of Rome (ca. 80-95) and Serapion of Thmuis (ca. 260-280).
3. The Targum, too, has the paraphrase "heaven and earth." Even more clearly does it appear in the Midrash, Exod. Rab., quoted above, where it is ascribed to four outstanding Tannaim in their refutation of a sectary.
4. The *Ḳedushah de Sidra* incorporated the Targumic interpretation.
5. If the *Ḳedushah* had been introduced into the liturgy after the time of the first Tannaim, it would have created

⁸¹ Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata* VII, 12 (PG IX, 512). Cf. also Paul Drews, *Untersuchungen ueber die Clementinische Liturgie*, II, p. 21. Dugmore erroneously identifies the third benediction of the 'Amida with the *Ḳedushah* itself and takes the fact that the Palestinian version of the 'Amida does not contain the full *Ḳedushah* as proof that the *Ḳedushah* did not yet exist at that time. Moreover, he disregards entirely the juxtaposition of Isa. 6.3 and Ezek. 3.12, as evidenced both by the Apostolic Constitutions and by the different recensions of the *Ḳedushah*. Yet this juxtaposition of the two prophetic passages is a definite proof of a direct interrelationship between the Jewish and the Christian liturgies and can never be dismissed as mere coincidence.

⁸² Cf. Th. Schermann, "Der liturgische Papyrus *Dêr-Balyzeh*" in *Texte und Untersuchungen* 36, 1b. Also Ch. Wessely, *Les plus anciens monuments du christianisme écrits sur papyrus* II in *Patrologia Orientalis*, Vol. 18, 425-29.

considerable discussion in the Gemara, but of this there is hardly a trace.

6. The oldest document of the characteristic juxtaposition of Isa. 6.3 and Ezek. 3.12 is given in Tos. Ber. I,9 under the name of R. Judah.

These facts seem to indicate that the 'מלוך ה' (Ps. 146.10) is a later addition; neither the *Ḳedushah* of the *Yozer* nor the *Ḳedushah de Sidra* has it, and it is likewise absent from the *Trishagion* of the Church. The *Ḳedushah de Sidra*, however, has besides the Hebrew, the Aramaic text with the interpretation, "heaven and earth" and, as concluding passage, Ex. 15.18 which again seems to suggest later origins. Therefore it appears most probable that the *Yozer* is the oldest *Ḳedushah* and was introduced in the first century of our era. This conclusion concurs with the views of K. Kohler and L. Ginzberg on this subject, although these scholars employed an entirely different approach.⁸³

Thus far our discussion has touched only upon the mere nucleus of the *Ḳedushah*; yet its most characteristic features are the later insertions. But it is beyond the scope of the present article to examine these in detail. We must limit ourselves to some brief remarks and to a general survey of the poetic structure of this glorious prayer, having in mind its actual utilization in the service. The so-called "Great *Ḳedushah*" of the Ashkenazic rite has the following text:

A. READER

נעריצך ונקדישך (נקדישך ונעריצך: Variant), כסוד שיח שרפי קדש,
המקדישים שמך בקדש. ככתוב עלייד נביאך, וקרא זה אליזה ואמר.

B. CONGREGATION

קדוש, קדוש, קדוש יי צבאות, מלא כליהארץ כבודו:

⁸³ See *supra*, n. 59. In the James Liturgy, one of the oldest of extant liturgical texts, the *Trishagion* occurs twice, once immediately after the praise of God as creator and light-giver, (as in our *Yozer*), and the second time in the *anaphora* after the response ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον (=אמת ויציב). It is followed by Ἄγιος εἰ, βασιλεῦ τῶν αἰώνων (=אתה קדוש מלך העולם). Cf. Hammond, *op. cit.*,¹⁹ p. 40. All these facts suggest that the *Ḳedushah de-Yozer* is the oldest.

C. READER

כבודו מלא עולם. משרתיו שואלים זה לזה, איה מקום כבודו. לעמתם ברוך יאמרו.

D. CONGREGATION

ברוך כבודי ממקומו:

E. READER

מקומו הוא יפן ברחמים, ויחון עם המיחדים שמו, ערב ובקר בכל-יום תמיד, פעמים באהבה שמע אומרים.

F. CONGREGATION

שמע ישראל, יי אלהינו, יי אחד:

G. READER

אחד הוא אלהינו, הוא אבינו, הוא מלכנו, הוא מושיענו. והוא ישמיענו ברחמיו שנית, לעיני כל-חי, להיות לכם לאלהים.

H. CONGREGATION

אני יי אלהיכם:

I. READER

ובדברי קדשך כתוב לאמר.

J. CONGREGATION

ימלך יי לעולם אלהיך ציון לדר ודר, הללויה:

K. READER

לדר ודר נגיד גדלך, ולנצח נצחים קדשתך נקדיש, ושבחך, אלהינו, מפיו לא ימוש לעולם ועד, כי אל מלך גדול וקדוש אתה. ברוך אתה יי, האל הקדוש:

According to Elbogen, all of these insertions originated toward the end of the first millenium, and were influenced by the literary technique of contemporary *Piyyutim*. Most of them are — in spirit, if not in form — anticipated in Pirke de R. Eliezer, IV end.⁸⁴ A in particular is already given in Soferim XVI, 12. The variant with the inverted preamble is an allusion to Isa. 29.23. We find in the so-called Egyptian order of the Church a preamble of a doxology which strikingly resembles the intro-

⁸⁴ Elbogen, *Der Jued. Gottesdienst*, p. 62-64.

ductory formula of the *Kedushah*. Because of its similarity to the phraseology of several Hebrew prayers, I quote the entire passage: Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι θεὸς διὰ τοῦ παιδὸς σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν, ὅτι ἐφωτίσας ἡμᾶς, φανερώσας τὸ ἄφθαρτον φῶς. Διὸ τελειώσαντες τὸ μήκος τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς νυκτός, καὶ ἐμπλησθέντες τῷ φωτὶ τῆς ἡμέρας, ὁ ἔκτισας εἰς εὐφρwsύνην ἡμῶν, καὶ νῦν οὐ στεροῦμενοι τοῦ ἐσπερινοῦ φωτὸς διὰ τῆς χάριτός σου, ἀγιαζόμεν σε . αἱ δοξάζομεν σε διὰ τοῦς μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰσοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ σοι σὺν αὐτῷ δόξα καὶ κράτος καὶ τιμὴ σὺν τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, καὶ πᾶς εἰπάτω ἁμήν.⁸⁵

Postea diaconus . . . psalterium dicet incipiens cum psalmo halleluatico. (i. e. Ps. e ritu paschae coenae Ps. 113-118; Ps. 145. 10-11, Ps. 136.)⁸⁶

Interesting for the subject under discussion is the formula ἀγιαζόμεν σε καὶ δοξάζομεν σε, which is identical with וְקִדְשֵׁנוּ וְנַעֲרִיצֵנוּ and the end νῦν . . . καὶ πᾶς εἰπάτω, ἁμήν which reads in Hebrew: וְעַתָּה וְעַד עוֹלָמֵי עוֹלָמִים וְנֹאמַר כֻּלּוֹ אָמֵן. It is obvious that ἀγιαζόμεν καὶ δοξάζομεν is a Hebraism; yet I was unable to locate an identical or even an analogous passage in either the LXX or the NT.⁸⁷

Another insertion (אָחֵר הוּא אֱלֹהֵינוּ) likewise has a Christian

⁸⁵ Cf. Th. Schermann, *Die Allgemeine Kirchenordnung, Fruehchristliche Liturgien und Kirchliche Ueberlieferung*, I, p. 85 (*Kirchenordnung* II, 50a-50b). Translation: "We thank Thee, O God, through Thy son Jesus Christ, our Lord, that Thou hast enlightened us, making manifest Thine immortal light. Having completed the fulness of the day and drawn near the beginning of the night, we are filled with the light of day which Thou hast created for our joy; nor are we wanting, through Thy grace, the light of eventide. We sanctify and glorify Thee through Thine only begotten son, our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom there shall be, for Thee and for Him, together with the Holy Spirit, glory and power and honor now and forevermore. And all shall say: Amen."

⁸⁶ This is the Great Hallel of the Seder.

⁸⁷ The passage δόξα καὶ κράτος καὶ τιμή seems to be a paraphrase of the doxology in Matth. 6.13 which, in turn, is an almost literal quotation from LXX, I Chron. 29.11-13. (*Paralip.* I.)

parallel. In the *Apostolic Constitution*, we read: Καὶ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος προσφωνήσάτω τῷ λαῷ οὕτως: Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ὑπακούετω: Εἰς ἅγιος, εἰς κύριος, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρὸς εὐλόγητος εἰ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας: ἀμήν.⁸⁸ Possibly this passage means to emphasize the Christian conception of God's unity, in contradistinction to Jewish monotheism, as expressed in the *שמ* of the *Qedushah* and even more strongly in the paraphrase of the *חא*. It is well known that the *שמ* was frowned upon by Gentile Christianity and that, in several countries, the Jews were for centuries forbidden to recite it. It may well be that the Christian text just quoted was the answer to the Jewish contentions about pure monotheism.⁸⁹

The literature on the insertion of the *שמ* in the *Qedushah* has increased considerably in the last ten years and we know much more about its religio-political background than before. It is superfluous to recapitulate here facts and theories familiar to every scholar. Yet in connection with newly discovered sources, one name has come more and more into the foreground as a father and a founder of tradition; namely that of R. Ye-

⁸⁸ *Const. Apost.* ed. Funk, VIII, 13, 12-14, p. 516.

⁸⁹ J. Mann proposes an interesting conjecture about the origin of the *אין כאלהינו* (*HUCA* IV, p. 251, n. 12a). He feels that this hymn is modeled after the *אין כאלהינו* of the *Qedushah*, and bearing a polemical emphasis against Christianity, "would perhaps warrant the reading there *אדונינו* too. Instead of *אבנינו*." Dr. Mann would also emend the *אין כאלהינו* to *אין כאלהינו מי*. But he overlooks that the hymn is an acrostic reading *באמן*. The very same mystic invocation is found in early Christian literature in the form of *μαρὰν ἀθά* = *מאנא* (= o Lord, come!). In the early prayers of Christianity this "*votum suspirans*" (Tertullian) was very dear to the faithful. It is usually the final formula of a prayer. So, e. g., in the *Didache* X.6: Εἰ τις ἅγιός ἐστιν, ἐρχέσθω· εἰ τις οὐκ ἔστι, μετανοείτω· μαρὰν ἀθά· ἀμήν. Also Paul, I Cor. 16.22-23: εἰ τις οὐ φιλεῖ τὸν κύριον, ἦτω ἀνάθεμα· μαρὰν ἀθά· ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ μεθ' ὑμῶν. Revel. 22.20-21: Ἀμήν, ἔρχου κύριε Ἰησοῦ. Ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ μετὰ πάντων. While the emphatically, even polemically, monotheistic tendency of the *אין כאלהינו* is obvious, emendations of the text are ruled out by its acrostic structure. This acrostic seems to revive an old custom of those who day by day eagerly awaited the arrival of the Messiah, — an attitude by no means peculiar to Christianity — although it actuated a most important and characteristic part of early Christian theology and liturgy.

hudai Gaon.⁹⁰ These sources bring out two facts somewhat emphatically: Yehudai Gaon was an ardent champion of genuine tradition and was accordingly averse to new customs although, in the end, conciliatory.⁹¹

E. Birnbaum has already pointed out that it was Yehudai Gaon who favored the early *Hazanim* with the support of his authority. This great leader of Judaism possessed the stature that was necessary for the establishment and the further development of the tradition of *Hazanut*.⁹² We read in *ספר האשכול*: ורב צמח כתב אצלנו החונים . . . והחונים הראשונים קבלו ממר ר' יהודאי, ואמרים כי קבלה היה בידם מחונים: . . . והוא מרבו . . . עד רבא וע' ד' *יהודאי*.⁹³ And when we hear that, in the Gaonic age, the cantillation of Scripture, of the Mishna, and even of the Gamara was regulated according to musical accents, we can recognize the broad basis upon which R. Yehudai Gaon was able to establish a genuine tradition of *Hazanut*.⁹⁴ Later on, we shall return to this remarkable personality.

⁹⁰ Cf. J. Mann, "Les chapitres de Ben Baboi" in *REJ* Vol. 70, 1920, p. 113 ff.; L. Ginzberg, *Geonica* II, p. 52 ff.; J. Mann, "Changes in the Divine Service," in *HUCA* IV, p. 252 ff.; I. Elbogen, *Studien zur Geschichte des juedischen Gottesdienstes*, p. 23; and *Der Jued. Gottesdienst*, p. 520 ff.; L. Ginzberg, *Ginse Schechter*, II, p. 550 ff.

⁹¹ Cf. L. Ginzberg, *Geonica* II, p. 52 ff.: יהודאי שלא היה כמותו מן כמה שנים עד עכשיו שהיה גדול במקרא ובמשנה ובתלמוד ובמדרש ובתוספות ובהגדות ובהלכה למעשה ולא היה אומר דבר שלא שמע מפי רבו והיה גדול בקדושה ובטהרה ובחסידות וכן א' ר' יהודאי זכ' אד' . . . Also Ginzberg, *Ginse Schechter* II, p. 550: ו' לברכה כל ברכה שאינה בתלמוד אסור לברך . . . Cf. J. Mann, "Les chapitres de Ben Baboi," in *REJ* 70, p. 115: "This Gaon, (Yehudai) was outstanding among the leaders of the Babylonian academies. His authority commanded such a respect that later generations accepted his decisions as binding, in spite of all the arguments which might have been held against them." More about Yehudai Gaon's merits on behalf of tradition in Mann's article just quoted, pp. 131, 135, 142; also in the same author's article on "Changes in the Divine Service," in *HUCA* IV, p. 252 ff.

⁹² Cf. E. Birnbaum, "Ueber die Verdienste der Gaonen um die juedische Liturgie und den Synagogengesang," in *Israelitische Wochenschrift*, 1903, No. 4.

⁹³ Cf. *ספר האשכול* I, ch. 25, ed. Auerbach, Halberstadt 1867, p. 55.

⁹⁴ Also *ספר האשכול* ed. Sch. Albeck, Jerusalem 1935, p. 104 ff.

⁹⁵ L. Zunz, *Die Synagogale Poesie*, 2nd ed., p. 113 ff., quoting as source Ben Asher's *סדר סוד הטעמים* and Petachyah's travelogue, and Efodi's grammar (end of preface # 8).

The *Ḳedushah* concludes with a doxology 'ימלוך ה' (J) and the closing *Berakah* 'האל הקדוש לדור ודור' (K). It stands to reason that the 'ימלוך is older than the 'האל הקדוש לדור ודור which served only as a new preamble to the old *Berakah*. Obviously, the connecting link between these last two verses is the 'האל הקדוש לדור ודור of Ps. 146.10. As befits a solemn, extended prayer such as the *Ḳedushah*, the real doxology is placed at its end; the principle of eternity is stressed three times: 'ימלוך ה' לעולם... לדור ודור הללויה. לדור ודור... ושבחך.⁹⁶ Here, the Hallelujah of the doxology is part of the Scriptural quotation; but we know many other cases, where it has been freely or spontaneously added. It is especially impressive in this place, for with it the congregation ends the *Ḳedushah* proper in a glorious fashion, while the *Ḥazan* closes it with the 'ברכת השם'.⁹⁷

The poetic structure of the great *Ḳedushah* deserves our special attention because of its chain technique which always links the last words of the *Ḥazan* with the first words of the congregational responses. Evidently this is a style highly suitable for musical composition. Indeed, few poems of our prayer-book

⁹⁶ According to the older Palestinian version, the חמימה reads as follows: 'קדוש אתה ונורא שמך ואין אלה מבלעדיך ב' א' ה' האל הקדוש. (L. Finkelstein, "The Development of the 'Amida," in *JQR* N.S. XVI, p. 144). This extremely simple form suggests that, in the primitive stage of the *Ḳedushah*, the closing *Berakah* followed immediately upon the 'ב' כ' ה' מ' ה' ק' without the 'ק' ק'. This hypothesis is not improbable, considering that the first Judaeo-Christian author who used the *Ḳedushah* quoted only the 'ק' ק' and concludes with a simple exhortation to "cry as from one mouth that we may be made sharers of His great and glorious assurances." The 'לדור ודור, too, may have influenced the wording of Christian liturgy, where we find occasionally its Greek analogue ἀπὸ γένεας εἰς γεννάειν, once even as preamble of ὑπέρμαχε γένους 'Ἀβρααμ, εὐλόγητος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας = (לעולם) (Const. Ap. ed. Funk, VII, 33, 7, p. 426.) Up to this day the part following immediately upon the Trishagion is called in the Syrian Church *quddāshā*.

⁹⁷ The Hallelujah as the end of a doxology demands a special and thorough investigation which cannot be given here. Its enormous significance for the Christian liturgy as a doxology *en miniature* and as *Jubilus* is well known. Its musical importance — the pinnacle of all melismatic singing, the famous "wordless hymn," cannot be overestimated. See *infra* the section on the Hallelujah.

have inspired our liturgical composers to such achievements as has the *Qedushah*. This "chain-figure," a kind of climactic parallelism, as employed in the *Qedushah* responses, is a most ancient form of semitic praying. We find traces of this technique already in Babylonian texts.⁹⁸ It seems that his archaic style has conquered, through Judaism, some of the older parts of the Church liturgy. Thus we have passages like these:

- a) Cong.: "Ἀξιον καὶ δίκαιον . . . (=בְּיָצִיב אֱמֶן).
Minister: "Ἀξιον ὡς ἀληθως καὶ δίκαιον . . .
- b) Cong.: "Ἄγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος Κύριος Σαβαώθ . . .
Minister: ἅγιος γὰρ εἰ ὧς ἀληθῶς, καὶ πανάγιος . . .
(=שׁוֹרֵךְ הַתָּא).
- c) Deacon: Κύριε, εὐλόγησον
Minister: Ὁ κύριος εὐλογῆσει, καὶ ἀξιώσει . . .
- d) Minister: Εὐλογητὸν τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν εἰς
τοὺς αἰῶνας. (Ps. 113.2)
Deacon: Μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ, καὶ πίστεως, καὶ ἀγαπῆς
προσέλθετε
Cong.: Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.
(Ps. 118.26)
Deacon: Κύριε, εὐλόγησον
Minister: Σῶσον ὁ θεὸς τὸν λαόν σου, καὶ εὐλόγησον τὴν
κληρονομίαν σου.⁹⁹ (Ps. 28.9)

The Jewish liturgy, of course, is full of such instances; and in most cases they indicate responsorial rendition.¹⁰⁰ To give only a few examples from the daily *Shaharit* prayer, we quote these pertinent passages: . . .וְהַשְׁמִיטָה לְפָנֶיךָ ה' אֱלֹהֵינוּ

⁹⁸ Cf. P. Jensen, "Texte zur assyrisch-babylonischen Religion," in *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*, ed. E. Schrader, VI. 2, p. 112-142 passim. For this reference I am indebted to Prof. J. Lewy.

⁹⁹ Hammond, *op. cit.*:¹² ad (a) p. 12; ad (b) p. 16; ad (c) p. 50; ad (d) p. 51.

¹⁰⁰ This has been realized, at least for the *Qedushah*, by K. Kohler in "The Origin and the Development of the 18 Benedictions" in *HUCA* I, p. 396.

קדש הוא: רוממו ה' אלהינו והשתחוּ... קדוש ה' אלהינו... אתה ה' לא תכלו רחמיך ממני חסדך... זכר רחמיך ה' וחסדיך... ה' צבאות עמנו... ה' צבאות etc... אשרי ה' הושיעה המלך... הושיעה את עמך. The prayer יהי כבוד is full of such chain-figures or "variation on liturgical phrases" strongly suggesting a responsorial and intensely musical rendition.¹⁰¹ The same holds true of the familiar preamble of the ברכת המזון משלו: שאלנו מאלהינו, whereupon the faithful respond: ברוך אלהינו שאלנו משלו ובטובו חיינו. In the *Ḳedushah* this technique is carried out so consistently that we cannot but assume that the intention existed to link the responses by musical motifs corresponding to the words to be repeated. We shall see later, in the musical part of this study, that indeed the practice of "*tones fixées*" is frequent in the doxologies of both the Ambrosian and the Gregorian tradition, and in our musical tradition of the *Ḳedushah* for the High Holydays.

In view of the frequent and familiar instances of chain-technique, the theory of Aptowitz that "there is no instance in the liturgy in which the reader repeats anything which was previously enunciated by the congregation,"¹⁰² cannot be seriously maintained. Not only the *Ḳedushah* but many of the earlier parts of the morning service, including those with progressive parallelism, were rendered as responsoria. Even the text of some Psalms contains references to a responsive kind of performance, as practiced in the Temple. Concerning the response in the Synagogue, rabbinic literature gives us many references but hardly an exact description. How elaborate and well developed the responsorial style actually was, we learn from a description given in the *Sefer Yuḥasin*, describing the installation of the Exilarch during a divine service:

¹⁰¹ Cf. I. Abrahams, *A Companion to the Authorized Prayer Book*, p. XXXV, where he points out that both in the prayer on p. 18 ff. and in that on pp. 28, 29, verses from each of the five books of the Psalter are included and arranged in such a way that each subsequent verse takes up some word or phrase contained in the preceding one.

¹⁰² Cf. V. Aptowitz, בשכמליו, "Geschichte einer liturgischen Formel," in *MGWJ* 73, 1929, p. 105.

The *Hazan* intones *ברוך שומר*, the choristers respond to each sentence with *ברוך הוא*. When the *Hazan* begins the *מומור שיר* (Ps. 92), the choristers respond by singing *טוב להודות* whereupon the entire congregation recite the entire *פסוקי דזמרה* to the end. The *Hazan* then intones *נשמח כל חי* and the young choristers respond by singing *תברך את שמך*. From here the *Hazan* recites one sentence and the singers respond with the next one and so forth up to the *Kedushah* (of the *יוצר* before *ק"ש*). The congregation recites the *Kedushah* in a soft voice, and the choristers sing it aloud. Then the young men are silent and the *Hazan* alone continues until *נאל ישראל* at which all rise for the '*Amida*'. In the loud repetition of the '*Amida*' and *Kedushah*, the choristers respond regularly until the end of the *ברכת הקדוש* "*האל הקדוש*" and thereupon the *Hazan* ends.¹⁰³

This is, to the writer's knowledge, the earliest account depicting the performance of a choir in addition to that of a professional *Hazan* and the traditional responses of a congregation. According to Zacuto's narrative, the event took place in the 9th century in Babylonia. Again we recall the emphasis with which the promotion of *Hazanut* is attributed to Yehudai Gaon who lived hardly a century before the event related above. It is even probable that this great Rabbi was himself a *Hazan* or was at least keenly interested in the lot of *Hazanim*, for it was he, the blind sage, who decided that blindness should not act as a bar to the appointment as *Hazan* of a man otherwise qualified.¹⁰⁴

It seems hardly too bold, in view of these supporting facts and sources, to state that *the authentic tradition of synagogal music goes back to R. Yehudai Gaon and that he is to be considered as the guiding spirit in the development of Hazanut.*

¹⁰³ In *ספר יוחסין*, ed. Warsaw 1876, p. 135. (Nathan ha-Babli in Neubauer, *Medieval Jewish Chronicles* II, 83-88.)

¹⁰⁴ In *אור זרוע* I, 116. Even more interesting is the recently discovered text that it was Yehudai Gaon who introduced the *כל נדרי*, sung by the *Hazan* in Sura. See L. Ginzberg, *Ginse Schechter* II, p. 120. All of these sources make it evident that Yehudai was instrumental both in the foundation and in the preservation of Jewish musical tradition.

The Kaddish

In order to give the *Kedushah* its proper structure, it was necessary to add to it the doxology. On the other hand, the doxology is the substance of the *Kaddish*. It was around this that the *Kaddish* was built; for this prayer is a doxology par excellence. The oldest rabbinic sources indicate clearly that the doxological passage *יהא שמה רבה מברך לעלם ולעלמי עלמיא* was the nucleus of the *Kaddish* prayer.¹⁰⁵ This formula seems to represent an ancient semitic custom born out of the spirit of the language. Already the Palmyra inscriptions show similar compositions; best known of them is perhaps the *Eulogy for an Unnamed God*, perhaps to "the unknown God": *לברך שמה לעלמא טבא*.¹⁰⁶

In the *Kaddish*, the 'ש'ר' is from the very first understood as a doxological response. To pronounce it at the proper time and on the proper occasion was considered so important that any Jew present had to interrupt his activities, even his own prayer, in order to pronounce the response . . . *יהא שמה*.¹⁰⁷ This response was so generally known that we even read of a dream in which that response was made and of a subsequent discussion thereof.¹⁰⁸ In former times, both the *Kaddish* and the *ברכו* were much more often repeated than they are today, even in the orthodox liturgy. They were used as a doxology which closed or opened every important moment of the synagogal rite. This seems to be the sense of the difficult passage, *Soferim* X,8. If this sentence is somewhat equivocal, the clear statement, *Soferim* XIV,12, should remove all doubts: (before the reading of Scripture) *ועוד צריך לומר . . . על הכל יתגדל ויתקדש . . . הנכבד והנורא שמו*

¹⁰⁵ *Sifre Deut.* 306; *Ber.* 3a, 21b; *Sot.* 49a. The literature is given in Elbogen, *Der Jued. Gottesdienst*, pp. 92 ff. and 527.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. M. Sobernheim, "Palmyrenische Inschriften," in *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1905, p. 9; also Franz Rosenthal, "Die Sprache der Palmyrenischen Inschriften," in *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. 41, p. 85, n. 2.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. *Ber.* 21b. The term *מעשה מרכבה* is here ambiguous, to say the least. I am indebted to my friend Dr. S. Atlas for this and several other references.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. *Ber.* 57a.

של מלך מלכי המלכים הק' ב' ה' בעולמות.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, we know hardly another prayer so perfectly fitted to serve as a frame for all the greater segments of our worship. We do not refer here to the famous contents of the prayer but to its formal aspects. Is it not remarkable that the main doxology . . . יהא שמה opens with אמן thus linking the sanctification of the reader with that of the congregation? The fundamental idea of doxological praise is stressed to the utmost: the adoration, exaltation, and glorification of the Almighty in the infinity of time and space being the sole substance of the prayer. All supplicatorial elements of it have been recognized as later insertions when the *Kaddish*, contrary to its original purpose, became the memorial prayer for the deceased. Once again we see that like every genuine doxology, the *Kaddish* is a series of responses. Following the nuclear passage, יהא שמה, only the shortest possible forms are chosen for the responding congregation: בריך הוא, and אמן. Everything else is left to the reader. That is the reason why this prayer, more than any other, has become so popular with the cantor and why the musical tradition of the Synagogue knows of so many renditions of that doxology. All of them use the principle of "leading motifs" reflecting the musical atmosphere of that particular festival or of that liturgical unit of which the *Kaddish* forms a part.¹¹⁰ We shall discuss more exclusively, in part II of this study, this most interesting occurrence of "leading motifs" in ancient synagogal music.

Since the text of the *Kaddish* was considered very important, the reader was confronted with two tasks in connection with its musical rendition. First, he had to chant a melody which in each case was to reflect the different ideas of the occasion. Secondly, he had to prolong his performance beyond the time of simple recitation, in order to give the worshippers sufficient time to meditate over the text. These demands, when fulfilled, created a great variety of moods and tunes in which one and the same text was musically rendered throughout the ecclesias-

¹⁰⁹ The rabbinic literature on this question in *Soferim*, ed. Mueller, p. 150 ff.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Maharil, ראש השנה, ed. Warsaw, f 38b. See also *infra*, p. 349.

tical year. Such a development does not signify a lack of understanding of the basic text but, quite to the contrary, a rich association of ideas and emotions connected with the *Ḳaddish*.

The similarity of the so-called Lord's Prayer to the text of our *Ḳaddish* is well known and has frequently been discussed. It is not necessary to review here the results of that comparison.¹¹¹ Yet the interesting question has not been posed whether and how the Church reacted to the *Ḳaddish* proper. For, that the Church knew of the *Ḳaddish* can not be doubted.

Outside of the Gospels, we do not find any reference to the *Ḳaddish* as such in the patristic literature. Although there are numerous Christian prayers with strong allusions to the text of the *Ḳaddish*, it is not possible to speak of an influence either through or upon the *Ḳaddish*.¹¹² More frequent than these inklings, however, are the stern warnings and admonitions addressed to faithful Christians, not to relapse into "*modum Judaeorum precandi*." Occasionally hints of the kind of those Jewish prayers are given, as for instance: "Hallowed be thy

¹¹¹ Cf. G. Chase, "The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church," in *Texts and Studies*, I, 3, 1891. This is the most complete investigation of the matter and contains also the entire literature on the *Kaddish*. More recent is A. Baumstark's interesting but strongly biased study, "Wege zum Judentum des Neutestamentlichen Zeitalters," in *Bonner Zeitschrift fuer Theologie und Seelsorge* IV, 1927. Allusions to the text and spirit of the *Kaddish* are not infrequent, especially in the Apocrypha; cf. e.g., Tob. 3.1; II Macc. 7.38; Psalm of Solomon 2.16, and 8.7. The Catholic mass for the dead makes use of the passage from Macc. See also K. Kohler, "Urspruenge und Grundformen der synagogalen Liturgie," in *MGWJ* 1893, p. 490 ff.

¹¹² Cf. *Acta Pilati* A cap. XVI, end, ed. Tischendorf, 1876, p. 285. Εὐλογη-
τος κύριος ὃς ἔδωκεν κατὰπαυσιν τῷ λαῷ Ἰσραὴλ κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἐλάλησεν =
ברוך ה' יישיב שלום ופיוס על כל דבריו. Καὶ ἔσται κύριος εἰς βασιλεῖα ἐπὶ πᾶσαν
τὴν γῆν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ· καὶ ἔσται κύριος εἷς, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἓν,
κύριος βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν. (Zach. 14.9.) Cf. *Sacramentarium Serapionis* XIII, (in
Const. Apost. ed. Funk, pt. II, pp. 172, 176, where we read the following
passage: Σὺ γὰρ ὁ ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ
δυνάμεως καὶ κυριότητος καὶ παντὸς ὀνόματος ὀνομαζομένου οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ
αἰῶνι τούτῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι . . . ἀγίασον τὰς ψυχὰς ταύτας σὺ γὰρ
πάσας γενώσκεις· ἀγίασον πάσας τὰς ἐν κυρίῳ κοιμηθείσας καὶ συγκατα-
ρίθμησον πάσαις ταῖς ἀγίαις σου δυνάμεσιν καὶ δὸς αὐτοῖς τόπον καὶ
εἰρήνην ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου.

name' (Matth. 6.10). Holy is, by its very nature, God's name, whether we say it or not. Yet by those sinners it is sometimes profaned. As Scripture says: '*Because of you my name is continually blasphemed before the gentiles!*' (Isa. 52.5)"¹¹³

This seems to be a veiled allusion to the *Kaddish* linked with an anti-Jewish pronouncement. Our conclusion then is that the Church Fathers made no specific mention of the *Kaddish* because of its very similarity to the Lord's Prayer. More important than the text of the *Kaddish* itself is the fact that it was considered the perfect prayer corresponding to the demands postulated in the Talmud: *כל ישאל אדם צרכיו ואחר כך יתפלל כבר מפורש על ידי שלמה שנאמר. לשמוע אל הרנה ואל התפלה. רנה זו תפלה תפלה זו בקשה*.¹¹⁴ Dr. G. Klein has demonstrated convincingly that the Lord's prayer, too, answers all of the requirements demanded by Jewish tradition. It consists of three parts: (a) The glorification of God (שבח); (b) the individual prayer (בקשה, תפלה); and (c) the closing doxology (הודיה).¹¹⁵ Furthermore, the right kind of prayer must contain both the *הזכרת הש'* and the *הזכרת מלכות*. We find all of these elements in the *Kaddish* as well as in the Lord's Prayer. These requirements were, of course, familiar to early Christianity, as we can learn even from Paul, the apostle to the Gentiles. Paul refers several times to these basic conditions of the proper kind of prayer and shows himself well acquainted with the distinctions between תפלה = *προσευχή*, ברכה = *εὐλογία* or *δέησις*, בקשה = *ἐντεύξις*, and תחנון = *εὐχαιρυστία*.¹¹⁶

Considering the wealth of profound and beautiful prayers, born of devotion and noble simplicity, it was certainly a wise decision to have each prayer contain the simple formula of the *Berakah*, lest this *embarras de richesse* become a chaotic effusion of subjective emotions and thoughts. Thus the Jewish liturgy, through its typical forms of *Berakah* and doxology, preserved its backbone and its essential structure. Yet there have been

¹¹³ Cyrill of Jerusalem, *Catechesis Mystagogica* V, in PG 33, col. 1118 ff.

¹¹⁴ Cf. Ber. 31a, also 33a; and Debarim R. II.

¹¹⁵ Bibliography in Dr. G. Klein, *Der Aelteste Christliche Katechismus und die Juedische Propaganda-Literatur*, Berlin 1909, p. 257 ff.

¹¹⁶ I. Tim. 2.1; Phil. 4.6; I Thess. 5.17 f., etc.

scholars who regret this forced uniformity of Jewish prayer. The most unjust of them is Dr. Baumstark who, in a discussion of ancient Hebrew liturgy, examining the *Sh'ma* and the *Amida* concludes: "It is undoubtedly in connection with its anti-Christian attitude (ברכת המינים) that we have to understand the obvious onesidedness (!) by which the so-called *Berakah*, in its typical form, dominates the development of synagogal prayer."¹¹⁷ Baumstark overlooks the fact entirely that the stereotyped formula of the *Berakah* is actually analogous to the Christian lesser doxology: "Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritus Sancto, sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper, in saecula saeculorum, (Alleluia) Amen." This doxology is required at the end of every antiphon, every longer prayer, and every Psalm responsorium. It appears many times in the course of each Catholic service. It is, like the *Berakah*, a fixed and mandatory formula which reflects the century long struggles and controversies involving certain dogmatic problems such as the Trinity, the preexistence of Jesus, and the like. But no objective scholar would dream of calling such a formula, with its ancient background and venerable history, "one-sided." In fact, the Christian lesser doxology is a derivative of certain Hebrew passages which once played a great part in our ancient liturgy and have not even today entirely disappeared from our prayer books.

THE SMALL DOXOLOGIES

These short verses, like ברוך ה' אלהי ישראל or ברוך ה' לעולם אמן ואמן formed an important function in the ancient prayers of Judaism. Each book of the Psalter closes with such a doxology. But, what was the origin of these doxologies and how were they applied in the liturgy? What religious conceptions did they embody?

In contradistinction to the usual *Berakah* these short formulas do not address God directly. They must rather be considered concluding and solemn statements of God's power and

¹¹⁷ Cf. A. Baumstark, "Wege zum Judentum des neutestamentlichen Zeitalters," in *Bonner Zeitschrift fuer Theologie und Seelsorge* IV, 1927, p. 32.

greatness. Nor is it a coincidence that they do not use the personal pronoun **אֲנִי** but speak of the Lord in the third person. Moreover, as indicated both by the text and by ancient custom, these doxological statements were to be answered by a congregational "Amen."¹¹⁸ It may therefore be assumed that all of these closing doxologies had, from the very beginning, a liturgical function in public service, namely, that of arousing the congregation to a loud affirmation, declaring, through the Amen, their adoration of God's majesty in space and time.

While this seems to be the immediate liturgical purpose of these doxologies — the declaration of God's greatness affirmed by a general Amen — it does not fully explain the original idea, the *principium essendi* behind these doxologies. Perhaps we shall come nearer a solution of the problem if we examine and classify the texts of those passages.

We find that emphasis is laid upon:

- a) the glory of God's name (Ps. 72.19, and **בשכמל"ו**)
- b) God as Israel's Lord (Ps. 41.14; 106.48; I Chron. 16.36; etc.)
- c) God as King of Israel and the Universe (Ps. 146.10; Ex. 15.18; etc.)
- d) God's praise in eternity (Ps. 89.53; Ps. 115.18; etc.)

The terms stressed in the Hebrew are: **ברוך ה'** (d); **ימלך ה'** (c); **אלהי ישראל** (b); **ברוך שם כבוד ה'** (a). Of these forms, (d) is the simplest and shortest. While the other types show a decidedly theocratic tendency, (d) is more or less neutral, as it were. This fact seems to indicate that (d) originated in a period, when theocracy was not the dominating ideology, perhaps during the reign of the later Kings. After the Babylonian exile, theocracy was at least theoretically understood as Israel's constitutional law. Moreover, the great majority of our doxologies are verses from Levitic psalms, as well as of I Chron. 16.7-16. What, then, would be more natural than a strongly theocratic declaration? Several times in this study we had occasion to refer to the fact that the doxologies were typical of the liturgy of the Temple

¹¹⁸ See *supra*, pp. 3-5.

rather than of the Synagogue. Considering, finally, that the Tetragrammaton could be pronounced in the Temple only, we conclude that *the basic idea of the doxology was a reaffirmation of theocracy in the mouth of the priestly caste. Such reaffirmation was considered a priestly prerogative inherent in the constitution and tradition of the Temple cult.*

If this be so, we should expect that, in the centuries after the destruction of the Temple, the role of the small doxologies would decline, since the priestly caste had lost its chief function. Indeed, such a development seems to have taken place. The doxology *מן העולם ועד העולם ברוך ה'* which was required in the Temple was replaced by the simple Amen in the Synagogue. The small doxologies were eventually crowded into the *פסוקי דזמרה* in order to preserve as many reminiscences of the Temple as possible, but they were no longer rendered as chanted responses. Only one new doxology of significance originated in the diaspora, the *ה' מלך, ה' מלך, ה' מלך, ה' ימלוך לעולם ועד*, and even this formula was not placed, as one would expect, at the end of a prayer. It forms merely a link in the chain figure of *יהי כבוד* or of the *אין כמך* or of *יראו עינינו*.¹¹⁹

Other instances of the retention of doxological passages in the ritual of the synagogue are part of the evening-service in the ritual of the synagogue are part of the evening-service *ברוך ה' לעולם אמן ואמן* and the verse of the *עלינו*-prayer: *כי המלכות שלך היא ולעולמי עד תמלך בכבוד*. The first mentioned prayer contains the Tetragrammaton eighteen times. It is formed by various quotations from Scripture and was introduced as a substitute for the '*Amida* in a period of religious persecution.¹²⁰ It originated probably in Babylonia during the Saboraic epoch and, being a substitute for the '*Amida*, is full of Messianic allusions. The *עלינו*-prayer, the only real *proskynesis* of our liturgy, originated probably in the 3rd or 4th century. Here too the doxological passage does not form the end of the prayer, nor is it meant to be a genuine responsorium.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ Cf. *Soferim* XVII, 11, ed. Mueller, and *ibid.*, p. 248.

¹²⁰ Cf. I. Abrahams, *A Companion to the Authorized Prayer Book*, p. CXII; also Elbogen, *Der Jued. Gottesdienst*, p. 102-105, and J. Mann, "Changes in the Divine Service," in *HUCA* IV, p. 278.

¹²¹ The musical rendition of the *עלינו* on the High Holy Days is one of

Thus we realize that the small doxologies of the Temple lost their original function to a great degree and were retained in the synagogue as mere reminders of ancient glories. The responsorial rendition, so typical of genuine doxologies, was reserved more and more for קדיש, קדושה, שמע, and for ברכו. Yet there are certain liturgies in which the Temple doxologies flourished long after the destruction of the Sanctuary. If our interpretation of the background of the doxologies is correct, it was the Sadducees who made them an essential part of the Temple cult. The spiritual heirs of the Sadducees were the Samaritans and, latter on, the Karaites.¹²² Thus we should perhaps be able to discover the last traces of the Sadducean practice of the doxology in the liturgy of the Samaritans and the Karaites. And, indeed, a close examination of these liturgies actually shows the aforementioned connection between the two sects. Most of the Samaritan prayers conclude with a short doxology like לעולם or לעולם אמן or similar abbreviations of the Psalm doxologies.¹²³ In some cases the text indicates even a responsorial rendition of these closing words. We remember that the Samaritans possess to this very day remnants of the Temple cult and of a priestly family. They use short doxologies very frequently and they adhere to several other tenets of the Sadducees. Sometimes we even find greatly expanded passages of doxological character in the body of their prayers, e. g., ברוך ונהלל ונגדל ונצ ואלהם ברוך שמך, or ברוך ונהלל ונגדל ונצ ועבודה. דעלמה. אלהים. יסתגד ואתהו אלהינו וישתבח.¹²⁴ In spite of the obvious parallelisms between such doxologies and Psalm-verses, we must use caution against overrating the authenticity of these Samaritan sources. Not unwarrantably does J. Freudenthal stress the syncretistic tendencies of the Samaritans: "... they dedicate their Temple to Ζεὺς ἑξένιος (II Macc. 5.2; Joseph. Ant. XII 5,5) they adore the One God of Israel, they were the

our best preserved musical traditions and proves the ancient origin of the prayer. See *infra*, p. 346.

¹²² Cf. Sanh. 90b; Sifre to Num. 112; also *JE*, art. "Sadducees," col. 632.

¹²³ Cf. M. Heidenheim, "Die Liturgie der Samaritaner," in *Bibliotheca Samaritana*, II, pp. 18, 22, 56, 136 ff. *et passim*.

¹²⁴ S. Rappoport, *La liturgie samaritaine*, (office du soir des fêtes), Paris 1900, p. 17, 19.

soil in which that Simon Magus and his followers grew, the men who mixed pagan, Jewish, and Christian doctrines into an amorphous hodge-podge."¹²⁵

We are considerably better informed about the liturgy of the Karaites. The last five decades have brought to light much material hitherto unknown. That the Karaites professed many of the principles to which both Samaritans and Sadducees adhered we are well aware.¹²⁶ This affinity frequently affected the very details of their liturgy. Thus these short doxologies are more numerous in the liturgy of the Karaites than in that of the Samaritans where they were, by no means, scarce. Anan ruled that the prayers must consist solely of Psalms or of verses from the Psalms. Consequently the doxologies at the end of the five books of the Psalter were in constant use. The doxology, Ps. 106.48, was read four times daily during the seventy days of fasting.¹²⁷ In the daily reading of the Law the preceding benediction is *ברוך ה' האלהים הגדול* (Neh. 8.6) whereupon the congregation responds *אמן, אמן* while, after the lesson, the reader concludes with the doxology *ברוך ה' אלהי ישראל מן העולם ועד העולם*. This too is answered by the congregation with *אמן, אמן, העולם*. "After the *קומו ברכו* (Neh. 9.5 instead of the post-biblical *הללויה*) the reader adds the doxologies at the end of the first four books of the Psalter . . . Likewise at the end of Psalms 113, 114, 116, 117, 118 the congregation performs *נפילת אפים*."¹²⁸ Three of these Psalms close with *הללויה*. Ps. 114 was probably read together with Ps. 115 which also is a Hallelujah piece and Ps. 118 which ends with *הודו לה' כי טוב כי לעולם חסדו*. Most frequently we encounter the doxologies Ps. 72, 19, and the formula *מן העולם ועד העולם* at the end of a prayer.¹²⁹ Dr. Mann concludes his

¹²⁵ Cf. J. Freudenthal, *Hellenistische Studien*, 1, 2. (Alexander Polyhistor.), 1875, p. 95.

¹²⁶ On the connection between Sadducees, Samaritans, and Karaites, see K. Kohler, "Dositheus, the Samaritan Heresiarch," in *American Journal of Theology*, XV, 1911, No. 3.

¹²⁷ Cf. J. Mann, "Anan's Liturgy," in *Journal of Jewish Lore and Philosophy*, p. 343.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 345.

¹²⁹ Cf. Harkavy, *Studien und Mitteilungen* II, p. 19, 20, 38.

learned investigation with the remark: "It is evident . . . that Anan endeavoured to reinstate the service of the Temple, as he conceived it, modified, of course, by the alterations in consequence of the cessation of sacrifices. The services were limited by the number and the times of the sacrifices for the day . . . The priest had to do the reading just as if he offered up the *Korban* in the Temple. The Levite was to recite the Psalm of the day just as his ancestor chanted it in the sanctuary at Jerusalem . . ." ¹³⁰

In view of all of these documents there is no room for doubt that the small doxologies are inseparably connected with the idea of a Temple cult, with a hierarchy and, in the last analysis, with the principles of theocracy. It was perhaps the revival of a hierarchy, modelled after the pattern of the Temple, that ultimately determined the favorable attitude of the Church toward doxology; and this development was, in some respects, a curious pendant of the Jewish picture.

III. DOXOLOGIES OF THE EARLY CHURCH

When Origen stated that each proper prayer should end in a doxology, he was, as it often happens, merely registering the contemporary and traditional practice of the Church.¹³¹ Actually we find doxologies throughout the New Testament. Yet one fact must be stressed again and again, for it has been neglected or not completely understood thus far: the fact that in the canonical Gospels we encounter only *one* doxology — at the end of the "Lord's Prayer" — and moreover, the authenticity of this passage is doubtful and heavily disputed.¹³² The usual explanation that the Gospels do not include liturgies is, of course, correct, but it replaces one problem by another. Even if we consider the Gospels as literature of religious propaganda (in the best sense of that misused word) even then, the almost com-

¹³⁰ Cf. J. Mann, "Anan's Liturgy," in *Journal of Jewish Lore and Philosophy*, p. 345.

¹³¹ Origen, *De oratione*, ch. 33, in PG II, col. 557: . . . καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὴν εὐχὴν εἰς δοξολογίαν θεοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ ἐν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι καταπανοστέον . . .

¹³² Cf. G. Chase, *op. cit.*, p. 168-176; see *supra*, n. III.

plete absence of liturgical passages is remarkable. There are several instances of individual prayers, but they represent the most sacred spirit of individualism, in fact, they are in spirit and expression anti-liturgical.¹³³ It should not be forgotten that early Christianity was a movement of the poor and the meek, its roots lay in the rural section of Galilee. Jerusalem, the priests, and many of the Rabbis were opposed to the "men from the country" (עמי הארץ) or rather, they despised them because of their ignorance. Small wonder, then, that the liturgical forms of the metropolitan Temple were not well liked by Jesus and his disciples; all too strong was the antagonism of the "theocratic aristocracy" of the Temple against the ideology of the plain and poor countrymen who sought and respected only the Kingdom of Heaven. The small local synagogues with their unceremonious, almost intimate attitude toward prayer and God were the birthplace of Christian liturgy. There was no room in those communal houses of worship for rigid and solemn formulas; such as the Temple doxologies of the hierarchical cult of Jerusalem. This explains the almost complete absence of all liturgical material in the Gospels.¹³⁴ The Pauline literature, however, is replete with doxologies; indeed, for the organization of a new *ecclesia*, a modicum of liturgical order is indispensable. In this stage, the doxologies usually are direct translations or paraphrases of the familiar Hebrew formula, as Rom. 11.36;

¹³³ Cf. Matth. 6.5-8.

¹³⁴ Most of the doxologies express, explicitly or implicitly, the theocratic ideal; and in spite of his somewhat biased generalizations, Dr. Baumstark is not entirely wrong when he makes the bold statement: "The idea of God as supreme ruler (*Koenigtum Gottes*), is alien to the Christian concept of prayer." ("Vom geschichtlichen Werden der Liturgie," in *Jahrbuecher fuer Liturgiewissenschaft* V, p. 21.) Yet this statement is valid only for the immediate disciples of Jesus; already in the apostolic literature we frequently find God addressed as *δέσποτα*, *παντοκράτωρ*, *βασιλεὺς* and the like. This was the natural consequence of Christianity's organization as a Church whose ideal High Priest was Jesus. Later on, after the reconciliation between the Church and the Roman Empire, the Church regressed to the establishment of a replica of the old Temple hierarchy, quite contrary to the ideology of its founders and fathers. In the period between the third and the sixth century, the old hierarchic theocracy was reestablished, a fact of which the mere title of Augustine's work "*De civitate Dei*" is eloquent testimony.

II Cor. 11.31; Phil. 4.20; I Tim. 1.17, etc. The references to Christ take the form of an added *διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, or, infrequently, *μετ' αὐτοῦ*. Jesus is still considered the High Priest of the new community. The earliest instance of a doxology to Christ himself is found in Polycarp's prayer, where we read: *Σε αἰνῶ, σέ εὐλογῶ, σέ δοξάζω διὰ τοῦ αἰωνίου καὶ ἐπουρανίου ἀρχιερέως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ . . . δι' οὗ σοι σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ Πνεύματι ἁγίῳ δόξα καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς μέλλοντας αἰῶνας· ἀμήν*. Yet, the direct addressing of the Lord classifies this piece more as a hymnic prayer than a doxology.¹³⁵

Even here Jesus is considered the "heavenly High-Priest"; and we may safely say that all these forms are Hebraic in style and spirit. Only in the third century does the trinitarian type of doxology become dominant in the liturgical literature of the Church. This development coincided — being far more than a coincidence — with the gradual return to hierarchical institutions in the Church. Liturgy, ministry, and ritual crystallized in those centuries, and with them the doxologies assumed their regular and dominant position at the end of every important prayer.¹³⁶ Yet it took one more century until the clearly trinitarian type was "standardized." This was a necessary development, since it became urgent to stress the perfect equality of the three Divine persons. When the Arian heresy threatened the unity of the Church, denying the eternity of the Son, and speaking of a time when "the Son was not," the Western Church accentuated all the stronger the pre-existence of Christ and formulated the final text of the doxology: "Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritus Sancto, sicut erat (scil. Jesus) in principio et nunc et semper et in saecula saeculorum, Hallelujah, Amen."¹³⁷ With

¹³⁵ Cf. "Martyrium Polycarp," XIV, in *The Apostolic Fathers*, ed. Lightfoot, p. 195.

¹³⁶ Cf. Dr. F. Gavin's excellent study *The Jewish Antecedents of the Christian Sacraments*, London 1928, p. 105, where he states: "With the gradual disappearance of the 'charismatic' and the supremacy of the resident ministry in the second century, a unique position was granted the bishops, and the so-called monarchical episcopate became the normal constituent characteristic of the Church hierarchy."

¹³⁷ Many Christian scholars believe erroneously that the custom of the closing doxology originated in the ancient Synagogue, and even assume that

this passage every Psalm or antiphon is to be concluded, as we hear from Cassian around 400 C.E.¹³⁸ Finally, in 529, the second Synod of Vaison decreed it a required part of the liturgy of the Western Church. However, it is significant for the stronghold the Arians had in the East that, because of the objection of the Byzantine Church, the first part, "As He was from the beginning," has not been accepted even to this day.¹³⁹ The final text of the doxology became so all important, that it almost displaced the older small doxologies. Today they form only a secondary place in the Catholic liturgy and are rarely chanted, whereas the "official" form is often chanted antiphonally and has grown, through the final Hallelujah, into little "ecclesiastical symphonies."

Let us now compare briefly the development of the doxology in Church and Synagogue. The Church, beginning with the small doxologies of the Psalms, reached the pinnacle of spontaneity and richness of doxological expression in the fourth century. Then, for dogmatic reasons, it returned to a rigid yet elaborate formula uniform throughout the entire service. Judaism, on the other hand, developed four or five individual dox-

every *Berakah* is a doxology. The learned Fortescue (in *Catholic Encyclopedia* V, art. "Doxology") goes so far as to derive the doxology from the apocryphal Prayer of Manasseh: *Tibi est gloria in saecula saeculorum, amen*. Yet this prayer was never used either in the Synagogue or in the Temple, as far as we know. After the conclusion of this study, Dr. L. Wallach kindly directed my attention to an article of the late Dr. A. Spanier, in which this scholar discussed a similar problem. ("Stilkritisches zum Juedischen Gebet" in *MGWJ* 1936, p. 339 ff.) Unfortunately, Spanier reaches no conclusive result at all, since he fails to distinguish between eulogy and doxology. Hence, he had to suggest certain different types of eulogies (transitional, final, etc.), and he was not aware that the respective attitudes of Synagogue and Church toward the doxology are consistently antagonistic to each other. This was a consequence of the opposite philosophies of Christianity and Judaism with regard to the principle of hierarchy. Dr. Spanier did notice, however, the continuity of certain formulas in the liturgies of the Sadducees, Samaritans, and Karaites.

¹³⁸ Cassian, *De Instit. Coenob.* II, 8, in PL 49, col. 94.

¹³⁹ Cf. Strabo, *De Rebus Ecclesiasticis*, c. 25. It is well known that the Arian philosophy was, in many respects, close to the tenets of Judaism. Accordingly Athanasius called the Arians "New Jews."

ologies of great dogmatic significance, and more or less neglected the older small doxologies, retaining them only as mementos of the Temple. Thus we see again: hierarchic constitutions (as in the Church) favor strict, uniform, small doxologies; the freer conditions within the Synagogue permitted greater variety and greater length. Moreover, it is possible to say that the eulogy (ברכה) still had an important function in the early Church, but the stronger the function of the doxology, the less significant became the eulogy. While we still find at the end of the second century perfect *Berakahs* modelled after the best Hebrew pattern, such as: "Blessed art Thou, Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God who hast deigned even me, the sinner, worthy of Thy lot," this archetype gradually fades out of the liturgy and literature of the Church, and in the sixth century hardly any traces of eulogies remain.¹⁴⁰ Conversely, the Synagogue preferred the direct address of the *Berakah* to the more impersonal, formal, praying type of doxology.

Now, we are perhaps better equipped to draw a distinction between *Berakah* and Doxology. The *Berakah* does not necessarily have a cultic function; all daily activities are to be sanctified by the *Berakah* with its direct address to God, the King of the Universe. The *Berakah* may be pronounced by one individual without response except Amen. The doxology, however, is essentially a cultic act, and where and whenever a doxology was properly, that is, responsively performed, the presence of a *Minyan* was originally required. This rule holds true of ברכו, קדיש, קדושה דעמדה — while the rule for the loud proclamation of the שבכמל' frequently changed. Whereas the form of

¹⁴⁰ Martyr. Carpi, *Papyli Agathonices*; cf. Harnack, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, III, 4 (1888), p. 440 ff. The ecclesiastical form of the *benedictio* is an essentially different thing and pursues purposes quite different from those of our *Berakah*. The clerical blessings are the accompanying formulae of a cultic act, viz., of a *sacramentale* which covers three fields: (1) the cultus itself, e. g. consecration of water, of a church, of an organ, and the like; (2) apotropaic acts, e. g. defense against evil spirits, but not exorcism; (3) the well-being of the faithful, "from the consecration of private homes to the blessing of radishes, also all exorcisms, from the healing of the insane to exorcising rats"). Cf. Adolf Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen des Mittelalters*, I, p. 14 ff.

the *Berakah* is but a frame into which the different contents have to be fitted with reference to each occasion, the form of the doxology has but one content: the objective, exultant, absolutely impersonal praise of God's glory in infinity. That explains why we are supposed to set the pattern for the heavenly hosts when intoning the *Kedushah*, for here, as in any doxology, we reach beyond human prayer, avoiding any personal complaint, petition, or even reference to ourselves.

The Greek liturgy of St. James which did not adopt the Western standard doxology "Gloria Patri" etc., shows the Jacobite dislike of the impersonal style of the doxology and has retained a direct *Berakah*-like address to God, connected with a genuine eulogy at the end: . . . χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπία τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου Υἱοῦ, μεθ' οὗ εὐλογητὸς εἶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν.¹⁴¹ These forms occur rather frequently in the liturgies of the Eastern Churches and show unmistakable remnants of Jewish spirit, viz. the form of the *Berakah* which has been all but abolished by the Western Church. There, the few examples of genuine *Berakas* still extant are either relegated to insignificant places within the public liturgy, or — evidencing the fine feeling of those who organized the Roman breviary — they are limited to private devotion, such as the grace after meals. This prayer contains a few *Berakahs*: Benedictus Deus in donis suis et sanctus in operibus suis; qui vivit et regnat in saecula saeculorum — although not addressing God directly. The older form of the Apostolic Constitutions follows the Hebrew pattern, paraphrasing Ps. 136.25, Job 31.18, Acts 14.17, and II Cor. 9.8.¹⁴² What does this development away from the

¹⁴¹ C. E. Hammond, *op. cit.*,¹² pp. 28, 31, 26, *et passim*.

¹⁴² Cf. *Const. Apost.* ed. Funk, VII. 49, p. 458. Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, κύριε ὁ τρέφων με ἐκ νεότητός μου ὁ διδοὺς τροφήν πάσῃ σαρκί' (=לכל אֶחָד מִן הַבָּשָׂר.) πλήρωσον χαρὰς καὶ εὐφροσύνας τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν, ἵνα πάντοτε πᾶσαν αὐτάρκειαν ἔχοντες περισσεύωμεν εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθόν. The typically Jewish idea of sanctifying acts of daily life through the *Berakah* was still known to Tertullian who expressed his appreciation in the following fine words: "... Sed et in ipsis commerciis vitae et conversatione humana domi ac foris, adusque curam vasculorum omnifariam distinxit (Deus) ut istis legalibus disciplinis occurrentibus ubique, ne ullo momento (scil. Judaei) vacarent a Dei res-

individualistic eulogy toward the uniform, rigid, and often repeated doxology signify? In this writer's opinion, it reflects the trend from the unceremonious, private devotion of the Early Church to collective worship; from spontaneity to systematization, from religious individualism to religious collectivism.

IV. THE HALLELUJAH IN THE DOXOLOGY

A full-fledged discussion of the Hallelujah and its liturgical and musical history would easily fill a large book; so colorful and rich is its history that Cardinal Pitra, the great liturgist, could say: "the story of the Hallelujah is a poem itself."¹⁴³ Here we shall deal only with the *Hallelujah* as part of the doxology, or as an isolated doxological call.

Although the word itself does not have a musical connotation, the Hallelujah has always been connected with song and praise. Jewish tradition, likewise Christian exegesis, have invariably understood the Hallelujah as a song performed by men or angels. This interpretation goes through the entire rabbinic and patristic literature, as we shall see below. The recitation of the *Hallel* is concluded by a *Berakah* on song, preceded by a semi-doxological passage: (a) כי לך טוב להודות ולשמך נאה לזמר כי מעולם ועד העולם אתה אל. ברוך אתה ה' מלך מהלל בתשבחות ברוך אתה ה' אל מלך גדול בתשבחות. אל ההודאות ארון הנפלאות הבוחר בשירי זמרה מלך אל חי העולמים.

The נשמת, which closes with this eulogistic passage (b), likewise contains doxological Psalm-verses. These constitute good illustrations of prayers which are just at the border line between ברכה and doxology. Both of the above mentioned prayers are referred to in the Talmud and reflect an old and venerable

pectu." (*Adv. Marcionem* II. 19.) Translation: But even in the common transactions of life, and of human intercourse at home and in public, even to the care of the smallest vessels, He in every possible manner made distinct arrangement; in order that everywhere encountering these legal instructions, they might not be, at any moment, out of the sight of God. (*The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, III, ed. Roberts and Donaldson, p. 312.)

¹⁴³ J. B. Pitra, *Hymnographie de l'Église Grecque*, p. 35.

attitude identifying the doxa idea with hymnic song.¹⁴⁴ Consequently, Gunkel's theory that the congregational Hallelujah was the nuclear cell of all hymn singing is not so bold as he imagines.¹⁴⁵

The original liturgical function of the Hallelujah is not yet quite clear. Some scholars have linked it to the pre-monotheistic adoration of the new moon.¹⁴⁶ In the Psalms, however, no trace of such origin is extant. An entirely different approach seems to promise more enlightenment. Some of the Hallelujah Psalms, e. g. 135.19; 118.2-4; 106.38; 113.1; 146.1; 148.1; 149.1; 150.1-6; demand either responsorial or antiphonal rendition. Sometimes even the text states this kind of performance, as in Psalm 106.48, or I Chron. 16.36. In both of these cases the Hallelujah forms the end of a doxology. Such a passage always signifies a confirmation of faith in the deity. The euphonic and exultant Hallelujah would give even the uninitiated primitive listeners the opportunity to join the proclamation of God's praise. Therefore it stands in the beginning or at the end of a Psalm, the former a signal and invitation, the latter a closing call of primitive and sacred joy. This suggests that the liturgical function of the Hallelujah was, in primitive times, a priestly device to organize popular participation in the divine service. Various sources tell us that the Hallelujah was a regular rubric in the liturgy of the Temple, especially on Passover and Succoth. This fact is a stumbling block for Graetz's theory that the Hallelujah was not used in the Temple but was the invitatorium of the

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Pes. 117; *ibid.*, 118b, and Ber. 59b. According to the medieval Jewish legend, St. Peter was the author of the שמע; cf. Jellinek, *Bet-Hamidrash V, VI* (Introduction).

¹⁴⁵ Cf. Gunkel, *Einleitung in die Psalmen*, p. 37 ff. and Guedemann, *Geschichte der jued. Cultur in Italien*, p. 44 ff.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. Gesenius, *Dictionary*, v. הלל; the literature on the problem in A. Jeremias, *Das AT im Lichte des alten Orients*, p. 427, 556, 439, 429, 601, *et passim*. Wellhausen opposes the theory in his *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, p. 110. Considering the onomatopoeic calls ἀλαλάζω, ἐλελίζω, the Bedouins trill lilili (E. Littmann), the old ululare, the hailly-cry of ancient Mexico, (cf. Heiler, *Das Gebet*, p. 47), additional reasons do not seem necessary when the onomatopoeic element which, according to Aristotle, is a potent creator of words, is so obvious.

minister (יָשׁוּ) in the Synagogue.¹⁴⁷ Yet Graetz is right, insofar as, long before the fall of the Sanctuary, some of the Psalms were introduced in the Synagogue, and the Hallelujah was separated from its context and used whenever an exultant ending was indicated. The 150 Psalms of Solomon all close with Hallelujah, and the Talmud tells us that the Hallelujah was even used as a salutation at the end of the service.¹⁴⁸ The doxological Hallelujah is usually juxtaposed to Amen, as we saw in Ps. 106.48; I Chron. 16.39, and Revel. 19.1-8. The latter follows, in every respect, the Jewish tradition with reference to the occasion upon which the Hallelujah is recited: as a triumphal song of the heavenly hosts over the fall of the arch-enemy Babylon (i. e. Rome). It is remarkable that the Midrashic sources, likewise, unanimously associate the Hallelujah with the destruction of the wicked, exactly as the passage in Revelation. We read in Midrash Tehillim to Ps. 104.35.

Rabbi Simon bar Abba said: From the beginning of the book (the Psalter) up to this point there are 103 psalms and none of them contains the Hallelujah; yet when it comes to the destruction of the wicked, as it is said יתמו חטאים מן הארץ then we say, praise, my soul, praise the Lord, Hallelujah. And why? Because it is said: ובאבד רשעים רנה (Prov. 11.10).¹⁴⁹

Not unlike the *Kedushah* with which it is often compared, the Hallelujah is considered a song of human beings and angels. It is from this aspect that the Hallelujah assumed both in Hellenistic Judaism and in the Early Church a distinctly mystic-esoteric character, greatly enhanced through its ecstatic musical rendition. This conception is reflected in countless statements, explanations, poems, prayers, throughout Judaism and Christianity. The Targum of Psalm 148, discussing the Hallelujah, is full of angelological associations of the same type as Revel.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. H. Graetz, *Kritischer Kommentar zu den Psalmen*, p. 91 ff.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. b. Yoma 53b, הללויה, שלום סלע, ואחריו כן נותן לו שלום סלע. אמר המחפץ לל צריך שיפסע.

¹⁴⁹ The same remark under the name of R. Yehuda b. Simon b. Pazi, in *Ber.* 9b; similar references in *Pirke de R. Eliezer*, ed. Friedlaender, ch. XVIII, to Ps. 92.7 and Ps. 104.35; also *Lev. R. Par. IV*, perhaps a corruption of the analogous passage in *Berakot*.

19.1-6, or the Midrash quoted above. The Zohar links — quite naturally — the song of the Hallelujah to the harmony of the spheres, an idea which had already been proposed by Philo.¹⁵⁰ In general, it may be said that the Hallelujah in both its function and philosophical aspect is very similar to the primitive *Qedushah*. In a few cases, these two prayers have been combined, as for instance in the Apocalypses of Moses: "Hallelujah, Holy, Holy, Lord of Hosts, Glory to God Almighty, for ever and ever."¹⁵¹ Here we have a Hallelujah connected with a *Qedushah*-like, genuine doxology.

In this atmosphere of esoteric exaltation grew the Hallelujah of the early Church. Paul and his disciples, introducing the "pneumatic" ideology in their teachings, make the famous distinction between *ψαλμοί, ὕμνοι καὶ ᾠδαὶ πνευματικαί*, (Eph. 5.19; Kol. 3.16) a still disputed passage.¹⁵² The separation of the Hallelujah from its original contexts, its use as spontaneous acclamation, together with its "pneumatic" color, led to a certain disembodiment, to a spiritualization of the *Hallelujah*, which finally resulted in the omission of the word Hallelujah itself, so that only certain vowels of it were sung — AEOUIA.¹⁵³ This "wordless" exaltation in musical form constituted the famous *Jubilus* which became one of the most characteristic features of Catholic liturgy.

When the Hallelujah was finally established in the Latin doxology, its vowels were changed to EUOUAE > sēcūlōrūm, Āmēn.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Zohar, ed. Vilna, I, fol. 231a (to Gen. 49.24; also to Job 38.7, and Ps. 148). See also Werner-Sonne, "Theory and Philosophy of Music in Judaeo-Arabic Literature" (*HUCA* XVI, p. 290, n. 128 and 132).

¹⁵¹ Cf. Conybeare, "Apocalypse of Moses," in *JQR* 1894, p. 235.

¹⁵² Cf. E. Werner, "The Attitude of the Early Church Fathers to Hebrew Psalmody," in *Review of Religion* 1943, p. 343, 18.

¹⁵³ It seems that many magic practices were involved in the metamorphosis of the Hallelujah. Since Amen, Sela, and Hallelujah were all used as magical incantations throughout the Near East in a completely syncretistic fashion, and the AEOUIA was familiar to many as an efficient formula, it seems probable that the Hallelujah lost its consonants and thrived by its vowels as a result of magic ideologies. Cf. L. Blau, *Das Altjuedische Zauberwesen*, p. 94, 102, 130; see also Ch. Wessely, *Neue Griechische Zauberpapyri*, p. 29, line 279; and A. Dietrich, *Abraxas*, p. 70.

In this form, the *Jubilus* became the great wordless hymn of the Church which Augustine praised in such eloquent terms.¹⁵⁴ The melismatic rendition of the *Jubilus* with its drawn-out coloratures, added to the doxology an element of splendor and warmth greatly enhancing its solemnity. The entire idea of exultant melismatic song without words may perhaps be seen as the last remnant — but one jealously guarded — of an “organized form of glossolaly,” if this formulation is not a contradiction in terms. We find a revival of these wordless prayer-songs, the ecstatic *Niggun*, in the world of Hasidism, a world which in many respects was strangely similar to that of Christianity before the fourth century. This use of “songs without words” must have been popular also in the medieval synagogue for a long time, since Solomon b. Adret sharply opposed this kind of performance.¹⁵⁵

The position of the Hallelujah at the very end of the ecclesiastical doxology and its gradual expansion into independent and elaborate musical compositions of considerable length engendered, in the course of time, the emancipation and, to a certain extent, the secularization of the hymnic acclamation. Thus it became occasionally a magical formula,¹⁵⁶ a war-cry,¹⁵⁷ a signal,¹⁵⁸ a joyous call,¹⁵⁹ and even a song of boatmen.¹⁶⁰ Since, in Jewish

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Augustine, *Enarratio in Ps. 99*, in *PL* 37, col. 1272, also *PL* 36, col. 283. The ecstatic rendition of the *Hallel* was familiar to the Rabbis, as we see in *Yer. Pes. 7:11*, 35b: פסחא (ב) בייחא והלילא מהבר אנרייא. This passage was probably the model of Jerome's statement: *Sonabant psalmi et aurata tecta templorum reboans in sublime quatuebat Alleluia* (Epist. 77, in *PL* 22, col. 697).

¹⁵⁵ In a responsum to the Jewish Community of Huesca; cf. G.A. 215.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. J. A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantations*, Philadelphia 1913, pp. 147 ff.; 201, 205, 223 ff. etc. See *supra*, n. 154.

¹⁵⁷ Beda Ven., in *PL* 95, col. 49-50.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Jerome in *PL* 22, col. 896. Elsewhere he writes: Quocumque te verteris, arator stivam tenens Alleluia decantat (*PL* 22, col. 491).

¹⁵⁹ Sometimes secular folksongs contain small doxologies, as e. g. “Glory! glory, hallelujah!” in the Battle Hymn of the Republic.

¹⁶⁰ Sidonius Apollinaris in *PL* 58, col. 488. Not without a smile do we read the observation of Gregory I: “Ecce lingua Britannica quae nihil aliud noverat quam barbarum frendere; iamdudum in divinis laudibus Hebraeum coepit Alleluia resonare” (in *PL* 76, col. 411).

liturgy, the doxology does not necessarily close a prayer, and since the small doxologies in general do not play a great part, the Hallelujah in our services has — since the fall of the Temple and its priestly chorus — decreased somewhat in significance. It is only in the *Hallel* that its old glory renews itself, and even then not always with the proper responsorial rendition. The liturgical and musical tradition of the Hallelujah disappeared when the Rabbis frowned upon the triumphal songs of the Temple; while they waited for the “destruction of the wicked,” the Hallelujah itself faded from their lips. Yet we shall see, in the second part of our study, that it did not entirely perish; actually, through the Church, it became perhaps the most important musical heritage for all Christian nations.

PART II

The following investigations do not represent a systematic examination of the musical interrelationship between Synagogue and Church. While such studies, though in small number, do exist, a comprehensive examination of the entire complex of these problems is still wanting.¹⁶¹ It is our aim here to link the liturgical disquisitions to cognate musicological applications. This method, in this writer's opinion, is the only one by which the history of the liturgy and music of both Synagogue and Church can attain exact and verifiable results.

A. MASORETIC EVIDENCE OF THE RESPONSORIAL RENDITION OF THE HALLELUJAH

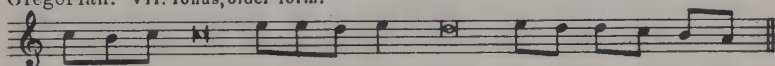
In our Masoretic text the Hallelujah occurs twenty-two times, both at the beginning or at the end of a Psalm and once in the middle of Ps. 135.3. It is remarkable that the Masorites were extremely consistent in their accentuation of this acclamation. The *initial* Hallelujah always bears the *Legarmeh* accent (הללויהו) and there is only one exception to that rule, Ps. 146; even here it is doubtful whether this Hallelujah really opened the Psalm. Neither the Masorites nor the Church Fathers came to a clear decision, due to the equivocal writing of the Hallelujah between two Psalms, so that it could be considered as beginning or end. The practice of the Vulgate is to set a Hallelujah at the opening of every Psalm which closes with Hallelujah, but not necessarily to add a Hallelujah at the end of a Psalm which opens with

¹⁶¹ Ed. Birnbaum, *Liturgische Uebungen* II, Berlin 1902; Franz Delitzsch, *Commentar Ueber den Psalter* II, pp. 399 ff., 453 f., 524 f.; P. Amed. Gastoué, "Les Origines du Chant Romain," p. 15-23; and "Les Origines Lointaines des 8 Tons Liturgiques," in *La Revue du Chant Gregorien* 1930, p. 126 ff.; A. Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Music in its Historic Development*, p. 32, 56, 61, *et passim*; E. Werner, "Preliminary Notes for a Comparative Study" etc. in *HUCA* XV; and "The Attitude of the Early Church Fathers to Hebrew Psalmody," in *Review of Religion*, 1943, #2; also "The Psalmic Formula *Neannoë* and its Origin," in *Musical Quarterly* 1942, # 1; and "Gregorian Chant and the Synagogue," in *Yearbook of the Amer. National Music Teacher's Ass.*, 1944-5.

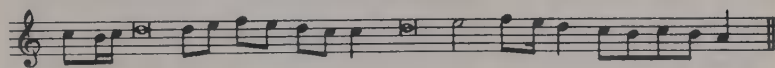
העמדה or טעמי מונה, which indicate a rest. According to Ibn-Bal'am, the עלוי seems to stand for an extended melody in the higher tones of the scale. This evidence indicates that the final Hallelujah was rendered in a descending phrase of the congregation, since it closed the Psalm. The Hallelujah was preceded by a sustained note higher in the scale and this is still the practice in Gregorian and Jewish psalmody, as the following show:¹⁶⁵

EXAMPLE 1.

Gregorian: VII. Tonus, older form.



Jewish: Idelsohn, Thesaurus II., p. 67, no. 49.



The initial Hallelujah, bearing a *Legarmeh*, is usually followed by מונה, מונה, מונה, אהנה, אהנה or מונה, מונה, אהנה, אהנה, the only exception being again Ps. 146 (מרכא, רביע מוגרש, אהנה). According to Ibn Bal'am, the פור of that Hallelujah indicates a sustained raising of the voice, and we may therefore propose the conjecture that the beginning of Ps. 146 had a musical rendition, different from the other Hallelujah Psalms.¹⁶⁶

B. MUSICAL FUNCTION OF THE INITIAL VERSE OF A PSALM; AN ANCIENT GREEK SOURCE ON HEBREW PSALMODY

The masoretic accents, so similar to the Byzantine and early Latin neumes, have for a long time been the subject of investigation; but only in the last four decades have scholars, well versed in Greek, in Hebrew, and in musical palaeography, brought this problem nearer to a solution.¹⁶⁷ This writer has proposed the

¹⁶⁵ Cf. E. Werner, "Preliminary Notes for a Comparison" etc., in *HUCA* XV, p. 345 ff.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 362 f.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 336-40, and 360.

theory that the initial verses of the Psalms (not the superscriptions) show a somewhat uniform type of accentuation which probably was used to indicate the musical mode of the first verse. This mode was then retained throughout the remainder of the Psalm — exactly as the Greek and Latin *toni psalmorum* have it up to the present. The principle of using the melody of the first verse for all verses following it has been taken over by all of the Eastern Churches; the Syrians called this form **ܐܡ ܒ** (= **אמ ב**), the Byzantine *εἰρμός*, and even the Roman Church uses a counterpart of it in the so-called *Tractus*. The outstanding author of Christian hymns of this type was Ephraem Syrus. According to the legend, he was of Jewish birth, and it is probable that it was he who introduced this form into Gentile Christianity. From Syria, our *riš-qolo* went into the liturgy of Byzantium as *εἰρμός*. Its Semitic origin is unmistakably due to its non-Greek prosody and to the eight modes of its *ὀκτοήχος*, which bear names as our *ta'amim* viz., *Δαυὶδ βασιλεὺς* and similar titles. As Cardinal Pitra has demonstrated, the meters of these poems are not quantitative, as those of classic Greek or Roman literature, but accentuating as in Hebrew literature.¹⁶⁸

We know very few concrete details about the melodies which made Hebrew psalmody so attractive a feature to the Gentile Church that it borrowed them and preserved them better than Jewry. To the knowledge of this writer, there is only one direct source from which we can reconstruct some tunes of ancient Hebrew psalmody.

Clement of Alexandria makes the following statement:

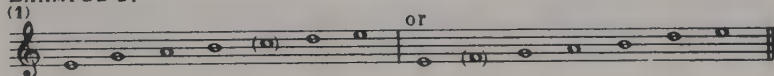
"Further, among the ancient Greeks, in their banquets over the brimming cups, a song was sung called a *Skolion* after the manner of Hebrew psalms, all together raising the paean with the voice, and sometimes also taking turns in the song

¹⁶⁸ Cf. Jean-Baptiste Pitra, *op. cit.* (n. 144). His theory has been fully vindicated and proved beyond any peradventure of a doubt by Prof. W. Meyer, in his *Abhandlungen Ueber Mittellateinische Rhythmik; (Anfang und Ursprung der griechischen und lateinischen rhythmischen Dichtung)*, also in *Abhandlungen der k. Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, I. Classe, XVII. Vol., pt. II, Munich, 1885.

while they drank health round; while those that were more musical than the rest sang to the lyre"¹⁶⁹

The Alexandrian describes the mode of the old Greek drinking-song (σκόδιον 'Εβραϊκῶν κατ' εἰκόνα ψαλμῶν) as having been almost identical with that of Jewish psalmody. Later on, this mode is designated as *Doric* and *Spondaic*, which follows the rule that the song of a libation (σπονδεῖον) must be kept in the *Tropos Spondeiakos*. Fortunately we possess reliable sources which give us a full technical analysis of *Tropos Spondeiakos*, especially Plutarch, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Aristides Quintilianus, and others. According to these authorities, the tonal frame-work of the *Tropos Spondeiakos* is a modification of the *Dorian* scale, a fact which is already indicated by Plutarch.¹⁷⁰ A similar description is given by Aristides Quintilianus.¹⁷¹ It is therefore a challenge to every Jewish musicologist to rediscover and reconstruct this mode which must have played such an important part in ancient Jewish music. This writer has devoted a study to this task, tracing the mode in Gregorian and Byzantine chant on one hand and, in the traditional synagogue songs of the Yemenite, Maroccan, Persian Jews, on the other hand. Even certain tunes of the Ashkenazic orbit show traces of that mode.¹⁷² Here we can give only a few illustrations of the *Tropos Spondeiakos*:

EXAMPLE 2.



¹⁶⁹ Clement of Alexandria, *Paedagogus*, II, ch. 4.

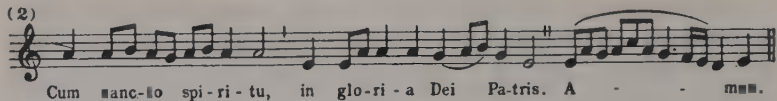
¹⁷⁰ Plutarch, *Scripta Moralia*, ed. Duebner, 1876-80; *De Musica* cap. 11.

¹⁷¹ Aristides Quintilianus, *De Musica*, ed. Schaefer (Berlin 1937), p. 204.

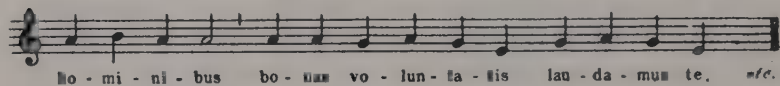
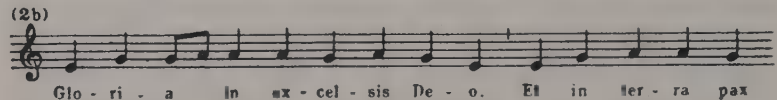
Kathleen Schlesinger, the noted student of ancient Greek music, extensively discussed, in her large work *The Greek Aulos* (p. 205-212), the *Tropos Spondeiakos*. There she arrives at a conclusion which leaves no doubt about the identity and structure of that old libation mode. Moreover, the British Museum, in its Elgin Collection, possesses an ancient aulos, still playable, which, according to Miss Schlesinger, is tuned in the Doric Spondaic mode.

¹⁷² A detailed analysis of the mode and its occurrence in Jewish, Roman, Byzantine tradition is given in E. Werner, "The Attitude of the Early Church Fathers to Hebrew Psalmody," in *Review of Religion*, 1943, p. 349 f.

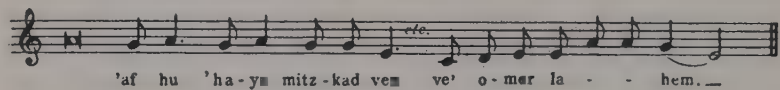
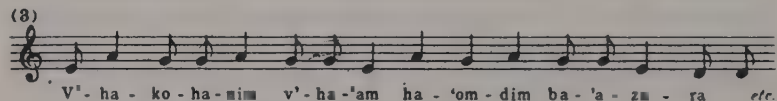
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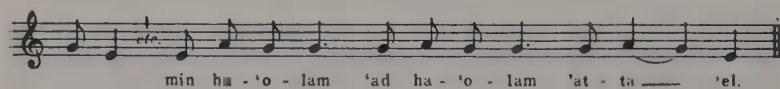
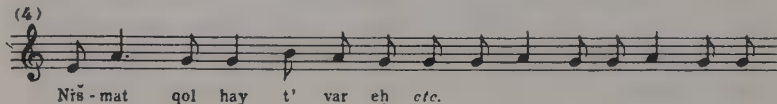
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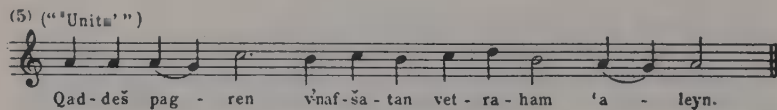
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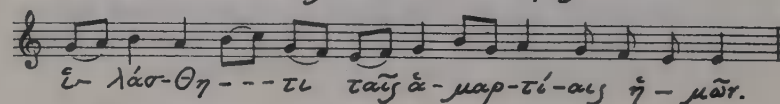
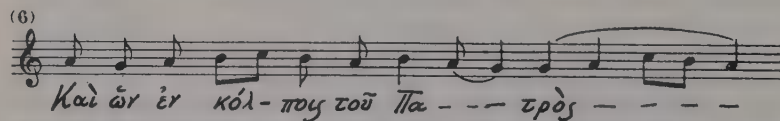
(4)



(5) ("Unit")



(6)



1. Gives the model framework of the *Tropos Spondeiakos*.
e g a c (c) d e or e (f) g a b . . . d e
2. Gloria of the fourteenth mass (Liber usualis p. 53)
- 2b. Gloria of the mass in Festis Simplicibus (Liber usualis, p. 55)
3. Tefilla-psalmody of the Moroccan Jews (Idelsohn, Thesaurus, II, no. 73)
4. *Nishmat* of the High Holydays of the Babylonian Jews (Idelsohn, II, No. 58)
5. Syrian psalmody: '*Unita*' (Parisot, *Rapport sur une mission*, etc., No. 35)
6. Byzantine hymn of the 11th-12th century: *Sticheia Anastasima*. (Tillyard, Byzant. Music, pp. 55 f.)

Since the Yemenite Jews never came into contact with the Roman Church, and the Ashkenazic Jews had no connection with the Syrian Church, the mode must have been the original possession of the Hellenistic Near East, whose spell dominated both Judaism and Christianity.

C. THE MELISMATIC STYLE AND THE CLOSING HALLELUJAH

The flourishing melismatic style — "mos ecclesiae orientalis," as St. Ambrose states, is characteristic of the entire music of the Orient. The songs of the Near East, in particular, were as inexhaustible when it came to inventing ever new forms of embellishments and ornaments as their listeners are insatiable in their demands for these colorature-arabesks. Of all these melisms, the most organic are the so-called "final melisms" which form a part of the cadence and are an integral part of every well-balanced melody, be it occidental or oriental. The Gregorian Chant has preserved a good many of these final melisms in their original settings, but they are also evident in Byzantine, Syrian, and Jewish musical culture. Many of the embellishments of our *Hazanut* fall into the category of final melisms. When these musical formulas, comparable to the acclamation Hallelujah, detached themselves from their original musical settings and became isolated and autonomous phrases, they permeated as "wandering melisms" the whole of synagogal chant.

There was no central body of authority deciding questions of musical liturgy, and thus every cantor did what was "good in his eyes" and pleasing in the ears of his listeners. The more embellishments, the better! And if the cantor was incapable of inventing new forms or new ornaments, he took them from other melodies, tore them out of their organic environment and set them into his melodies. Although many of these old *Hazan*im did not use much discrimination in their coloring of the traditional modes, it must be admitted that it is just these wandering melisms, recurring everywhere in Jewish chant, which have preserved its characteristic physiognomy. Three examples may illustrate this:

EXAMPLE 3. Ornaments and melism.

(a) Idelsohn Jewish Music, p. 150. Ibid. p. 148. Ibid. p. 154.

(b) Ibid. p. 148. Ibid. p. 155.

(c) Ibid. p. 148. Ibid. p. 143. A. Beer, Kol Nidre

Musicology distinguishes between three chief types of musical ornaments:

1. The *periheletic* kind which plays around a main-tone dissolving one sustained note into an encircling ornament.
2. The proceeding kind which replaces a straight run through a part of the scale by a series of ornaments all going in one direction.

3. The structural-punctuating kind which prepares and stresses all important caesuras of the melody or the text; to this type belong all final melisms.

Of our examples, a and b belong to the proceeding kind of melisms; they are now autonomous musical entities. C is a perihelletic type of ornament par excellence and constitutes one of the most common elements of *ḥazanic* improvisation.¹⁷³ The third, structural, type is always to be found at the end of a longer recitative and, in particular, at the end of a longer doxology, such as the Kaddish or the *Ḳedushah*. The existence of these "invariant" formulas, occurring in different chants of different cultural groups suggests a long drawn out process of musical crystallization, not to say petrification, of originally spontaneous improvised melodic phrases.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³ It should not be forgotten that the genuine *ḥazanic* improvisation always follows certain unwritten rules of modality and the respective musical atmosphere of the individual occasion. This practice is virtually identical with that of the Arab or Hindu musician who, likewise, performs in "restricted improvisation." See, on this fundamental matter, R. Lachmann's excellent analysis in his *Musik des Orients*, p. 54-65, also C. Sachs' standard work, *The Rise of Music in the Ancient World*, chapters 1, 2, 3.

¹⁷⁴ The best authority in musical ornaments, Prof. R. Lach, writes in his *Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der ornamentalen Melopöie*, p. 288: "While in the formative stage of occidental Church music . . . ancient oriental-Jewish melopoia, with its arabesks and its mushrooming coloraturas, was vigorously flourishing, we realize that later there occurred a gradual freezing of the Gregorian Chant, a certain petrification of these melodic lines, which were once so flexible. In thick bulks, clumsily, like congealing lava, runs the melodic line, and the erstwhile graceful and light embellishments and trills become heavy and coarse, losing all of their ease . . ." We must add here that, in our opinion, this was a well planned development in order to regulate and to systematize the exuberant music of the Near East; and only by performing that dry task of systematization was the genius of the occident able to master and to absorb the great riches of Jewish and Syrian melody. It was a creative accomplishment of the first magnitude to organize the irregular, to eliminate the superfluous, and to select and to assimilate the essential musical substance of the Near East. No better proof of that outstanding accomplishment is needed than the fact that the Roman Church has preserved the Jewish musical tradition in many cases better than did the Synagogue itself. Cf. also Dom Jeannin, *Melodies liturgiques syriennes*, I, p. 9.

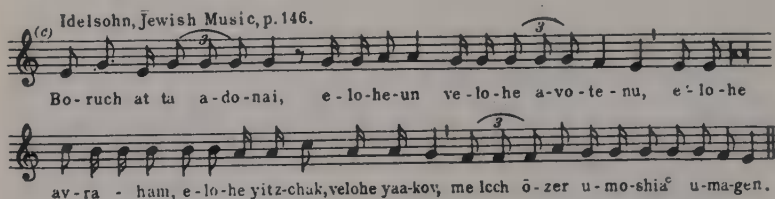
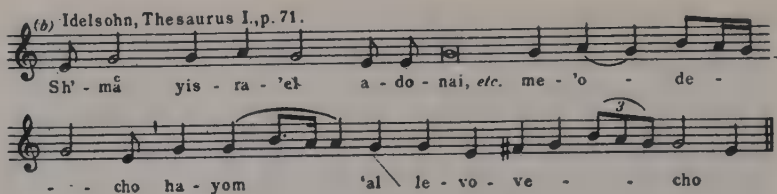
This development reached its peak when the melisms of the closing Hallelujah were used as paradigms for the individual modes in the Byzantine Church.¹⁷⁵

An analogous, if not a nearly as well organized development away from spontaneous improvisation towards standing and invariant "tones fixées," is perceptible in Jewish musical tradition. The struggle *pro* and *contra* free improvisation went on through the centuries, and it is interesting to observe the dispute of two great antagonists over the centuries which separate them: Yehudaj Gaon and Judah Halevi. As we have seen, the great halakist of Babylonia contributed considerably to the organization of our musical culture; he must have planned and directed musical tradition to no small extent. Judah Halevi, on the other hand, was a champion of unrestrained freedom of expression, he fought for that type of music which would grant the most spontaneity to the *Hazan*.¹⁷⁶ Yet he fought a losing battle. Gradually, many of the invariant phrases crystallized into a kind of "leading motifs" which up to this very day determine the musical atmosphere of the Synagogue.

In the first part of this study, we emphasized the chain-technique of the *Kedushah* and other prayers. Here we shall examine, in a limited scope, the influence of that poetic style upon its rendition. It is true, we do not possess musical scores of these *Piyutim* up to the early 17th century; but the oral tradition of Jewish centers, so distant from each other as Yemen from Frankfurt and as Salonica from Wilna, does agree in the evaluation of these musical chain-figures. The musical motifs are largely divergent, and it is not possible to speak of *one* authentic tradition, except that of the High Holy Days. Nevertheless, all traditions apply the "leading motifs" to the linked sentences. We can readily see that the principle of leading motifs is, of course, not an invention of Richard Wagner, as some of his ardent champions would have the world believe; but even know-

¹⁷⁵ Even as late as the ninth century Jewish influence was not entirely dead in the Church; the corrupted names of the Byzantine paradigms show clearly their Hebrew origin. Cf. E. Werner, "The Psalmodic Formula *Neannoë* and its Origin," in *Musical Quarterly*, 1942, I, p. 93 ff.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Yehuda Halevy, *Kuzari* II, # 70-72.



The first example is an excerpt from an Ambrosian antiphon, "In populo meo," for the third Sunday of Advent. The entire chant consists of four melismatic motifs which recur intermittently and appear frequently in other chants as well.

Example 2 is a comparison between an ancient Yemenite melism, used for the priestly blessing, the initial phrases of the ancient *Tractus* "Benedictus es in firmamento coeli," one of the oldest parts of the Roman ritual, and the intonation of 'Abot according to Sephardic rite. (The Latin text is the apocryphal part of Dan. III, the Hymn of the Three.)¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁷ Prof. P. Wagner, the leading authority on Gregorian Chant, writes in his great work, "*Gregorianische Melodien*" III, p. 366 ff.: "Ihre melodische Verfassung zwingt dazu, in den Tractus die Erstlinge des christlichen Messgesanges zu erblicken. Die ihnen eigentuemliche Interpunktionsmelismatik ist nicht lateinisches Gut. Dass die roemischen Saenger . . . die seltsamen Final-, Medianten-, und Zaesurmelismen nicht antasteten, . . . dass sie sich an einige Typen banden und sie in groesster Regelmassigkeit an bestimmten Stellen des Textes anbrachten . . .; dass sie die seltsame Beschraenkung auf zwei Tonarten nicht durchbrachen . . ., alles das laesst sich nur aus der Ruecksicht auf eine durch das Alter geheiligte Praxis erklaren. Noch heute pflegen die orientalischen Christen, die darin sicher nicht von Rom abhaengig sind, eine solche Interpunktionsmelimatik. Ihre eigentliche Quelle kann aber keine andere sein als die juedisch-synagogale Solopsalmodie." (Wagner's italics!) "Die Akzentzeichen der masoretischen Bibel, von denen einige heute noch von den juedischen Kantoren als Melismen ausgefuehrt werden, stehen an denselben Stellen wie die lateinischen Interpunktionsmelismen . . .

The third illustration gives the ancient melody of the "Te Deum," attributed to St. Ambrose, comparing it with cantillations of Yemenite and Ashkenazic Jews. Again the motifs of all three examples appear frequently in decidedly different chants. In all these cases we observe how autonomous melismatic phrases, by their recurrence, gradually become "leading motifs" and create the framework of melodic patterns which, in turn, develop into genuine modes. The most fertile ground for these melisms are the *Jubili* (*Allelujah*-verses) whose ecstatic and wildly melismatic tunes were so eloquently praised by many Church Fathers, chiefly Augustine and Jerome. Like the melodies of the *Tractus*, they are considered "oriental importations."¹⁷⁸ In spite of their incongruity with the spirit of the occident, the Western Church retained the *Jubilationes* as most precious heirlooms of its occidental cradle. It disregarded the objections raised by Gnostic Hellenists like Origen and Clement of Alexandria who stressed, against the sensuous effect of these exalted songs, the value of the silent introspective prayer, the *λατρεία πνευματικῇ*. Here they followed Philo whose ideas on prayer likewise show a rather ascetic-spiritual attitude to the whole of the liturgy. No such objections were made in the Eastern Church, for there the melismatic style was not alien; it was too familiar and wide spread to be an issue of controversy.

In the last twenty years, the once purely theological debate has been resumed, in an amazing fashion by German liturgists and musicologists. Seemingly, the level of the discussion was strictly scientific; yet we cannot help feeling that the terminology employed therein was influenced by certain racial theories. The form of the antiphon with its closing Hallelujah on one hand, and that of the hymn on the other, were investigated;

Schliesslich hat auch Idelsohn's erster Band des 'Hebraeisch-Orientalischen Melodienschatz' derartige Finalmelismen in uralten, der Beeinflussung durch christliche Musik . . . weit entrueckten Synagogenliedern aufgedeckt. *Der Zusammenhang der lateinischen Melismatik mit der juedischen ist damit ausser allen Zweifel gesetzt.*"

¹⁷⁸ Cf. *Paleographie Musicale*, vols. V and VI, referring to the *Cod. Antiphonale Ambrosianum* in the British Museum.

yet where English, French, and Swiss scholars made a morphological distinction, terming the Antiphon-Hallelujah an "open," and the hymn a "closed" form, the German scholars identified the former with Semites, the latter with Aryans.¹⁷⁹ Needless to say that the Semitic forms are considered inferior and alien to the spirit of the Western Church. ("Artfremd dem Geist der Lateinischen Kirche.") These scholars overlooked entirely that the form of the hymn too, in both its musical and literary aspects, originated in Syria, which is no less Semitic than Palestine.

D. THE MUSIC OF JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN DOXOLOGIES

In the remaining pages some of the main features of the musical doxologies, as we find them in Church and Synagogue, shall be examined and compared. Just as the literary style of the ecclesiastical doxology has changed from poetic spontaneity to impersonal solemnity, so its musical rendition has turned from semi-improvised melismatic style to simple and dignified psalmody. The development in the Synagogue shows another but in some respects analogous picture. There, the Temple-doxologies were relegated to a secondary position within the liturgy, and the four and five extended doxological prayers took their place. Musically, the originally free swinging melisms became gradually stereotyped permeating as itinerant melodic formulas the whole of Jewish musical tradition and constituting its various leading motifs. A similar development took place in the Church, and around the end of the first millenium this formative period of liturgical music approached its end in both Church and Synagogue. The subsequent epoch created most of the "*individual melodies*" of which the preceding centuries had laid the *modal* foundation. Before the end of the first millenium an intimate give-and-take relationship between Church and Synagogue is clearly evident in liturgy and music. This relationship came to

¹⁷⁹ Thus H. Besseler in *Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft*, (*Mittelalter und Renaissance*, p. 42-60), and Gr. Boeckeler, O. S. B., in *Jahrbuch fuer Liturgiewissenschaft* II, p. 158.

an end and, after 1300, the situation grew decidedly one-sided.¹⁸⁰ In spite of all rabbinic decrees, the influence of the Church in the Jewish liturgy became predominant and the Synagogue assumed more and more of a passive defensive attitude; in numerous cases the music of the Church found its way into the Synagogue.¹⁸¹

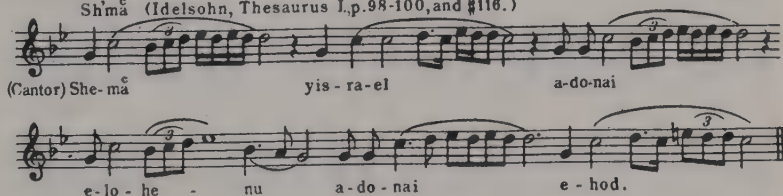
In order to exclude pieces of that later period which, due to their probable contamination, have no scientific value for our purpose, we shall use, in the following examples, preferably material of the Oriental Jews who, through the strong barrier of Islam, were protected from the influence of the Roman Church. Musical examples of the Ashkenazic Jews will be presented only when it stands to reason that they are older than their respective Gregorian counterparts.

THE שם כבוד שמים AND שם כבוד

Since the ב'ש"כ' was recited as an audible response only on יום כפור, it assumed there the melody of the שמע. The following example shows the Yemenite tradition of the High Holy Days. The typical melisms of the שמע occur in the preceding קריש and ברכו. Thus they must be considered as leading motifs of the High Holy Days, forming an integral and uniform part of all of the four doxological prayers; moreover, the כל נדרי employs the same motif.

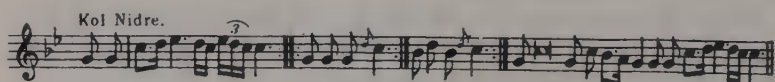
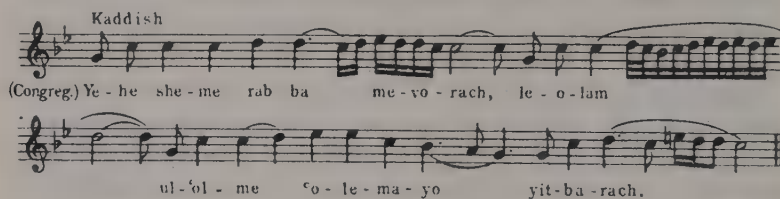
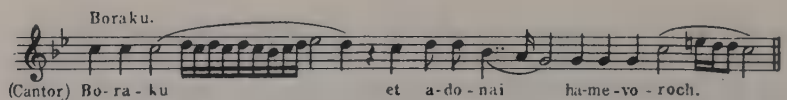
EXAMPLE 5

Sh'mā (Idelsohn, Thesaurus I, p. 98-100, and #116.)



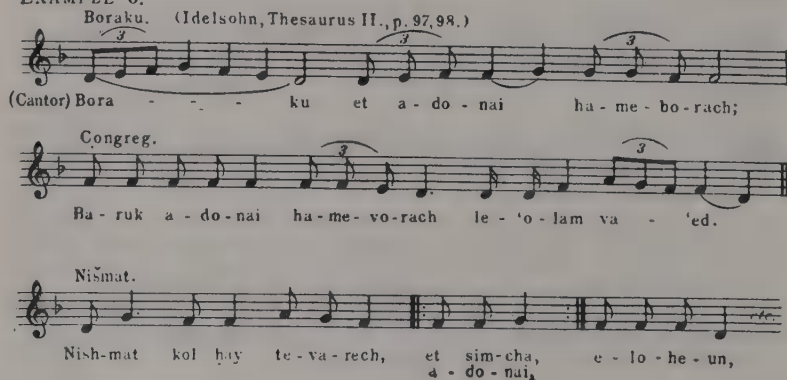
¹⁸⁰ The last gift of Judaism to the Church was probably the model of the famous hymn-sequence "*Dies irae*," which was inspired by the *Piyut* נחמה חקף. Cf. A. Kaminka, "Der Kirchen-Hymnus *Dies irae* und seine Beziehungen zu hebraeischen Bussgebeten," in *Freie Jued. Lehrerstimme*, IV, p. 67.

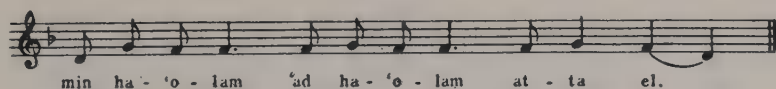
¹⁸¹ Cf. A. Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Music*, p. 178 ff.



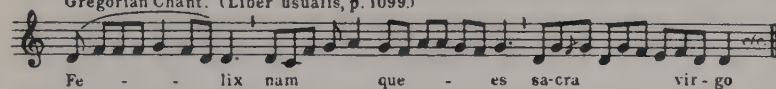
ברכו: This acclamation and its responsive doxology contain a rich array of wandering ornaments which also occur, significantly, in other prayers of the High Holy Days among the Babylonian Jews. There is an interesting parallel to this mode in the Roman Church, the *tractus* "Benedicite Te Dominum"; and it should not be overlooked that not only the tune but also the text is virtually identical. Moreover, the very same mode and the same melisms appear in the Yemenite ברכו and שמע. All of these chants are connected with doxological passages, ברכו, קדיש, and שמע which, in turn, are interconnected by wandering and final melisms.

EXAMPLE 6.





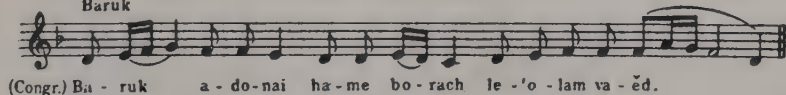
Gregorian Chant. (Liber usualis, p. 1099.)



Sh'mā (Idelsohn I., # 10, 27.)



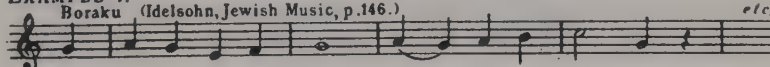
Baruk



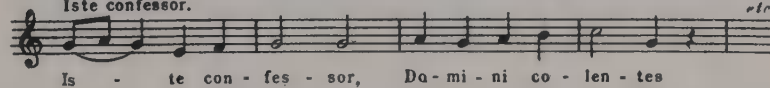
It should be noted that the *offertorium* quoted belongs to an old stratum of Gregorian song.¹⁸² Even the Ashkenazic Jews use for the ברכו of the High Holy Days a leading motif analogous to the Gregorian Chant, as already pointed out by Idelsohn.¹⁸³

EXAMPLE 7.

Boraku (Idelsohn, Jewish Music, p. 146.)



Iste confessor.



Yet while the identity of text and music within the Yemenite and Babylonian tradition indicates that the Church was borrowing from the Synagogue, in the case of the Ashkenazic Jews, the situation may have been reversed. The direction of the borrowing is at least doubtful, since the musical phrase of the

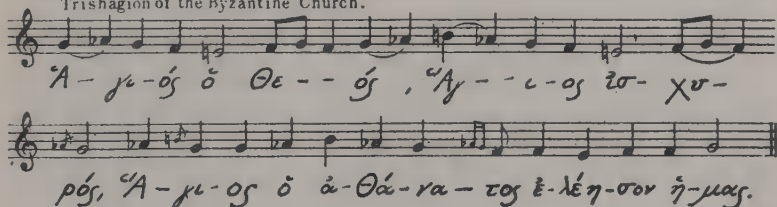
¹⁸² See *supra*, n. 177.

¹⁸³ Cf. Idelsohn, *op. cit.*, p. 144, 146.

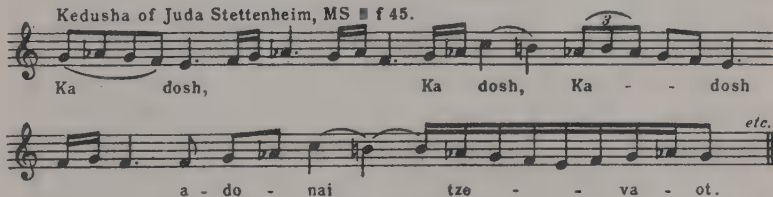
mode is common in the Near East we need not assume real importation.

EXAMPLE 9.

(Rebours, *Traite de Psaltique*, p.154 ff)
Trishagion of the Byzantine Church.



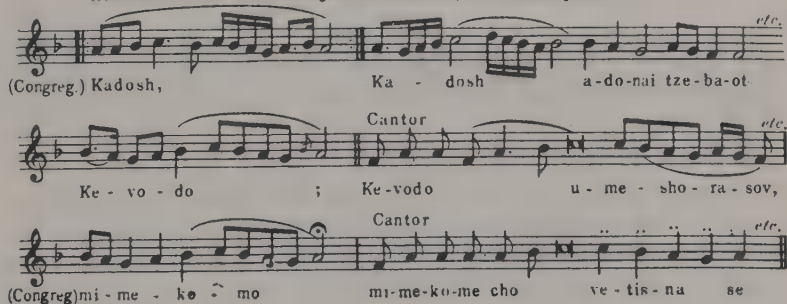
Kedusha of Juda Stettenheim, MS ■ f 45.



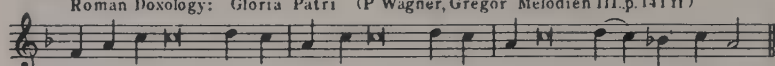
Characteristic for the use of leading motifs in connection with the chain-like style of the *Great Kedushah* is the following example of the Yemenite Jews. It is remarkable how consistently the wandering melisms connect the recurrent words with their respective musical phrases. It should be noted that its melodic framework is very similar to the formula of the Roman Lesser Doxology.

EXAMPLE 10.

Kedushah of the Yemenite Jews (Idelsohn, *Thesaurus* I.p.62)



Roman Doxology: Gloria Patri (P. Wagner, Gregor. Melodien III, p. 141 ff.)




Glo-ri - a Pa-tri.. Sanc-to, Si - cut erat sem-per, et in. lo - rum. A - men

These chants must belong to the oldest strata of both Roman and Jewish tradition. Several reasons urge this conclusion. First, the range of the mode is small, indicating its antiquity. Secondly, its structure is strictly tetrachordal, another sign of its age. Thirdly, the mode is common to both the Yemenites and to the Roman Church, which never came into contact with one another. Finally, *the mode and its melisms* are identical with the priestly blessing of the Yemenites, which seems to accord well with the description of its Temple performance, as reported in Talmudic literature.¹⁸⁵ Yet the fact that the blessing is divided into three sentences, each one to be followed by the response "Amen," contrary to the custom of the Temple, may indicate that the Yemenite tradition is younger, perhaps of the first or second century of our era.¹⁸⁶ The long drawn coloraturas remind us of the rabbinic controversy against excessively extended singing of the blessings.¹⁸⁷ We quote, in the following, the Yemenite tradition of the priestly blessing and the ancient tone of the Roman invitatorium which, in turn, is a variant of the mode of the doxology, quoted above.

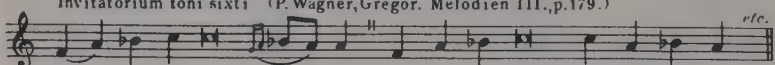
EXAMPLE 11.

Priestly Blessing. (Idelsohn, Thesaurus I., p. 63.)



Ye - vo - re - che - cho a - do - nai.

Invitatorium toni sexti (P. Wagner, Gregor. Melodien III., p. 179.)



Ve - ni - te.. Do-mi no, prae - oc cu-pemus...faciem ei - us

¹⁸⁵ Tos. Sot. 40a; Yoma 39b.

¹⁸⁶ Tam. VII, 2; Sot. VII, 6.

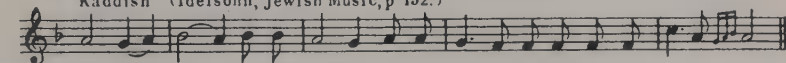
¹⁸⁷ Cf. Elbogen, *Der Jued. Gottesdienst*, p. 70.

The identity is astonishing and, in this writer's opinion, almost self-explanatory. In addition, this is a classic example illustrating the occidental systematization of the once richly floating melisms originating in the orient.

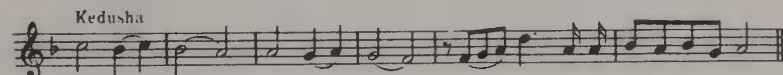
קריש: Quite analogous is the case of the Kaddish. Typical wandering melisms, chiefly of the periheletic kind, pervade the tune, which by the same ornaments is linked to other prayers. The doxological nucleus of the prayer, the יהא שמה רבא, is in all tradition separated from the preceding text by an "Amen" with final melism. Its mode is always similar to that of the ברכו and frequently to that of the קרושה (See above, pp. 344/5). We give here only a familiar illustration to demonstrate once more the associative power of the wandering melisms:

EXAMPLE 12

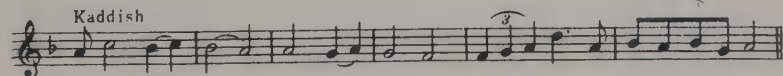
Kaddish (Idelsohn, Jewish Music, p 152.)



(Cantor) Yit - bo - vach ve-yish-ta-bach ve-yit - po - ar ve yit-ro-mam etc



(Congr.) Ka - dosh, Ka - dosh, Ka - dosh a-do-nai tze-vo-ot



(Cantor) be - cha - ye - chon, uv - yo me - chon, uve - cha - ye de - kol beth Yis-ro-el



(Congr.) Ba - ruk a do - nai, ham me - vo - roch lo - lam va ed

We have reached the end of our investigation. The attempt to define the essence and history of the doxology and to study its liturgico-musical function and performance has led us deeply into the history of religion and into musicological research. These disquisitions are, in this writer's judgement, indispensable

for the full understanding of liturgical development, just as a working knowledge of the liturgy is necessary, if we would comprehend the history of ancient music. Since this is a comparatively new and untested method, the author apologizes for the unorthodox procedure of his investigation, well aware that there remains much to be desired both as to its form and as to its content.

GLOSSARY

ANTIPHON, antiphonal, originally, the alternate rendition of Scriptural verses by two choruses; later a form of choral psalmody in the Church.

GLOSSOLALY, "talking in tongues" (I Cor. 14.2, 4, 5-25).

HIRMUS, (Greek) a type of hymn, whose initial melody is a set pattern of all subsequent stanzas; the Byzantine counterpart of the Roman Tractus.

INVITATORIUM, a group of Psalm verses, sung at the beginning of the Officium, taken from Psalms 95 and 96.

JUBILUS, the exuberant, richly embellished singing of the Hallelujah without articulated words.

MAQAM, (Arab.), one of several melodic patterns, or a melodic model, comparable to the Roman or Byzantine musical modes.

MELISM, melismatic, a melodic colorature of florid ornaments and embellishments.

Final melism, a little melodic flourish before the cadence of a Psalm verse. *Wandering melism*, a type of colorature which permeates and recurs in different tunes.

NEUMES, the oldest kind of musical notation of the Church; in its primitive stage similar to the masoretic accents of cantillation.

OCTOECHOS (Byzant.), originally the Syrian and Byzantine breviary for eight subsequent Sundays; later, the Byzantine and Syrian system of the eight modes of Church music.

OFFICIUM, the divine service of the canonical hours in the Church, as Matin, Vesper, Vigil, etc.

PROSKYNESIS (Greek), prostrating oneself before Kings or superiors; the early Christian term of humble devotion.

PSALMODY, the characteristic rendition of Psalms and certain prayers, also of the solemn lesson. The voice chants chiefly upon one tone, the *ténor*; at the beginning (*initium*), the middle caesura (*flexa* or *mediant*), and the end (*punctus*), there occur slight melodic arabesks or melismatic deviations from the otherwise monotonous recitation upon the *ténor*.

RESPONSE, responsorial, the liturgical practice of congregational or choral answering a cantor or minister.

TONES FIXÉES, certain recurrent tones or repeated melodic phrases within musical modes.

TONI PSALMORUM, the nine modes in which the Psalter is chanted in the Roman Church, according to Gregorian tradition.

TRACTUS, a certain type of hymn in the Roman Mass, chiefly during Lent; it belongs to the oldest strata of Church music and is closely related to some types of Jewish traditional chant.

OLD-TIME TORAH-CURTAINS

Apropos a New Acquisition of the Jewish Museum in New York

FRANZ LANDSBERGER, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati

A NUMBER of years ago, an art dealer of New York City sent me a photograph showing the toppiece of a curtain such as hangs before an Ark of the Law (fig. 10). Embroidered on this toppiece was a double eagle which led the dealer to suppose that the piece was of Russian origin. Taking as numbers the letters ם and ץ which appear, each in one of the margins alongside of a bird, the dealer concluded that the toppiece must have been produced about the year 1559-1560.

Neither inference seemed to me cogent. It is true, the double eagle stands on the Russian coat-of-arms. But it also stands on that of the Holy Roman Empire and, after the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire (1806), on the coat-of-arms of Austria. Dots on Hebrew letters, while commonly indicating numbers, can likewise signify abbreviations of words. In any case, the number of the year could hardly have been meant here, since the toppiece betrays, by its Baroque style, not 16th century but 17th or 18th century production. Especial evidence of this are the five scallops alternating with pendant tassels. Bernini employed this form, in bronze, using it in 1633 on his huge canopy in St. Peter's at Rome. Since that time, this mode turns up recurrently on lambrequins of the 17th and, above all, of the 18th century.

When, a number of years later, I paid one of my visits to the Jewish Museum in New York, Prof. Alexander Marx showed me, among his new acquisitions, a superb ark-curtain (fig. 10), the gift of Dr. H. G. Friedman, the well known collector of Jewish ritual objects. Obtaining a photograph of this curtain,

I held this photograph and that of the toppiece alongside of one another. I then began to suspect that the two belonged together. The material, in both cases, was red brocade. On both was embroidered the double eagle with the unusual *motif* of two fishes on its breast. The two embroidered crowns were of identical structure. Both stretches of cloth were of the same width. A toppiece must, of course, cover a curtain's uppermost reaches if it is to conceal the unsightly ropes by means of which the curtain is manipulated.

Later I learned that the toppiece, too, had ended up in the Jewish Museum of New York, donated by the same collector though acquired at a different time and from a different source. Here, likewise, it had been recognized that the two pieces belong together, and thus a new light was shed upon the toppiece. Also the curtain was supplied with numerals which, when added, yielded the date 1772-73. This date comports with the stylistic peculiarities, for the curtain was certainly a product of Baroque art which may well have been created in the 18th century. Even the names of the donors were found to be listed on the curtain, a certain Jakob Kitzingen — after the Bavarian town Kitzingen — and his wife Hendel Ulma who came from Pfersee, Bavaria. Finally the artist had embroidered his own name and place of origin on the curtain: Jakob Koppel Gans from הוכשחה, the town of Höchstädt, or Höchststadt, referring either to the town of this name on the Danube or the one on the Aisch, both in Bavaria.

The curtain and its toppiece, therefore, stemmed from 18th century Bavaria. Attractive for their beauty alone, the two pieces gained additional importance in the light of this conclusion. As is well known, the synagogues of Germany were burnt in November 1938 by infamous Nazi hordes and together with the buildings, ritual objects of great worth were destroyed. In this case, a valuable piece of synagogal equipment had in some unknown manner escaped destruction and had found a secure haven in America. This alone would have sufficed to justify closer consideration of that object. Further appeal was lent to such an undertaking by the fact that the curtain is no singular, isolated phenomenon but belongs to an entire group whose quality surpasses all curtains of its time. It is particularly

gratifying that these textiles were created by Jews themselves, a practice not at all prevalent in the Germany of the 18th century. At that time, all houses of worship and all silver decorations for synagogues and homes in Germany were made by Christians — *for* Jews, but not *by* Jews. The reason for this is that the strictly enforced laws of the guilds had excluded the Jews from many artistic endeavors. The Jewish embroiderer, on the other hand, occupied his rightful place in the large communities, like the Jewish scribe who frequently adorned his Haggadoth, his scrolls of the Book of Esther and his marriage-contracts with rich decorations, and also like the Jewish seal-engraver who tended to treat his products artistically.¹ It was Jews who created the Torah-curtains, the mantles around the Torah-scrolls, the covers for the Torah-tables and the cantor's desk. This, naturally, makes these textiles exceedingly valuable to us.

What finally induced me to write this article was the conspicuous lack of literature upon this subject.² I was led to trace the origin and development of the Torah-curtain, as far as this is at all possible at this time and from this locality. Moreover I welcome the chance to assign to the New York curtain its true place in history.³

¹ About the influence and importance of the Jewish embroiderer for his co-religionists as well as for gentiles, see my articles: "The Jewish Artist before the Period of Emancipation," *HUCA*, XVI, 1941, pp. 399 f. and "New Studies in Early Jewish Artists," *ib.* XVIII, 1944, pp. 299 f.

² See Heinrich Frauberger, "Ueber alte Kultusgegenstaende in Synagoge und Haus," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft zur Erforschung juedischer Kunstdenkmaeler*, III/IV, Frankfurt a/M, 1903, pp. 13-17; Ida Posen, "Die Mainzer Torah-Vorhaenge," *Notizblaetter der Gesellschaft zur Erforschung juedischer Kunstdenkmaeler*, No. 29; Elisabeth Moses, "Juedische Kult- und Kunstdenkmaeler in den Rheinlanden," in the Collection: *Aus der Geschichte der Juden im Rheinland*, Duesseldorf, 1931, pp. 138-144; in addition the pertinent articles in the Jewish encyclopedias.

³ Again my colleagues at the Hebrew Union College have given me all the information I requested. I mention, with special gratitude, Samuel Atlas, Alexander Guttman, Moses Marx, Isaiah Sonne, Max Vogelstein, Michael Wilensky. My gratitude also goes out to Dr. Aron Freimann, New York, Dr. Selma Taeubler, Cincinnati, O., and Dr. Wolfgang Stechow at Oberlin College, Oberlin, O.

I. ANTIQUITY

The Bible, in its description of the Tent of Meeting and of Solomon's Temple, mentions a curtain which separated the main hall from the Holy of Holies (Ex.26.31-33, 36.35-36, II Chron. 3.14). Behind the curtain stood the holiest of the cult objects, the Ark, above which God would reveal Himself between golden cherubim.

Cherubim were also embroidered on the curtains which were wrought of the costliest materials known to the art of the Orient.

When the synagogue arose alongside of the Temple — we know not when — it contained neither Holy of Holies nor Ark, and consequently no protecting curtain. The Torah, written on one or several scrolls, had at first no fixed depository but was brought in for the reading and removed after the service.⁴ Probably a low box, round or square, served for its transportation, a box similar to the one used for such purposes by pagans. On the wall paintings of the synagogue of Dura Europos, dating from the third century of our era, can be seen a man in erect position, wearing *Zizit* on his garment and hence an Israelite (fig. 1). He spreads out a scroll before his breast, while a round box stands alongside, undoubtedly a box such as that in which the scrolls were kept. The box is covered with a red cloth, probably because the writings which it contains are holy. Also the biblical Ark was covered with a cloth during transportation. (Num. 4.6).⁵

This interpretation is based on the assumption that the male figure really holds a Torah. It could be objected that, in seizing the scroll with his hands, he acts contrary to the statement: "One who holds a Scroll of the Law naked will be buried naked" (Sab. 14a and elsewhere). But Rabbi Jochanan bar Nappaḥa who

⁴ Cf. Samuel Krauss, *Synagogale Altertümer*, Berlin-Vienna, 1922, p. 371; E. L. Sukenik, *Ancient Synagogues in Palestine and Greece*, London, 1934, p. 52.

⁵ Cf. Mesnil du Buisson, *Les peintures de la synagogue de Doura-Europos*, Rome, 1939, p. 94.

uttered these words lived as late as the third century, so that the viewpoint represented by him may not have been generally accepted at that time.

A fact definitely in favor of the assumption that the scroll does represent the Torah is the circumstance that the male figure — together with three others — stands above a niche in which the scrolls are contained. A scroll painted in this location can hardly be anything but a Torah-scroll and the man who holds it must stand in close relation to it. For this reason, the male figure is to be interpreted either as Moses by whom the Torah was put into writing or as Ezra who read it to the people and proclaimed it the official legislative code of the community. Most recently it has been suggested that, in this figure, we recognize Samuel.⁶ In that case, the scroll would contain the regulations for the newly established kingdom. But since the Bible states explicitly that Samuel recited these regulations orally to the people and wrote them down later not in order to read them but rather to lay them "before the Lord" (I Sam. 10.25), the interpretation of the figure as Samuel has little in its favor.

On the other hand, when it is assumed that the portable container for the Torah-scroll was covered with a piece of cloth, a statement in the Talmud becomes intelligible which, in my opinion, has until now been explained incorrectly. The problem is being discussed what to do with ritual objects that are no longer usable. "Our rabbis taught: accessories of religious observances [when worn out] are to be thrown away; accessories of holiness are to be stored away" (Meg. 26b). Rabba adds: "At first I used to think that the cover (פרטא) is an accessory of an accessory. When, however, I observed that it is folded over and a scroll placed on it"—apparently due to the great dignity of the Torah — "I came to the conclusion that it is itself an accessory of holiness." The commentators assume that this statement refers to the curtain of the Torah-shrine. But how

⁶ Rahel Wischnitzer-Bernstein, "The Samuel Cycle in the Wall Decoration of the Synagogue of Dura-Europos," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, XI, 1941, pp. 85 ff.

is one to imagine that such a curtain would be taken off at every reading in order to deposit the Torah on it? On the other hand, no trouble would be entailed in putting the loose cover of the scroll-box on the table the moment that the scroll was taken out of the box.

There may have been a time when no textiles were used in the synagogue in connection with the Torah except the one which covered the box and which was, when needed, spread under the scroll. In Dura Europos, however, i. e. in the third century of our era, we come upon a cover which corresponds to the Torah-cover in the sense later adopted, that is, a hanging cloth. As already stated, a niche in the synagogue served to contain the Torah-scrolls (fig. 2). It has been assumed that this niche held a permanent Torah-shrine which was subsequently lost.⁷ It is more likely that a Torah-box stood in the niche not permanently but merely for the duration of the services,⁸ because, in the first place, the niche is not very large, and, in the second, it is decorated, and that would be superfluous if the niche were constantly filled. These decorations would serve a purpose if a low box were placed in the niche for short periods. The rounded rear wall of the niche would provide an excellent receptacle for the round form of the box.

There are traces, in this niche, indicating that a curtain hung in front of it.⁹ Such curtains may have become customary when the portable Torah-container was supplanted by a permanent Torah-shrine and when this shrine was placed in an apse, that is, a semicircular or rectangular chamber pushed back into the rear wall. The fragmentary remains of synagogues with such apses date only from periods more recent than the fourth century of the Christian Era. For instance, in front of the apse in the synagogue at Beth Alpha (6th century), there have been found two round holes. These holes may have been

⁷ Mesnil du Buisson, l. c., p. 10.

⁸ Cf. E. L. Sukenik, *The Ancient Synagogue of El-Hammeh*, Jerusalem, 1935, p. 74.

⁹ Mesnil du Buisson, l. c., p. 10, note 1: "On a révélé seulement les traces des cordes qui servaient à suspendre un rideau."

fastenings for posts, and curtains may have hung between those posts.¹⁰

It must be remembered that these curtains were not as yet integral parts of the Torah-shrine, as were those with which we shall deal later. They hung rather in front of the niche or apse in which the Torah-scrolls were temporarily or permanently kept. They hung as the curtain hung in the Tent of Meeting and before the Holy of Holies in the Temple, of which they surely constitute a reminiscence. For that reason the curtain was called *Paroket*, the same designation which had been given to the curtains in the old sanctuaries (Ex. 26.3, II Chron. 3.14). By analogy, the chamber hidden by the curtain should have been called *Debir*, like the Holy of Holies in the Temple. Though, for easily understood reasons, that name was not employed, it is nonetheless significant that the niche was called *Hekal*, the name of the main hall of the Temple which lay immediately in front of the Holy of Holies.

Here, too, a regulation becomes comprehensible which is recorded in the Talmud several times, that is, in the Palestinian Talmud.¹¹ The question is raised what to do on certain holidays when several diversely located passages were to be read while only one Torah-scroll was at hand. In such a case, declared R. Jose (probably Jose ben Zebida who lived in Palestine in the 4th

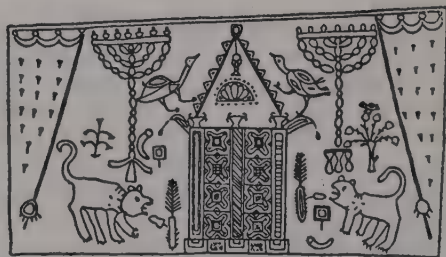
¹⁰ Cf. E. L. Sukenik, *The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha*, Jerusalem and London, 1932, p. 13. Sukenik (pp. 20 f.) thinks he has discovered such poles in front of a Torah-shrine also on a gilt-glass found in a Jewish catacomb. The glass is today in the Vatican. The curtain itself, he maintains, has been omitted in order not to disturb the view of the shrine. This is incorrect. We have here not a shrine but rather the Temple, and the two pillars are Yachin and Boaz which stood in front of the Solomonic sanctuary. Sukenik believes them to be more "like wooden poles than columns." But already Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Sardinia, Judaea, Syria and Asia Minor*, II, London-New York, 1890, p. 23, correctly noted their bronze color in harmony with the Biblical report that they were molten. Jewish art of the Middle Ages, moreover, uses the representation of these two columns in connection with the Temple, e. g. in the Egyptian Pentateuch of 930 in the Public Library of Leningrad. Reproduction in D. Guenzburg and W. V. Stassoff, *L'Ornement Hébreu*, Berlin 1905, pl. III.

¹¹ J. Meg. IV, 5; J. Yoma, VII, 1; J. Sot., VII, 6; J. Sopherim, XI, 3; — It was already noticed by S. Krauss, *Synagogale Allertuemer*, I. c., p. 380.

century), the synagogue beadle should go behind the curtain to roll the parchment to the second or third passage; evidently because it would be unbecoming to do so in sight of the worshipping congregation. It is difficult to imagine how someone could step behind a curtain which was affixed to the Torah-shrine. Such would be possible, on the other hand, if the curtain hung before a niche or an apse.

The recollection awakened, by this curtain, of the corresponding curtain in the old Tent of Meeting and in the Temple was intensified by adjacent paintings which represented or, at least, pointed to the biblical sanctuaries. An example of such decoration has been preserved in the synagogue of Dura Europos (fig. 2). Above the niche we see the seven-branched candelabrum, the Temple itself,¹² and finally the sacrifice of Isaac on Mount Moriah, the latter, no doubt, because it, too, stands in some relation to the Temple. "Solomon began to build the house of the Lord at Jerusalem on Mount Moriah" is the phrase in II Chron. 3.1.

We should like to know the looks of such a curtain which hung before the container of the Torah. No such curtain has, however, been preserved. A curtain of this type is believed to be pictured on a panel (here reproduced) of the floor mosaic



PANEL FROM THE MOSAIC FLOOR IN BETH ALPHA

¹² Joseph C. Sloane, "The Torah Shrine in the Ashburnham Pentateuch," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, N. S., XXV, 1934/35, p. 3, identifies this building as a Torah-shrine, interpreting the flanking columns as supports for the missing curtain. Highly improbable!

in the synagogue of Beth Alpha. The hypothesis has been advanced that this picture represents the interior of a synagogue with its Torah-shrine; in front of which there is tucked a white curtain in which rows of colored flowers have been embroidered.¹³ I doubt the correctness of this interpretation. The central object is more likely the Ark of the Covenant. If it were a Torah-shrine, there would not be an obstructing pillar right in the center where the doors of the shrine would come together. The two lions are the cherubim which, in the Solomonic Temple, stood in front of the Ark; here they have been moved to the sides because the artist of this late period transposes every depth into the perspective of a two dimensional area. The birds, too, are cherubim. Apparently those cherubim on the cover of the Ark were at times regarded as birds. At least Philo, in his *Life of Moses* (III, 8), thus construes them. Furthermore, what sense would there be in painting the picture of a synagogue within a real synagogue? It would, on the other hand, be very meaningful to place in the synagogue a reminder of the Temple whose reconstruction in the days of the Kingdom of God was looked forward to with such longing. For that reason, the wall of the synagogue, toward which the face of the worshipper was turned, lay in the direction of Jerusalem. For that reason, too, stone lions were placed in some synagogues, similar to the ones on the mosaic of Beth Alpha, as reminders of the cherubim in the Temple. For that reason, finally, synagogues were provided with seven-branched candelabra. A Greek inscription which has been preserved in the synagogue of Sideh in Pamphylia testifies explicitly to the presence of such candelabra.¹⁴ In Beth Alpha, just as in Dura Europos, the representation of the Temple is supplemented by that of the sacrifice of Isaac. The story of the sacrifice has here been characteristically moved to the beginning of the mosaic while the Temple appears at its end, close to the wall which faces Jerusalem.

In view of these considerations, the curtain of Beth Alpha cannot figure in our investigation. It is not the curtain of a

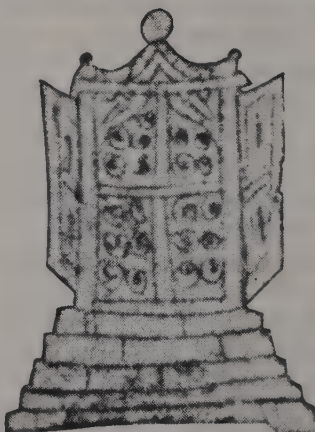
¹³ E. L. Sukenik, *The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha*, l. c. p. 34.

¹⁴ Cf. S. Krauss, *Synagogale Altertümer*, l. c. p. 236.

synagogue but of the Temple. With the latter it has only one element in common: it is not attached to an object; rather it shuts off a separate room.

It is conceivable that these synagogal curtains were brought to a high degree of excellence. For the ancient synagogue was deeply influenced by Hellenism with which it shared the joy that was felt in the attractive formation of each and every detail. Upon the curtain a great deal of care may, accordingly, have been lavished.

The appearance of those ancient Torah-arks is known from pictures only. The best of these — like the one shown here in an enlarged reproduction — are to be found on gilt-glass cups, which are so called because of bottoms with gold drawings.



TORAH SHRINE FROM BOTTOM OF A JEWISH GILT GLASS
Enlarged. Berlin, Museum.

On these pictures, an ark is to be seen with both doors open. The interior is furnished with shelves on which the scrolls are placed horizontally. In front of the door no curtain is visible, which is another proof that the curtain fastened external to the shrine was not yet the custom. On the other hand, a few of these representations — for example, the one here reproduced — reveal, upon closer examination, a curtain *behind* the doors. The curtain is pulled aside in such a way that only two small



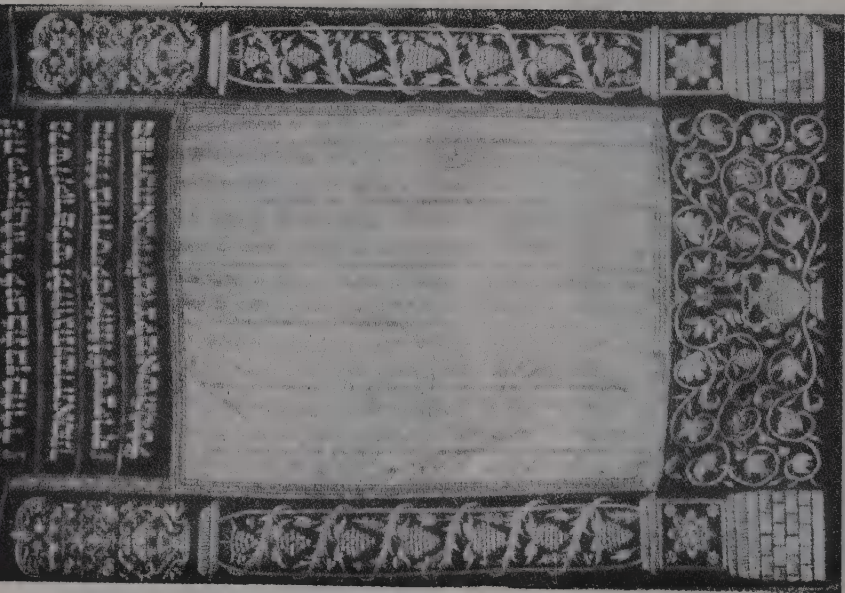
1. MOSES OR EZRA
Mural from Dura-Europos

2. TORAH NICHE
From Dura-Europos

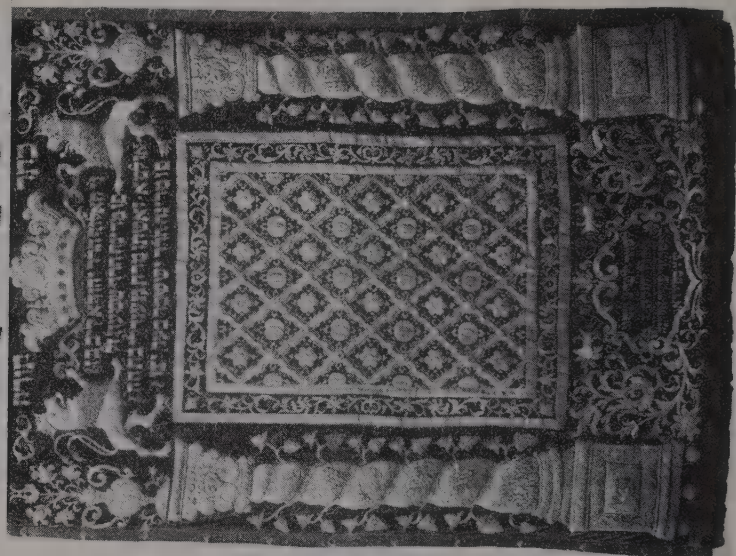
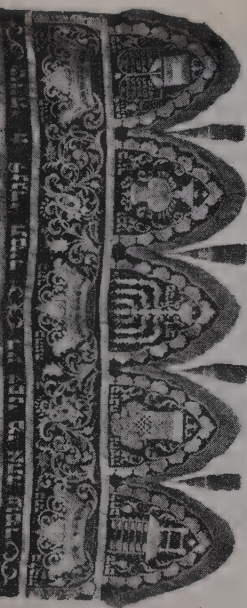
3. GERMAN MAHSOR, 1459
Munich, State Library



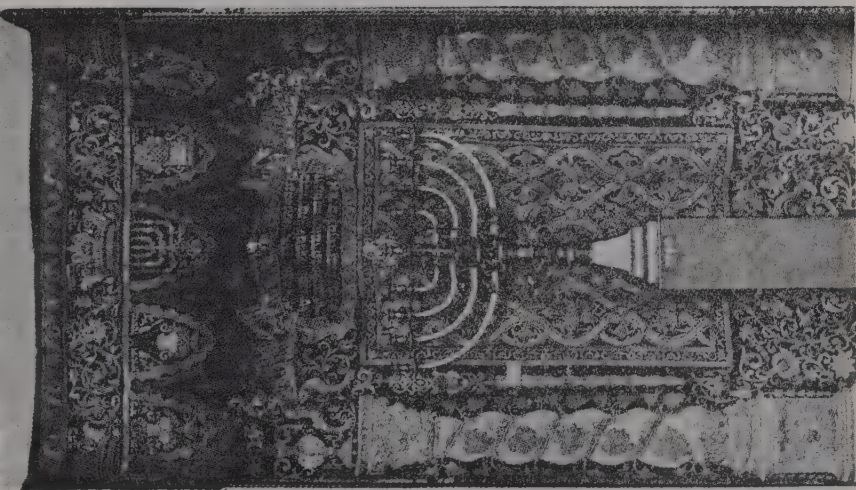
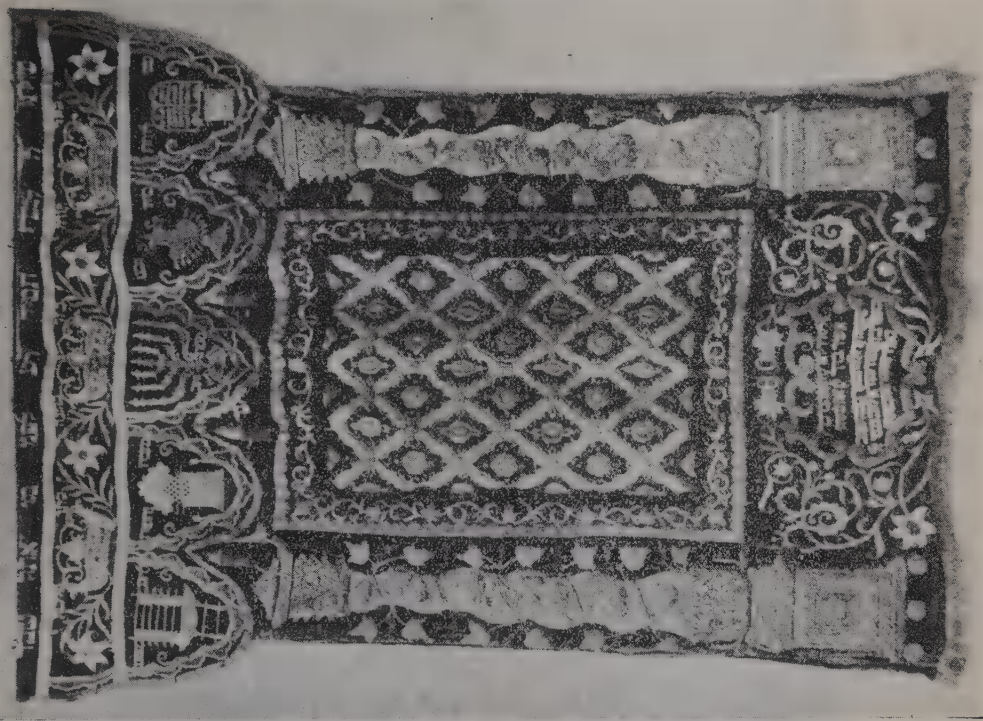
4. (above) TORAH CURTAIN
Padua, Synagogue
5. (right) TORAH CURTAIN
Last at Prague, Jewish Museum



6. (above) TORAH CURTAIN
Last at Prague, Jewish Museum



7. (right) ELKONE NAUMBURG: TORAH CURTAIN
Last at the Synagogue of Augsburg



8. (above) ELKONE NAUMBURG: TORAH CURTAIN
From the Hambro Synagogue in London
9. (right) JACOB KOPPEL GANS: TORAH CURTAIN
Last at Synagogue of Krumbach



10. JACOB KOPPEL GANS: TORAH CURTAIN WITH TOPPIECE
New York, Jewish Museum

triangles can be discerned. The curtain may have served practical purposes, like the entire ark which was originally a useful piece of furniture. In this respect, the ark is comparable to the cupboards of Hellenistic times in which scrolls and the like were kept. Since the scrolls in our ark carry no covers, double protection may well have been essential — namely the ark itself plus the curtain. But sacramental considerations may also have played a part. The curtain may have betokened reverence for the scrolls of the Law. Be that as it may, the ancient synagogue shows here, in connection with the Torah, another kind of curtain, a curtain which does not appear in front of the doors, but which becomes visible only after the doors are opened.

II. THE MIDDLE AGES

It is exceedingly difficult to form a clear picture of Torah-curtains in the Middle Ages. From this period, as little has been preserved as from the period of antiquity. Eagerly one seeks pictures of the synagogues of that time in the hope of gaining some information. A few pictures can be found in that branch of the arts which the Middle Ages brought to florescence, that is, in illuminated manuscripts. The famous Haggadah of Sarajevo, a Spanish manuscript of the 14th century, vouchsafes us, on one of its pages, a glimpse into a synagogal service. The double doors of the Torah-shrine are open. Inside, three Torah-scrolls, no longer in horizontal but rather in vertical positions, are visible, dressed in beautiful mantles and crowned with golden *Rimmonim*. A Torah-curtain is not to be seen. Was there one?¹⁵

Among illuminated Italian books, we possess a manuscript of Jacob Asher's '*Arba' Turim*', written in 1436 in Mantua, (Rome, Library of the Vatican, Cod. Ross. 555). One of its pages likewise offers an insight into the service of a synagogue.¹⁶

¹⁵ Colored reproductions in Heinrich Mueller and Julius von Schlosser, *Die Haggadah von Serajevo*, Vienna, 1898.

¹⁶ Only the rear wall of the room is here decorated with curtains. Reproductions in the Hungarian work by E. Munkacsí, *Illuminated Manuscripts in Italian Libraries*, Budapest, n. d., fig. 22; from it, *Juedisches Lexikon*, V, pl. 152.

One sees a beautifully carved Torah-shrine in Gothic style with doors open. But here also no curtain is visible.

Closed Torah-shrines are represented also in Italian manuscripts; in the *Yad Haḥazakah* of Maimonides which, when last heard of, was part of a private collection in Frankfort (early 15th century),¹⁷ and in the *Book of Rituals* of the University Library at Princeton, N. J. (late 15th century).¹⁸ Here also no trace of a curtain can be discovered.

The only curtain which I could find was in a German *Mahzor* written in 1459 and preserved in the Munich Staatsbibliothek (fig. 3).¹⁹ Both doors of a Torah-shrine are open. Behind one of the wings, a half-concealed curtain can be seen. As in the gilt glass picture previously shown, the curtain is attached to the ark. But while, in the former case, the curtain becomes visible only after the doors were opened, here the curtain hangs in front of the door. What we have here is apparently the historical continuation of the curtain which, in antiquity, closed off the *Hekal*. This room was often omitted in the Middle Ages. When money or space was insufficient, that room could be discarded by placing the Torah-shrine directly before the wall. Hence the custom of hanging the curtain from the top of the chest itself.

This type of curtain may have arisen in the small German communities which underwent constant persecution in the Middle Ages, and may then have been brought to other countries by emigrants. This type characterizes the Ashkenazic synagogue.

At the same time, the other type — the curtain visible only when the doors were opened — has not disappeared. Though no specimens of that type have been preserved from the Middle Ages, not even in pictures, there are, at least, some modern examples. These can be found in Italy and in synagogues of the Sephardic ritual. These curtains have been assumed to be "a

¹⁷ Cf. Heinrich Frauberger, *Verzierte hebraeische Schrift und juedischer Buchschmuck*, Frankfurt a/M, 1909, fig. 6.

¹⁸ Cf. Erwin Panofsky in the *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, IV, 1941, pp. 27 ff.: "Giotto and Maimonides in Avignon," reproductions facing pp. 27 and 33.

¹⁹ The reproduction according to Richard Krautheimer, *Synagogen des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1927, fig. 28.

relic of the times when such receptacles had to be concealed from the offices of the Inquisition."²⁰ To me it seems more probable that such curtains continue the tradition of just the type of curtain which we have already discovered in the pictures on some of the Jewish gilt glasses.

It appears that the Sephardic Jews did not consistently adhere to this custom in the centuries subsequent to the Middle Ages. The Spanish born Joseph ben Ephraim Caro, author of the *Shulḥan 'Aruk*, speaks of a curtain in front of, not behind, the doors of the Torah-shrine (*'Orah Hayyim* 154.3). In a description of the Sephardic service held in 17th century England, we hear likewise that the priest "drew the curtain, and opening the double door of it, the Law appeared."²¹ Lastly, the fact is striking that the most important Sephardic synagogue in Holland, dedicated in Amsterdam in the year 1675, has no Torah-curtain whatsoever.²² When the many doors of the broad ark are opened, the magnificent mantles in which the scrolls are wrapped become visible; but there is no curtain, either outside or inside. Apparently the utilization of a curtain was not considered obligatory among Sephardic Jews, and here we recall that the synagogue of the Sarajevo *Haggadah* also showed no curtain.

The Talmud once interprets the verse "This is my God and I will glorify Him" (Ex. 15.2) in the following manner: "Make a beautiful *Sukkah* in His honor, a beautiful *Lulab*, a beautiful *Shofar*, beautiful *Zizit*, and a beautiful scroll of the Law, and write it with fine ink, a fine reed, and a skilled penman, and wrap it about with beautiful silks!" (Sab. 133b). A Torah-curtain is not mentioned here. This admonition undoubtedly

²⁰ So Joseph Jacobs and Lucien Wolf, *Catalogue of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition*, London 1887, London, 1888, p. 85.

²¹ John Greenhalgh in a letter from London to the Rev. Thomas Crompton in the year 1662, reprinted in the *Anglo-Jewish Letters*, ed. Cecil Roth, London, 1938, pp. 59 ff.

²² Reproductions in B. Picart, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*, vol. I, Amsterdam, 1723, facing p. 125, — Also the Italian rabbi Leon de Modena (1571–1648) in his *Riti Ebraici*, Part I, Chapter 10, in connection with the description of a synagogue, mentions no Torah curtain.

exerted a certain influence on mediaeval Jewry which considered the Talmud the norm of Jewish ritual. Inasmuch as there was a specific exhortation to provide a beautiful Torah-mantle but not any exhortation concerning a curtain, the curtain may often have been omitted and the dress of the scroll deemed sufficient.

If we consider as typical the only Torah-curtain of the Middle Ages which we could show pictorially, we must draw the conclusion that the standard mediaeval curtain was extremely simple. It consisted of a hanging piece of cloth without toppiece, even when it hung exterior to the door. This conclusion must, however, be held with strong reservations owing to the meagerness of our information.

III. THE MODERN ERA

The enthusiasm for beauty which marked the Renaissance and the striving for splendor which characterized the following period of Baroque exerted a decisive influence on Jewish art. Frequently Christians served as architects and decorators of synagogues and thus transferred to the Jewish houses of worship the style to which they were accustomed in their churches. Though the Christian Church never erected shrines for its Holy Scriptures, the altar and altar-pictures which stood in their place were not without their effect. The Torah-shrine was now often flanked by magnificent pillars resembling those of the altar pictures, and the beauty of the paintings found its counterpart in the beauty of the Torah-curtain. Thus, not for ritual but rather for esthetic reasons, was greater emphasis placed on the Torah-curtain in modern times.

The material itself is selected with great care. Sometimes it is silk, sometimes velvet; but rarely are curtains made of wool or camel-hair. Often different kinds of cloth are combined so as to produce the effect of greater variety by means of the change of material. For the central rectangle, called the mirror, velvet would, for instance, be used, while the surrounding strips would be made of silk or vice versa.

The cloth is richly embroidered and, in order to increase the effect of magnificence and pomp, gold and silver threads are

liberally applied. At times details are cut in leather, buttressed by some soft material. This would naturally increase the cost of such a curtain, but there were enough donors who could afford the prices. Sometimes these donors were organizations such as societies for sick relief or for burials. More often individuals would donate gifts on the occasion of special joy or in memory of deceased kin. These gifts show the prompting not only of religion but also of the desire for conspicuousness. The latter is one of the characteristics which distinguish modern times from the Middle Ages with their lowliness, a trend which no doubt also developed to some extent among the Jews. Accordingly the donor often wishes to have his name embroidered upon the curtain, thus securing for himself a lasting memorial. Frequently he adds the name of his wife, thus betokening the warmth of Jewish family life.

The question whether the name of the artist may also be noted requires differing answers. An embroiderer of the 17th century in the Moravian community of Prossnitz, who donated a curtain and placed his name on it, was forced by the enraged elders, with the support of Rabbi Krochmal, chief rabbi of the province, to eliminate the name.²³ On the other hand, in 1630, a woman by the name of Rachel née Olivetti who embroidered a curtain for the Levantine synagogue in Ancona, Italy, informs us to that effect in a Hebrew inscription. This woman was the wife of the donor, Juda Leon Montefiore.²⁴

In the 18th century, especially in Bavaria, the embroiderers often state their identity. We have noticed that the curtain of the Jewish Museum in New York bears the signature of the artist. After all, the artist too may have been engulfed in the period's ambition for fame, or sometimes the donor may have desired to endow the curtain with greater value by indicating that it is the work of a recognized embroiderer.

Now that the giving of Torah-curtains becomes one of the

²³ See S. Krochmal, *Semah Sedek*, No. 50, according to S. W. Baron, *The Jewish Community, Its History and Structure to the American Revolution*, III, Philadelphia, 1942, p. 147, note 17.

²⁴ Cf. Lucien Wolf, "Anglo-Jewish Coats of Arms," *Transactions, The Jewish Historical Society of England*, Session 1894/95, p. 112.

most favored forms of donation, the number of such curtains naturally increases, and synagogues exist which own not one but numerous specimens. Their multiplicity leads to a differentiation in usage. Simple curtains decorate the ark on week-days, richer ones on Sabbaths and New Moons, while the richest are put up for the High Holy Days. The various colors are, on the New Year's Day and on the Day of Atonement, replaced by white to accord with the solemn and awe-filled mood of these occasions. On the Day of the Destruction of the Temple, black curtains sometimes appear, or the ark is left naked in order to symbolize Jerusalem robbed of its treasures. Special curtains are at times brought out on days of circumcisions and of marriages.

From now on we can trace the development of the Torah-curtains more closely, because specimens are available, at first a few, but more of them when we come to examples of the 17th and 18th centuries. How many may have succumbed to the brutal Nazi spirit of destruction and to the desolation wrought by war can at this time not be conjectured.

From the motherland of the Renaissance, Italy, we possess a curtain of knotted wool which, to conclude from its style, comes from the late 15th century. It hangs today in the synagogue of Padua (fig. 4). Its main motif is a portal whose arch rests on two fluted pilasters. The Hebrew words of the Psalm "This is the gate of the Lord; the righteous shall enter into it" (Ps. 118.20), running across the curtain above the portal, clarify its symbolic meaning. A fountain under the gate is probably also to be understood symbolically as the fountain of life, the fountain of the Law.²⁵ Affixed around the portal are wide stripes which produce the effect of a frame around a painting. All this imparts to the curtain an atmosphere of calm and harmony in tune with the taste of the Renaissance.

It is well known that the forms of the Renaissance traversed the Alps in the 16th century and reached not only Christians but also Jews in Northern Europe. Prague, one of the most flourishing Ashkenazic communities of that period, gave these southern forms a particularly hearty welcome. These forms are

²⁵ So Irmgard Schueler in Rahel Wischnitzer-Bernstein's book *Symbole und Gestalten der juedischen Kunst*, Berlin-Schoeneberg, 1935, p. 60.

found in book-decorations; the first Ashkenazic printing press of Hebrew books having stood in Prague. They are found on tomb-stones and even in private buildings. No wonder then that this style also appears on Torah-curtains. Proof of that is the curtain which was donated by Jacob ben Abraham Bassevi (c. 1570–1639) and his wife Hendel, daughter of Abraham Geronim (fig. 5). Bassevi is the famous financier and court-Jew who was the first Bohemian Jew, in fact the first Jew, to be elevated to the nobility (1622). It can hardly be a coincidence that it is just in this year, 1622/23, that the curtain was donated. Bassevi may have wanted to demonstrate that his worldly honors did not cause him to neglect his duties toward the community. Here, too, classical architecture — but removed from the centerpiece to the borders — lends the main motifs for the curtain. Two flat pilasters rise from high bases. Because, as so often in the North, the love of ornament obscures the tectonic clarity, the architectural structure of the curtain is not quite so distinct as on the curtain from Italy.

A third curtain, also fabricated in Prague in the 17th century, cannot be dated exactly (fig. 6). The inscription merely reveals that Loeb ben Gerson Karpeles had it restored in 1696 after it escaped the great fire which raged through the Ghetto in 1689. It must therefore have been made before 1689. From its style we can conclude that it must have been fashioned later than the Bassevi curtain of 1622/23. Here, too, columns appear on the edges, but they seem more luxurious because of the vines which climb around them. The vine is a favorite metaphor of Jewish literature. The prophets compare Israel to a vine (Hos. 10.1); the Talmud uses it as a simile of the world, the Torah, and Jerusalem (Hul. 92a). How well the last of these comparisons apply to a curtain which is suspended in the direction of Jerusalem and which protects the Torah!

Unfortunately we cannot here describe the Torah-curtains which belonged to the synagogues of Vienna. The Jews were expelled from the Austrian capital in 1670. But it is characteristic of the love for beauty among these Jews that they bought the best obtainable synagogue equipment, before they left the city, and carried it with them on their wanderings:

candlesticks, Torah-scrolls with their rich silver adornments and, what interests us most in this context, Torah-curtains.³⁶ Wherever Viennese Jews came, to Poland, Moravia, Bohemia, Brandenburg, Bavaria, they must have exerted a vitalizing influence by means of the treasures which they brought along.

Concluding from those pieces which have been preserved, Torah-curtains reached a peak of artistic perfection during the first decades of the 18th century, just when the style of the Baroque lost some of its initial heaviness and gained greater lightness and elegance, foreshadowing the Rococo. No wonder that this peak was attained in the Ashkenazic countries where, as we learned, the curtains were suspended in front of the doors and thus at all times visible to everyone entering the synagogue. In this manner they gained an importance which the Sephardic curtains, hidden behind the doors, did not achieve. What is more, those curtains which hung in front of the doors offered an additional opportunity for decoration in the form of the toppiece which the interior curtains lacked. Just at that time this toppiece is adorned by great numbers of motifs, thus giving the initially festal curtain a brilliant termination.

It is impossible to describe the multiplicity of curtain types which now arise. Too much has been lost and too little is accessible even in reproductions to justify such an endeavor. We can examine, with a degree of thoroughness, only one area, that of Bavaria, to illustrate the beauty of 18th century Ashkenazic curtains.

Also to Bavaria, Austrian émigrés had come, usually the richest in that group. Ancient communities existed here which just then were growing and flourishing and which offered economic opportunities promising also to newcomers.

The electors of Bavaria were among the most pomp loving German princes of the late 17th and early 18th century, and accordingly inclined toward the practice of employing Jews to procure the money necessary for such luxuries. What is more, the Bavarian sovereigns at that time engaged in a number of expensive military ventures. Maximilian II Emmanuel (1679–

³⁶ Cf. David Kaufmann, *Die letzte (sic!) Vertreibung der Juden aus Wien und Niederoesterreich*, Budapest, 1889, p. 150.

1726) made war on the Turks and fought in the War of the Spanish Succession alongside of France. His son and successor, Charles Albert (1726-1745), disputed the validity of the Pragmatic Sanction which insured the throne for Maria Theresia after the death of the Austrian emperor Charles IV, and had himself crowned emperor in 1742. That, however, proved a short lived dream, for soon Austrian troops victoriously invaded Bavaria.

For these enterprises, too, Jews were employed. No public institutions existed at that time to supply the army with all its needs, horses, fodder, food, etc. Consequently one turned to the Jews who, thanks to their numerous connections and their organizational talents, were able to provide these things in the shortest possible time. As a consequence, Bavaria soon had a number of wealthy Jews who could well afford to donate adornments to their houses of worship.

As we have already stated, when silver implements were to be donated, one turned to Christian artists, but for the creation of Torah-curtains Jewish artists abounded, some of whom, especially in Bavaria, were men of high standing.

Three names are known to us today. One is that of Gerson Mayer whose work of embroidery was so highly esteemed that even the Church made use of it. In the Cathedral of Bamberg, the tombstones of Emperor Henry and his wife the Empress Kunigunde had been erected in Gothic times as one of his chief works by the sculptor Tilman Riemenschneider. In 1738, this grave was to receive a new cover whose central adornment was to consist of a coat of arms. Since a competent Christian embroiderer could apparently not be found, the work was given to Gerson Mayer who accomplished the costly project.²⁷ Though that cover is not preserved, and though no other artistic productions of his have to this day come to light, it may be assumed that Mayer supported himself by fabricating Torah-curtains and other synagogal textiles.

More information is available about the second Bavarian embroiderer, Elhone of Naumburg. Elhone was born in Gross-

²⁷ Franz Landsberger, "New Studies in Early Jewish Artists," *HUCA* XVIII, 1944, p. 300.

Glogau, also known simply as Glogau, an old community in Silesia which then belonged to Austria. Therefore the city of Naumburg from which he derived his name may be assumed to be not the one in Saxonia, famous for its old cathedral, but to be either the Naumburg on the river Queis or the one on the river Bober, both of them small towns in Silesia. His father had brought him to Fuerth, Bavaria, the old community which enjoyed great prosperity in the early 18th century, some of whose members owned superb houses on the market-place and in the most beautiful streets of the city, as reported by a contemporaneous Christian observer.²⁸ This observer adds the antisemitic remark: "A haughty people which so clothes itself in gold, velvet and silk that even its own leaders had to set a limit how far anyone could go according to class and sex." These *Takkanot* of the year 1728 are preserved. Our observer quotes them in German translation but forgets to add that such sumptuary laws were also quite common among Christians.

Here in Fuerth, Elkone's father became a cantor, a profession into which his son followed him.²⁹ In his case musical talents were combined with a gift for art. We find Elkone's name on two magnificent Torah-curtains of the years 1713/14 and 1723/24. We may thus estimate that Elkone was born in the second half of the 17th century and was active in the first half of the 18th.³⁰ Neither the year of his birth nor the year of his death is recorded.

In order to gain an impression of Elkone's art, let us consider a curtain which he fashioned for the community of Kriegshaber near Augsburg. Upon the dissolution of the community of Kriegshaber, this curtain, together with two others, was given to the community of Augsburg (fig. 7). There it was probably burnt or stolen during the Nazi outrages. But at least the last rabbi of Augsburg, Dr. Ernest I. Jacob, now in Springfield, Missouri, took care to have these pieces photographed and to

²⁸ Andreae Wuerfel, *Historische Nachrichten von der Judengemeinde in der Hofmarkt Fuerth*, Frankfurt and Prague, 1754, pp. 6 ff.

²⁹ Also his descendants were cantors. One of them was Samuel Naumbourg (1817-1880), the well known liturgical composer.

³⁰ Already in 1713 the cantor Elkone is mentioned as assisting a woman in her endeavor to obtain a bill of divorce. Cf. J. J. Schudt, *Juedische Merckwuerdigkeiten*, 4th part, 2, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1717, p. 218.

describe them in a memorandum of which he is the author. Mr. Ernst Mayer of Hayward, Calif., a friend of Dr. Jacob, was kind enough to provide me with descriptions and pictures.

According to the inscription on the top of the curtain, it was donated by Judah Loeb, son of the late president and director of the Jewish regional district, Simon Ulma, and by his wife Guendele, daughter of the president of the Jewish regional district, Isashar Beer. A second inscription, placed at the bottom, is taken from the Book of Deuteronomy (33.7), "Hear, O Lord, the voice of Judah," and alludes, of course, to the name of the donor. Simultaneously dots over some of the letters indicate the year of its manufacture: 1723/24.³¹ Beneath it the artist identifies himself: "Work of my hands with the help of God, Elkone, cantor in Fuerth."

The mirror of the curtain consists of green velvet on which are embroidered rhombs filled with flowers and fruit. In the borders of red velvet, two columns stand on high bases formed according to the technique of application just mentioned. Winding around these columns are vines pleasantly surrounded by their leaves, blossoms, and grapes. Such columns, covered with vines, appear already on a curtain from Prague of the 17th century (fig. 6), and we may assume that this custom came to Bavaria from Prague if not from Vienna. While, in Prague, the columns are straight, here they wind spirally so that the outlines resemble the curves of a wavy line.

What these columns represent leaves no doubt: they are the columns which stood in front of the Solomonic Temple in Jerusalem. Since the curtain was suspended on the east side of the synagogue where the eyes of the worshipper turned toward Jerusalem, this allusion to the lost Temple was quite apt. We discovered similar mementoes over the Torah-niche of Dura Europos. We can but marvel at the tenacity with which Judaism adhered to the memories of the lost Temple and to the hope for its reconstruction.

But why do the columns on our curtain have this strange spiral form? This is commonly explained as the effect of the style

³¹ Dr. Jacob, in his memorandum, arrives at the number 1729. But the π in the Divine Name must not be read as a numeral.



SPIRAL COLUMN FROM ST. PETER'S IN ROME

of the age, Baroque which, in these twisted columns, manifested its love of movement. Actually, however, their origin lies further back, in some ancient columns which are preserved in St. Peter's at Rome. The best known of these columns stands there in the Capella della Pietà. It, as well as the other columns, is reputed to have come from Solomon's Temple. Yet one glance at our reproduction of it suffices to brand this opinion as legend. Such rich forms, developed out of Greek columns, belong to the last period of Hellenism. Probably they did not arise before the 4th century of our era. But such precise knowledge was made possible only by 19th century research. Formerly it was deemed certain that these columns had adorned the Solomonic Temple. They were accordingly regarded with the highest reverence. Again and again we find imitations of them in real or painted columns from the Middle Ages down to the 17th and 18th centuries when their popularity reached its peak.

It remains to be asked how the knowledge of them, at first restricted to Christian circles, filtered through to the Jews? The Jews, though in outward matters rigidly segregated from Christians, came in constant contact with Christians and may therefore easily have heard that columns of Solomon's Temple still existed in Rome's foremost church. When Michelangelo's statue of Moses for the tomb of Pope Julius II was erected in St. Pietro in Vincoli, the Jews followed the event with deep interest. Vasari, the well known writer on art, in his biography of Michelangelo, reports: "Well may the Hebrews continue to go there as they do every Sabbath, both men and women like flocks of starlings, to visit and adore the statue; for they will be adoring

a thing not human but divine."³² Thus individual Jews may have entered St. Peter's in order to view the famous columns or, at the least, they may have heard about them.

The first trace of any knowledge of the columns among Jews is revealed in books printed in Hebrew in 16th century Italy. It is well known that the printed Hebrew book in the 15th century did not yet possess a title-page. The first title-page appears in the 16th century. In the beginning these title-pages were ornamented with initials and decorative border-lines, but later a portal becomes a favorite motif. The entrance of the book is likened to the entrance of a house. At first the columns of the portal are straight, but already in the middle of the 16th century spiral columns are to be found on prints of Mantua.³³ Soon such columns, acquiring great popularity, get to be utilized in other countries likewise. Thus they appear in the 17th century in Holland, then the main market for Hebrew books; for example in the work *Hesed l'Abraham* which was issued in 1685 by Immanuel Athias in Amsterdam. From there the motif wandered to Germany. I deliberately offer as an example the title-page of a German *Mahzor* which was printed first in 1690 and then in 1708 in Bavaria. This is the very same Bavaria in which was created the curtain of Elkone Naumburg. The influence upon the Torah-curtains shows itself not only in the columns but also in the flower vases which, with their curved handles, rest upon the columns.

On our curtain, two rampant lions are to be seen between these two vases, turning toward a crown adorned with semi-precious stones. According to the inscription, this is the crown of the Torah, after the well known metaphor in the Sayings of the Fathers (4.17). Usually these two lions which occur so frequently in Jewish art are interpreted as symbols of Judaism. "Judah is a lion's whelp," says the Blessing of Jacob. In my opinion it would be more correct to regard these lions as cheru-

³² Vasari, *Lives of the most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, translated by Gaston du C. de Vere, London, 1912-1915, IX, p. 24.

³³ Cf. I. Sonne, "Druckwesen," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, VI, col. 55 ff.



MAHSOR, PRINTED 1708-09 IN SULZBACH, BAVARIA

bim, successors of the lion-cherubim which used to flank the Ark or the Torah-chest in the art of antiquity. The crown would then be a substitute for the Torah which the cherubim are adoring.

This crown of the Torah appears once more on the toppiece, this time at the extreme right edge, followed by two further crowns. According to the same statement in the Sayings of the Fathers, these are the crowns of the priesthood and of the kingship. In this sequence — for, in Jewish art, pictures also are read from right to left — these crowns are enumerated in the Sayings of the Fathers.

The common name for this top-piece is *Kapporet*. This is also the name by which the cover-plate of the Ark was designated. The name must have stimulated the artist's imagination for, on that toppiece, we find all the paraphernalia which were kept in the Tent of Meeting. Reading from right to left, we notice the Ark itself and the Tablets of the Law which, though they actually

rested inside of the Ark, are here placed above it. The laver of brass which stood between the Ark and the altar is followed by the seven-branched candelabrum which, due to its symmetrical structure, serves well as centerpiece. Then we perceive the altar of burnt-offerings, recognizable by its lattice-work, and finally the table with the shew-bread.

At the extreme top, the *Kapporet* bears the line: "I have set the Lord always before me" (Ps. 16.8) and "Know before whom thou art standing" (Ber. 28b). These words are evidently directed to the cantor who, in the ancient synagogue, had his lectern next to the steps which led up to the Torah-shrine. From that position the words were easily legible. In the eighteenth century, the custom arose of inscribing these words on a special tablet, the *Shiviti*-table, placed over the cantor's desk.

Let us finally mention that Elkone Naumburg, apart from his work on the Torah-curtain, embroidered a Torah-mantle for the same synagogue. A developed taste would have both pieces in the same style. For that reason, the spiral columns, the rampant lions, and the crown of the Torah occur also on the mantle. Beneath the crown, the date 1723-24 appears — the same as on the curtain.

From the community of Kriegshaber, a second curtain came to Augsburg. This curtain, though unsigned, bears all the characteristics of Elkone Naumburg's art. Not only are the same motifs used, but these appear also with the same finesse which we noticed previously on the signed curtain. The *Kapporet* is even more richly decorated: not five, but seven scallops hang down from it and, to the above mentioned objects embroidered on it, are added the Tent of Meeting and the censer.³⁴ The curtain was donated by Abraham, son of the president and the director of the Jewish regional district, Elia Ansbach, and by his wife, Pesle, daughter of the late Judah Loeb. The dotted letters, according to the memorandum of Dr. Jacobs, indicate

³⁴ This Torah-curtain is reproduced in *Juedisches Lexikon*, IV, pl. 134; also in Theo Harburger, "K'le Kodesh und Parochoth im bayerischen Synagogengesetz," in *Bayerisch-Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1929, p. 121. There, likewise, a reproduction of the above mentioned Torah mantle of Elkone Naumburg.

the year 1731. Due to the extreme diminutiveness of the picture, I was unable to verify this observation.

A third curtain of Elkhone Naumburg's, this time supplied with his name, was once to be found in the Jewish School in Hildesheim, Prussia.³⁵ According to the inscription, the curtain was donated in the year 1714 by Joseph Oppenheim and his wife, Toelze. Joseph was the only son of David Oppenheim, the famous Rabbi and bibliophile. His wife was the daughter of Samson Wertheimer, the incalculably rich court Jew of Vienna, one of the few permitted to continue residence in the Austrian capital after the expulsion of 1670. The combined wealth of the two donors permitted them to turn to an eminent artist who indeed did his best to merit his reputation. The mirror is of green velvet; the rest, of the same material in red. Otherwise the same motifs return which we have already discovered on the curtains from Augsburg: the columns, the crowns, the cherubim, and, on the *Kapporet*, the implements of the Tent of Meeting. Here, too, the embroiderer supplied, in addition to the curtain, a Torah-mantle which was later cut in two, and also a cover for the reading desk, all of them in a form resembling that of the curtain.

We hear of a fourth curtain of Elkhone Naumburg only from an old report. The curtain itself, for which I searched while still in Germany, seems to have been lost. Andreae Wuerfel, in the previously mentioned book about the Jewish community of Fuerth, which appeared in the year 1751, mentions the oldest local synagogue (p. 26), its curtain, and its *Kapporet*, and then adds the words: "The Cantor Elkhone created both pieces for the Jewish community of Amsterdam. But because they turned out to be too sumptuous, they were returned by the community of Amsterdam. Later they were bought for 1200 Gulden by the Gumberts in Fuerth, and then generously donated to the old

³⁵ The instructor, Oskar Stern in Hildesheim, owned a photograph of the curtain and sent a copy for me to the Jewish Museum in Berlin. The Museum, with its great photographic treasures, was pillaged by the Nazis. Mr. Stern seems to have been one of the victims. — Compare also Leopold Loewenstein, "Zur Geschichte der Juden in Fuerth," in the *Jahrbuch der Juedisch-Literarischen Gesellschaft*, VIII, Frankfurt a/M, 1911, p. 155.

main synagogue." The Dutch employers were certainly not Sephardim but rather Ashkenazim. The evidence lies in the fact that the curtain possesses a toppiece. Some among these Ashkenazim could match their wealth with that of the Sephardim; for example, a few members of the widely branched family Gumbert, also known as Gumpert or Gomperz, who went to Holland.³⁶ It is not impossible that these may have donated the curtain and that when it was rejected by the directorate of the community, the Gumberts may have turned to their relatives in Fuerth and induced them to buy the curtain.

It is quite characteristic that the curtain was rejected in Amsterdam because of its costliness. The Jews, living here in an environment dominated by a Calvinist population, may have been impressed by the simplicity of the Calvinistic services. In Bavaria, on the other hand, the Jews had ample opportunity to observe the pomp and magnificence of the Catholic church and may have desired to imitate that splendor.

If I do not err, a second commission came to Elkhone from a foreign country, this time, from England. Here too, Ashkenazic, not Sephardic, circles ordered the curtain. In the year 1726, the so-called Hambro synagogue was erected in London, named after its founder, the Ashkenazi Mordecai B. Moses, called Hambro because he came from Hamburg. Today the synagogue no longer exists and the curtain has disappeared.³⁷ The curtain was displayed at the Anglo-Jewish historical exhibition which took place in London in 1887, and the richly illustrated catalogue contains a tablet from which our reproduction has been taken (fig. 8). The donor, whose name is embroidered on the curtain, was a member of the widely branched Ashkenazic family Margoloth, specifically, Isaak Margoloth from Bunzlau, probably the Bunzlau in Bohemia, and his wife, Gittele, the daughter of Ephraim, from רויין בירן. The year of the donation is 1726-27. Thus the curtain was donated on the occasion of the synagogue's dedication. The name of the artist is not indicated, but the style

³⁶ Cf. David Kaufmann and Max Freudenthal, *Die Familie Gomperz*, Frankfurt a/M, 1907, p. 266.

³⁷ Kindly communicated by Dr. Cecil Roth, Oxford, England.

of the curtain resembles in detail the one we have observed in other creations of Naumburg. It suffices to compare it with the Augsburg curtain (fig. 7) in order to notice the likeness. Since the London curtain is somewhat broader, the artist has placed between the columns and the mirror the motif of two vertical stripes. But even these stripes recur in the oeuvre of Naumburg. They are to be found in the second Augsburg curtain which we could with certainty ascribe to this artist. In view of all this, we are justified in assuming that Elkone Naumburg was the leading embroiderer of Torah-curtains in 18th century Germany.

Finally, we come to the third embroiderer of Bavaria whose name has been preserved, the fashioner of the curtain in the Jewish Museum of New York. The exact name is Jakob Koppel Gans, son of Judah Loeb, from Höchstädt or Höchstadt in Bavaria. The facts of this man's life are unknown to us. All that we do know is that he was active from 1726/27 and possibly until 1772/73, judging from the dates with which the curtains are inscribed. To the latter date we shall come back presently.

On a curtain which he worked for the synagogue in Krumbach, Bavaria, Gans calls himself an embroiderer in gold, *Goldsticker*, and the same is meant, of course, on the New York curtain, by the abbreviation for *Goldsticker* װ״ג, which follows his name. Gans is thus professionally what Naumburg was avocationally, a *Goldsticker*, as that craft was called in Germany, because he knew the art of using thin threads of gold and silver to enhance the splendor of his workmanship.

One certain product of his hands is the curtain just mentioned, the curtain in Krumbach. That curtain surely does not exist any more today, but I can at least offer a reproduction (fig. 9) which was first published in my *Einfuehrung in die juedische Kunst* (Berlin, 1935). According to the inscriptions which Theo Harburger extracted from the original,³⁸ the donor is a certain Loeb, son of the congregational president, Abraham, from Kriegshaber. We have heard of this place already in connection with two curtains which Naumburg had embroidered for that small but wealthy community. Hendel, daughter of Nathan

³⁸ In the previously quoted article K'le Kodesch and Parochoth, p. 121.

Segal, is named as Loeb's wife. The dotted letters are computed by Harburger as 1727, and though my own calculation yields the date 1733 to 1734, I must give credence to Harburger's decision.

From the point of view of style, this curtain is closely related to the one made by Elhone Naumburg. Here too the mirror is treated in a purely ornamental manner. It also is flanked by spiral columns entwined with vines. Here too the *Kapporet* has five scallops which are filled with ritual objects from the Tent of Meeting. Finally, here too, the curtain is topped by three crowns and inscribed with the previously quoted Hebrew verses.

With this close relationship the question arises: Did Elhone Naumburg precede Jakob Koppel Gans, or was Gans influenced by Naumburg? To me it appears more probable that Naumburg had the more creative part in that relationship; first, because Naumburg was the older — his activity began in 1714, that of Gans in 1726/27 — and secondly, because the quality of his products is superior to that of Gans, and may, for that very reason, have invited imitation. Compare the Augsburg curtain of Naumburg (fig. 7) with the Krumbach curtain of Gans (fig. 9). In Gans' curtain the mirror is divided into 24 rhombs, in Naumburg's it is divided into 32; each one of them treated much more delicately. It appears possible that Gans may first have worked in Naumburg's workshop in Fuerth and only later settled in Höchstädt, or Höchststadt, as an independent artist.

A second curtain created by Gans is identified, in the aforementioned article by Harburger, among those to be found in Ichenhausen, a town not far from Augsburg. The donor was Abraham, son of the president of the Congregation of Kriegshaber, Josle, and his wife, Blümle, daughter of Moses, the president of the Congregation in Öttingen, Bavaria. The date of the year is to be read either 1730 or 1737.

The third curtain by Gans, apparently the only one preserved, is the one which is now in the Jewish Museum in New York (note figure 10). Its general structure is the same as that of the others: again the spiral column entwined with vines, again the flower vases above the capitals, again the crown of the Torah, and, in the *Kapporet*, the three crowns respectively of the Torah,

of the priesthood, and of the kingship, and again the ritual objects belonging with the Tent of Meeting.

In addition, however, there are discernible some variations from the norm. The first consists in the fact that not lions but griffins flank the crown of the Torah. Above we have voiced the assumption that the lions at the sides of the crown are not to be interpreted as symbols of Judah but rather as cherubim. The same should be said of the griffins, those legendary birds shaped in the rear like lions. These are frequently used in Jewish art, probably under the supposition that the word "griffin," *γρῦψ* in Greek, is related linguistically to the Hebrew word *Kerub*.

On the toppiece, at the sides of the crown, two birds with lifted wings appear. These also may be cherubim. We have recalled that Philo, in his description of the cover of the Ark, characterized the cherubim as birds. And we have further seen that ancient art at times represented the cherubim on the Ark as birds: such at least is the case with the floor mosaic in Beth Alpha (p. 360). But because Philo's writings, composed entirely in Greek, were read very rarely by Jews, the representation of the cherubim as birds was abandoned in later centuries. This does not preclude that occasionally representations of birds may have appeared anew, perhaps through the medium of Christian scholars who had mastered Greek. Since the days of Humanism, when the Christian world began to study Judaism with renewed vigor, a lively exchange of ideas had taken place between scholars of both religions. Notable in this connection is what Johannes Buxtorf the Elder (1564 to 1629), the great Christian Hebraist, had to say in his *Synagoga Judaica* about the Torah-curtain of the Jews: "They like to have birds embroidered upon them, because birds hovered over the Ark of the Covenant in the Old Testament."³⁹ Here we find Philo's view re-echoed.

In the introduction to our essay, we pointed out that next to these birds are to be found the letters *ו* and *ז* falsely identified as numerals. In reality these letters are abbreviations of Hebrew

³⁹ I am quoting in accordance with the German edition of the *Synagoga Judaica*, Basle, 1643, p. 309.

words and should be read שני כרובים.⁴⁰ That such cherubim appeared on the toppiece is surely related to the fact that it was called *Kapporet*, like the cover on the Ark.⁴¹

It is a further peculiarity of the New York curtain that the mirror is filled not with ornaments but with a seven-branched candelabrum in magnificent gold embroidery. It must have been well known, in those times, that the Talmud prohibited the erection of a seven-branched candelabrum in the Synagogue (R. H. 24a) in order to avoid duplicating the revered implements of the Temple. Hence the alternative of representing the candelabrum pictorially. Indeed, since the Middle Ages, the candelabrum, together with other appurtenances of the Tent of Meeting and of the Temple, frequently appears in Pentateuchs and in Pentateuchal commentaries. In this tradition, the Menorah likewise appears on our curtain. It figures here not merely as a decorative object, but also as a starting point for all of the pertinent information available at that time. The Bible (Ex. 25.31) and the Talmud (Men. 28b) distinguished three adornments on this candelabrum: the flowers, the knobs, and the cups. The flowers, according to the Talmud, resemble the blossoms on the capitals of architectural columns and therefore appear on the curtain like the capitals of Ionic columns. The knobs are supposed to be reminiscent of Cretan apples from which they receive their spheric form. The cups have, according to the Bible, the form of almonds; while, according to the Talmud, they are comparable to Alexandrian cups. In outline, our embroiderer has reproduced the form of the almond, but simultaneously he represents a cup which, like many old cups, is supplied with a cover.

It is not by chance that even the flames over the seven lamps are so drawn that the one in the middle rises vertically while

⁴⁰ I had inquired of Professor Alexander Marx in New York regarding the significance of the two letters, but hardly had I sent the letter off when the thought occurred to me that ש כ might indicate "Two Cherubim." I was all the more delighted when Prof. Marx replied that Professor Ginzberg whom he had consulted had suggested the same interpretation.

⁴¹ Also the Augsburg curtain of Elkhone Naumburg (fig. 7) bears over the embroidered Ark on the toppiece the cherubim in the form of birds.

the ones on the side lean toward it. In his Commentary to the Pentateuch (Ex. 25.37), Rashi, with Talmudic support, (Men. 98b) says concerning these flames: "As for the six lamps atop the six branches that extend from the sides of the middle shaft, turn the mouths of those lamps toward the middle lamp so that, facing the mouth of the middle lamp, they may throw their light toward the middle shaft, the main part of the candelabrum." Here, as in the case of the cherub bird, one gains the impression that a man of great Jewish knowledge must have assisted the embroiderer.

Two doves perch on the richly decorated base of the candelabrum, olive leaves in their beaks. The significance of these doves can be gleaned from the Talmudic statement: "The assembly of Israel is like a dove, as it is written: 'Ye are as the wings of a dove covered with silver' " (San. 95a).

Naturally the two double eagles on the curtain and the toppiece are also not to be considered mere ornaments. They likewise have their special significance. But what significance? According to the inscription which has been placed over the mirror, the donors of this curtain were Jakob Kitzingen — Kitzingen is a town in Bavaria — and his wife, Hendel, daughter of Tewele Ulma from Pfersee, likewise in Bavaria. Now Bavaria, like the rest of Germany, contained Free Imperial Cities, that is to say, towns which were not subject to Bavarian sovereignty but which owed allegiance directly to the Holy Roman Empire. For such towns, the coat of arms was the double-headed eagle. The first town to occur to one would be the imperial town of Augsburg, — not the city itself, for Jews had been expelled from there for centuries — but rather the neighboring towns, Kriegshaber, Steppach, or Pfersee, where the exiles had taken refuge. In one of these suburbs our curtain may have hung. Its donor may have had some special reason for commemorating and emphasizing his allegiance to the Holy Roman Empire. He may, perhaps, have had commercial relations with the Royal Court in Vienna.⁴²

⁴² Coats of arms, such as the Polish eagle, are, as matter of fact, by no means rare in Jewish art. These can be found on synagogue lamps, on Chanukah candelabra and lamps, on Mizrach tablets, on Torah-doors and the like.

The hypothesis naming Augsburg and its vicinity is further strengthened by the circumstance that the seal of the Jewish community, already in the Middle Ages, showed the double eagle, dating from the time when the city had become a Free Imperial City. This seal had been printed in a book about Augsburg, including the Jews of Augsburg, which appeared about the middle of the 18th century,⁴³ and the publication of which may also have become known to the Jews. Thus the double eagle on our curtain may, at the same time, record a reminiscence of the Jewish community which was the home of the donor's ancestors.

One quality of our two double eagles remains to be mentioned which the Imperial double eagle lacked: on their breasts two fish are visible. That too cannot be meaningless, because in this curtain everything possesses significance. Two fish in a parallel or in an opposite position signify the Zodiac sign of the Fish, and the zodiac has again and again, since the days of antiquity, figured in Jewish art. Also the title page of the *Mahzor* which we have reproduced (p. 376) bears this sign, together with the sign of the constellation Crab. According to the Jewish calendar, the month of Adar stands under the sign of the Fish. But what has this month to do with our curtain? Possibly the curtain had been finished in Adar, and had been destined to commemorate Purim, the joyous festival of that month. Another possibility would be that the donor of the curtain had been born in the month of Adar. Consequently he may have owned a signet ring on which were engraved two fish which he desires to see also on the curtain. A third possibility is that since, according to tradition, Moses was born on the 7th of Adar, and died on that same day (Meg. 13b, Sot. 13b), the Torah-shrine was considered the proper place for commemorating the man who put the Torah into writing.⁴⁴

⁴³ Cf. Paul von Stetten, *Geschichte der Heiligen Roemischen Reichs Freyen Stadt Augspurg*, I, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1743, p. 70. Also reproduced in *Juedisches Lexikon*, I, col. 5711/12 and in *The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia*, I, p. 613.

⁴⁴ Mr. Steven S. Schwarzschild, a student at the Hebrew Union College, apprises me that two fishes, ranged parallel, appear on the coat of arms of the city of Forchheim in Bavaria. However, Forchheim is not a Free Imperial

Finally, a word about the curtain's date. From the point of view of the observer, a biblical verse appears to the right of the lower double eagle: "But Thou Israel, my servant, Jacob whom I have chosen, the seed of Abraham, My friend" (Isa. 41.8). This, of course, is an allusion to the donor whose name was Jakob. Simultaneously the letters זרע אברהם אלהים, surmounted by dots, serve as numerals and yield the date 1772 or 1773. Since the curtains which Gans created for Krumbach and Ichenhausen date from the years 1726/27 and 1730 or 1737, this would give a considerable lapse of time. In order to reduce that interval, Prof. Alexander Marx has offered the hypothesis that the dot over the letter ך may be erroneous.⁴⁵ If it were missing, the curtain would have originated 40 years earlier. I have a basic aversion to textual emendations wherever the least possibility exists of an intelligible reading without them. Such a possibility certainly obtains here. The interval between the New York curtain and the earliest one by Gans amounts to 46 or 47 years, a period of time certainly compatible with an individual's period of activity. Assuming that Gans was born around 1700, he could have produced the curtains of Krumbach and Ichenhausen at the climax of his power, and would have been scarcely over 70 when creating the curtain which is now in New York. This view would comport with the assumption that Gans was born later than Naumburg and that he studied and worked in the latter's shop.

As we remarked in connection with the Krumbach curtain, and as we can observe again on the New York curtain, Gans' style, by contrast with the fine and delicate art of Naumburg, is somewhat robust and heavy. Both evince, in their technique, the *horror vacui*. But in Naumburg's works the objects are distinguished more clearly and acquire a somewhat restful effect from the foil on which they stand. In the curtain of Gans, on the other hand, the brocade is patterned, and the objects embroidered upon it tell so much that is difficult to comprehend everything

City. So that leaves the double eagle unexplained. Preferable is the explanation deriving the fish from the Jewish sphere of thought.

⁴⁵ In *The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, Register* 1944/45, New York, 1944, p. 108.

in one glance. Nevertheless, the multiplicity of phenomena endows the curtain with a special appeal, for through all of the objects here represented, we gain a deep insight into the world of ideas prevailing among the Jews of the 18th century.

* * * *

The New York curtain, if produced in 1772 to 1773, terminates not only the activities of Gans, but also the period in which all of these curtains of Baroque originated. There arose the foreshadowings of a new style, that of Classicism, a style which is also reflected in art among the Jews. "Noble simplicity and quiet greatness" are the characteristics which Winckelmann revered among the Greeks and prescribed for the art of his day. The Torah-curtains of this style dispense with all pomp, and content themselves with a small number of motifs in clear and simple outlines.

At the same time there dawned, for the Jews, the period of the Emancipation bringing them the opportunity to collaborate in European art as architects, sculptors, and painters and not only as illuminators, medalists, and embroiderers. With this entrance into European society, as advantageous as it may have been from one point of view, Jewish art loses something. As long as the Jews lived in the ghettos, art revolved, as did the entire life of the Jews, around religion and manifested its highest capacities in the synagogues and their adornment. Since the Emancipation, the art of the Jews becomes predominantly secular and its religious branches wither away.

For this reason, we can close our consideration of old Torah-curtains at this point. A long line of development, begun in the Biblical period and continued through the centuries from the Middle Ages to modern times, has now ended.

A PALESTINIAN POLEMIC AGAINST IDOLATRY

A Study in Rabbinic Literary Forms*

By LUITPOLD WALLACH

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GEORGE F. Moore once stated that "the teachers of Palestine, addressing themselves to men of their own religion, did not feel it necessary to polemicize against polytheism and idolatry as the Hellenistic literature does."¹ This statement should be modified since the Mishna *Aboda Zarah* and the polemic we are going to deal with bear ample proof that Palestinian teachers vigorously polemicized against polytheism and idolatry. The *Mekilta*, *Masseket Bahodesh*,² reads as follows:

1. A certain philosopher asked Rabban Gamaliel: It is written in your Law: "For I the Lord Thy God am a jealous God" (Ex. 20.5).
2. But is there any power in the idol that it should arouse jealousy?
3. A hero is jealous of another hero, a wise man is jealous of another wise man, a rich man is jealous of another rich man, but has the idol any power that one should be jealous of it?
4. R. Gamaliel said to him: Suppose a man would call his dog by the name of his father, so that when taking a vow he would vow "By the life of his Dog." Against whom would the father be incensed? Against the son or the dog?
5. Said the philosopher to him: Some idols are worthwhile. "What makes you think so?" R. Gamaliel asked him.

* The author is indebted to Professor Abraham Cronbach for valuable editorial help.

¹ *Judaism in the first Centuries of the Christian Era*, I, (Cambridge, 1932), 363.

² Chapter VI, ed. Lauterbach, vol. II, p. 244-246; *Mekilta*, ed. H. S. Horowitz and I. H. Rabin, p. 226.

6. Said the philosopher to him: There raged a fire in a certain province but the temple of the idol in it was saved.
7. Was it not because the idol could take care of itself?
8. Said R. Gamaliel to him: I will give you a parable: To what is that comparable? To the conduct of a king of flesh and blood when he goes out to war. Against whom does he wage war, against the living or against the dead? The philosopher then said: "Indeed, only against the living."
9. Then the philosopher said to him: But if there is no usefulness in any of them, why does He not annihilate them?
10. Said R. Gamaliel to him: But is it only one object that you worship?
11. Behold, you worship the sun, the moon, the stars and the constellations, the mountains and the hills, the springs and the glens, and even human beings.
12. Shall He destroy His world because of fools?
13. "Shall I utterly consume all things from off the face of the earth? Saith the Lord" (Zeph. 1.2).
14. The philosopher also said to him: Since it causes the wicked to stumble (compare Zeph. 1.3), why does God not remove it from the world? But R. Gamaliel continued saying: Because of fools? If so, then since they also worship human beings: "Shall I cut off man from off the face of the earth?" (Zeph. 1.3).

The analysis of the conversation between the pagan philosopher and the Jewish Patriarch consists of four questions and four answers. The polemical argumentation contains two different kinds of *topoi*. Jewish *topoi* against idolatry are the powerlessness of the idol (4), its uselessness (5, 8), its lifelessness (8) and the foolishness of the idolaters (12, 14). Opposed to these *topoi* are the pagan's *topoi* such as the alleged power of the idol (1, 7), its usefulness (5, 9), and its mere existence (6). Gamaliel's argumentation (10-12) underlies the presumption that it is possible for man to recognize the greatness of the Divine Artifex in His useful creations, an idea corresponding — as is well known — to that of the older Stoa.

The polemic represents an old sediment of the older Jewish

polemic against idolatry.³ Its argumentation is the same as the one used since the days of the prophets and its *topoi* are the same as those employed by Hellenistic Judaism in its defense of monotheism against the aggressions of polytheism. Vestiges of this Hellenistic Jewish polemic are preserved especially in the diatribe against idolatry in the *Wisdom of Solomon*, XIII–XV, in *Philo's* and *Josephus' writings*, in the *Letter of Aristeas*, in the *Book of Jubilees*, and in other apocryphal and pseudepigraphic writings.⁴ The polemic fits perfectly into the literary scheme of the argumentation against idolatry as used by Hellenistic Judaism.⁵

The composition of the polemic proves that it is a literary unit of its own consisting of two literary parts (1–4, and 5–14). The purely literary origin can easily be proved. As a matter of fact, it was — hitherto unnoticed — indirectly proved already centuries ago by the arrangement of the polemic's parallel transmission in the Talmud tractate *Aboda Zarah* 54b–55a. There we encounter the following succession of texts:

a) Mishna *Aboda Zarah* IV.7: . . . שאלו הזקנים ברומי

b) As a Boraita: Tosefta *Aboda Zarah* VI.7 f., ed. Zuckermann d. p. 469 f.: . . . ת"ר שאלו פלוסופין את הזקנים ברומי.

c) The polemic under consideration in a paraphrased rationalization: שאל פלוסופוס אחד את ר"ג. The original Bible quotation in the polemic, Ex. 20.5, is supplanted by Deut. 4.24, since the following text *d* contains this citation likewise. *C* itself was inserted into the treatise not only on behalf of *a* and *b* but especially for the reason that the redactor recognized the coincidence of the literary scheme of *d* with that of the first part of the polemic (1–4).

d) After *c* follows this story:⁶ "Agrippa, the army chief of Agrippas, asked R. Gamaliel, it is written in your Torah, *For the*

³ Robert H. Pfeiffer, "The Polemic against Idolatry in the Old Testament," *JBL*, XLIII, 229 ff.

⁴ Compare G. F. Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 363, notes 1–4, where a survey of the respective sources is given.

⁵ See I. Heinemann, *Poseidonios' Metaphysische Schriften*, I, (Breslau, 1921), p. 145 f., and his classification of the literary schemes; also Paul Wendland, *Die urchristlichen Literaturformen*, (Tuebingen, 1912), 202.

⁶ The reading in the current editions does not make sense. The *Codex Monacensis* 95, ed. H. L. Strack (Leiden, 1912), *ad loc.*, offers the better reading: אנריפא שר צבא אנריפס.

Lord, thy God is a devouring fire, a jealous God (Deut. 4.24). Is a wise man jealous of any but a wise man, a strong man of any but a strong man, a rich man of any but a rich man? (Agrippa reasons: since God is jealous of idols there must be some divine power in them too). He (Gamaliel) replied, I shall give you a parable: To what is the matter like? To a man who marries an additional wife. If the second wife is her superior, the first will not be jealous of her; but if she is her inferior, the first wife will be jealous of her."

This story represents a transmission parallel to the first part of our polemic (1-4). This fact gave one more reason to the redactor of the treatise to insert *c* into *Aboda Zarah*. The Agrippa story possesses remnants of the same literary elements of a conversation between a pagan and Gamaliel as *c*, and is composed along the same polemical lines ferreted out for the first time below. It was inserted into the *Mekilta* context by the compiler as evidence of another interpretation of Ex. 20.5. We must regard *Mekilta Bahodesh* VI, ed. Lauterbach, vol. II, p. 246, line 125, as the original continuation to the *Mekilta* text, p. 244, line 103, and our polemic, p. 244, line 103-p. 246, line 124, as representing an interpolation.

The polemic is submitted in the form of a conversation between Rabban Gamaliel II and a pagan philosopher and possesses a definite historical background. The connection with the patriarch is a purely fictitious one and a literary frame in order to give an established polemical literary scheme (see below) an historical background. A collection of fictitious polemical conversations ascribed to Gamaliel was the source of it since all these colloquies between the patriarch and philosophers as handed down by rabbinic literature⁷ are of a similar literary form.⁸

A hint where the connection between Gamaliel and the philosopher is to be sought is to be discerned in the argument of the philosopher regarding the usefulness of idols (5-7): "There raged a fire in a certain province but the temple of the idol in

⁷ W. Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, (Strassburg, 1903), 76 ff., quotes all these conversations.

⁸ The literary origin of another of these conversations was extensively proved in my paper, "The Textual History of an Aramaic Proverb," *JBL*, LX (1941), 403-415.

it was saved. Was it not because the idol could take care of itself?" Such argument in the mouth of a pagan has a bearing of hidden sarcasm on the opposite Jewish polemical *topos* against idolatry, reiterated since the days of the prophets, that all pagan temples and altars will be finally destroyed by fire: "And all the idols of the heathen shall be abandoned. And the temples burned with fire, and they shall remove them from the whole earth" (Enoch, 91.9). The appearance of the argument concerning the survival of a pagan temple in connection with Gamaliel II points also to a definite historical situation to which the pagan interlocutor means to allude in his polemic with the patriarch. Besides bringing out the reciprocal and dialectical meaning of the argument, the pagan's way of arguing presents the Hellenistic view that the existence of a town without a temple is something never to be found on this earth.

Plutarch, in one of his treatises against the Epicureans, has preserved a discourse against a book of the Epicurean Kolotes. There, polemizing against Epicurus' contempt for the belief in God, Plutarch states⁹ that there are towns abroad without walls and without books "but a town without temples and gods" nobody has ever seen and no one will ever see.

Thus the pagan's argument in the polemic alludes to the destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem. By this argument the validity of the Jewish God was questioned who — according to the pagan's opinion — was not able to protect his own temple.

Gamaliel uses in the polemic the sophistic fallacy "Is the Dog the Father?" mentioned by Plato in his *Euthydemus*, a satire on the eristic way of reasoning. Compare:

I	II	III
PLATO, <i>Euthydemus</i> , 298E ¹⁰	<i>Mekilta</i> , (see above, 4)	<i>Aboda Zarah</i> 54b
(Dionysodorus to Ctesippus) Just tell me, have you a dog? Yes, a real rogue, said Ctesippus. Has he got puppies? Yes	R. Gamaliel said to him (<i>viz.</i> a certain philosopher): Suppose a man would call his dog by the name of his father,	I will give you a parable: To what is the matter like? To a human king who had a son, and this son reared a dog to which

⁹ *Against Kolotes*, XXXI (1126).

¹⁰ *The Loeb Classical Library, Plato*, ed. Lamb, vol. IV, 475.

I	II	III
PLATO, <i>Euthydemus</i> , 298E	<i>Mekilta</i> , (see above, 4)	<i>Aboda Zarah</i> 54b
a set of rogues like him. Then is the dog their father? Yes, indeed . . . Well now, is not the dog yours? Certainly, he said. Thus he is a father, and yours, and accordingly the dog turns out to be your father.	so that when taking a vow he would vow "By the life of his Dog." Against whom would the father be incensed? Against the son or the dog?	he attached his father's name, so that whenever he took an oath he exclaimed "By the life of this dog, my father!" When the king heard of it, with whom was he angry—his son or the dog? Surely he was angry with his son.

A comparison of the texts¹¹ reveals the utilization of I in II while III presupposes a transmission corresponding with the more original tradition II. The fallacy is already rationalized in III and clothed in the literary form of a simile, in the course of paraphrase. The hypothetical formulation of II is partially dissolved and concretized in III. The man who according to II confers his father's name on his dog therefore becomes in III a king and his son.

Till now, II was regarded as an allusion to the well known oath of the Greeks "By the Dog."¹² The fallacy in III was called "ein hoechst merkwuerdiges Gleichnis."¹³ Plato's utilization was not recognized. But even without the latter identification the non-Jewish origin of the passage should have been recognized, since it does not coincide with the methods of inference developed by tannaitic literature. Moreover, fallacies are not at all to be found in tannaitic literature.¹⁴

¹¹ The transmission of the Babylonian Talmud was inserted into the *Midrash Lekah Tob* to Exodus ed. S. Buber (Wilna, 1884), 207; to Deuteronomy ed. (Wilna, 1921), 15; into *Jalkut Shimeoni*, ed. Zolkiew, (1851), I, 288.

¹² W. Bacher, *op. cit.*, p. 78 note 3. Saul Lieberman, *Greek in Jewish Palestine* (New York, 1942), 126 did not recognize the Plato quotation.

¹³ I. Ziegler, *Die Koenigsgleichnisse des Midrasch beleuchtet durch die Roemische Kaiserzeit*, (Breslau, 1903), p. 315; Hebrew Section, p. CXIV, No. VII, where Ziegler overlooked the older *Mekilta* passage. Since the simile in *Abodah Zarah* 54b, is of a purely literary origin it has nothing to do with the "roemische Kaiserzeit."

¹⁴ Adolf Schwarz, "Die Hauptergebnisse der wissenschaftlich hermeneutischen Forschung," in: *Scripta Universitatis atque Bibliothecae Hierosolymiticae*

II represents a rhetorical sophism, a fallacy contrived for the deception of a second person. The elements of the conclusion are: dog (A), name (B) of the dog, father (C) of the interrogator, name (B) of the father. From the ambiguity of the middle term B, results in consequence of a fallacious reference, 1.A is B; 2.C is B; 3.A is C, and C is A, i. e.,: the dog is a father and the father of the interrogator a dog.

The fallacy in II assumes the confusion of different inflectional forms and of parts of speech. In that the arguing of II follows the eristic disputation preceding the fallacy I in Plato's *Euthydemus* that he who is the father of anyone must be the father of everyone, for a father cannot be a not-father! Therefore, if C is in B like A, and A is a dog and a father, C being a father too, subsequently must also be a dog! The transmission of the fallacy in II is enthymematic since it lacks the third figure of conclusion which is implied by the rhetorical question at the very end of II.

Aristotle in his *Peri ton sophistikōn elenchōn* assigned this kind of fallacy to the fallacies *secundum dictionem*. Plato ridiculed this sophistic way of reasoning.¹⁵ Therefore with regard to the fallacy "Is the Dog the Father?," he made Ctesippus (*Euthydemus*, 299 A) say: "Yet I doubt . . . if your father, Euthydemus — the puppies' father — has derived much good from this wisdom of yours." Although Plato did not take these fallacies seriously in their logical structure, Aristotle nonetheless refuted them by pointing out (XXIV, 179a, 24) their logical shortcomings with the observation that all arguments such as "Is the Dog the Father?" depend upon accident, "for it is evident . . . that there is no necessity for the attribute which is true of the thing's accident to be true of the thing as well."

The combination of the sophistic fallacy "Is the Dog the Father?" with the Greek oath "By the Dog"¹⁶ in a Jewish polemic

tanarum, Orientalia et Judaica, I (Jerusalem, 1923), p. 7 (of the Hebrew reprint): בנאון צדק ונכל לומר, שאין היקשים מוטעים מצויים בכלל בספרות־התנאים.

¹⁵ Other fallacies *secundum dictionem* are based on homonymy, prosody, and amphibology. Cf. also R. Robinson, "Plato's Consciousness of Fallacy," *Mind, A Quarterly Review of Psychology and Philosophy*, LI (1942), 97 ff.

¹⁶ Compare for instance, Plato, *Gorgias*, 416 B; 466 C.

against idolatry proves that the origin of the oath must have been known to the originator of the combination. In the formulation "By the Dog, God of the Egyptians" is the oath, for instance, quoted by Plato.¹⁷ The oath is indeed traceable to the Egyptian God Anubis which was represented with a dog's head.¹⁸ One can imagine the fictitious Gamaliel addressing the fictitious pagan philosopher and parodying the above quoted words of Plato to Ctesippus: "Yet I doubt, if you, Philosophos, have derived much good from this wisdom of yours since you swear by a God who turns out to be a dog." The compiler of the polemic must have been fairly well acquainted with the Hellenistic way of thinking.¹⁹ There can be no doubt that he must have known Plato's dialogue directly and that the fallacy is not taken from a *florilegium*.²⁰

One reason for the combination of fallacy and oath was the current Jewish naming of an idolator by the *epitheton* כלב in early rabbinic literature.²¹ This denomination undoubtedly came into existence due to the place libidinous sexual intercourse occupied in Greek religion and its different denominations since כלב expresses foul and impudent behavior. The naming may have gained more momentum through the oath "By the Dog." To a Jew it was blasphemy of the highest degree to hear people swear to one's God by a term only used in a derogatory sense.

The literary scheme of the polemic as a whole consists of two different parts. The sources of the first (1-4) and of the second part (5-14) have already been pointed out. The results

¹⁷ Plato, *Gorgias*, 482 B.

¹⁸ Cf. E. A. W. Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, (London, 1904).

¹⁹ About other vestiges of Plato in the rabbinic literature see Julius Guttman, *Die Philosophie des Judentums*, (Muenchen, 1933), 50 f., 378, note 83; Manuel Joel, *Blicke in die Religionsgeschichte*, I, (Breslau, 1880), 114 ff., about the influence of the *Timaues*.

²⁰ With regard to the structure of the fallacy, Edmund Husserl, *Logische Untersuchungen*, II, 46 f. would have said that the object dog never coincides with the meaning of the word dog. To Bertrand Russell, *An Inquiry into Meaning and Truth*, (New York, 1940), the problem would be a merely linguistic one. The formal logic involved in fallacies was recently discussed by Stuart Chase, *The Tyranny of Words*, (New York, 1938), 226 ff.

²¹ Compare for the following my paper quoted in note 8.

of that literary investigation are corroborated by another literary transmission parallel to the first part of the polemic. This is found in the Midrash *Tanḥuma Teruma*, III, which reads as follows: מעשה בטורנוס רופוס ששאל את רבי עקיבא. אמר לו: למה הקדוש ברוך הוא שונא אותנו, שכתב, ואת עשו שנאתי' (Mal. 1.3)? אמר לו: למחר אני משיבך. למחר אמר לו: רבי עקיבא, מה חלמת זה הלילה ומה ראייתך? אמר לו: בחלומי היה לי הלילה שני כלבים, אחד שמו רופוס ואחד שמו רופינא. מיד כעס. אמר לו: לא קראת שם כלביך אלא על שמי ושם אשתי?

The elements of this polemical conversation compared with those of our polemic (vv. 1-4) are:

I

1. A polemic between R. Akiba and Tineius Rufus.
2. Rufus asks Akiba a question with reference to the meaning of a Bible quotation.
3. Akiba uses in his answer Rufus and Rufina as the names of his dream dogs.
4. The reaction of Rufus: מיד כעס

II

1. A polemic between Gamaliel and a pagan philosopher.
2. The philosopher asks Gamaliel a question with reference to the meaning of a Bible quotation.
3. Gamaliel uses in his answer the hypothetical naming of a person after a dog.
4. The philosopher's reaction:
 - a) According to the original formulation of the *Mekilta*: במי האב מתקנא.
 - b) According to the paraphrased transmission *Aboḡah Zarah* 54b: על מי הוא כועס.

The comparison shows that the rationalization of the element 3 is more advanced in I than it is in II. The coincidence of the same wording in I, 4 and II, 4b, proves that I stands nearer to the younger transmission of II.

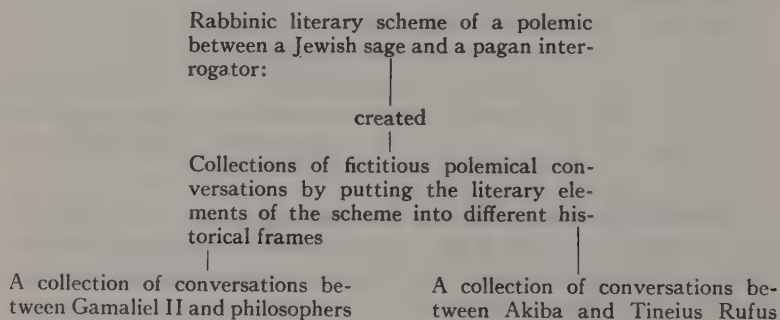
All of these parallels are highly significant, inasmuch as they indicate, beyond all ambiguity, that we are dealing with an *already existing* literary scheme of rabbinic polemics against idolatry. This scheme was used each time in a different fictitious historical setting: once it is applied to Gamaliel and a pagan philosopher, once to Akiba and Tineius Rufus — in Jewish sources always Tyrannus Rufus — the Roman governor in Palestine before the Bar Kokba insurrection, once to Gamaliel and an army chief Agrippa. The similarity of the different conversations is due to the common literary archetype underlying all

of them. It is the same literary scheme of a polemical conversation between a Jewish sage and a pagan interrogator.

We have thus proved, for the first time, that not only Hellenistic Jewish polemics against idolatry and polytheism but likewise such polemics in early rabbinic literature had developed a characteristic literary scheme of argument. From the literary point of view, only a short step intervened between such a scheme and the collecting of polemical conversations. We have mentioned the derivation of our polemic from a collection of polemical conversations ascribed to Gamaliel. Similarly are the conversations between R. Akiba and Rufus²² derived from a collection of polemical discussions between that Jewish sage and that Roman governor.

In considering the complicated literary matter we are dealing with, the following depiction may be useful, since it throws light upon additional complexities we are going to discuss afterwards:

ARCHETYPE:



The polemic under consideration possesses a special theological significance. Solomon Schechter²³ once voiced the opinion that the Jewish laws against idolatry were not a practical issue, an opinion we cannot share any longer today since our insight into theological problems has deepened during the past decades.

²² Compare the passages quoted by W. Bacher, *op. cit.*, p. 287 ff., who voiced the opinion that there be no reason to look upon the conversations as "gaenzlich erdichtet."

²³ S. Schechter, *Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology*, (New York, 1909), 141.

George Foot Moore²⁴ also pointed out that certain passages in Jewish apocryphal writings "have a historical appropriateness in the mouth of the supposed speakers rather than an actual interest." But the invention of a literary scheme for polemical conversations about idolatry speaks against Schechter's and Moore's assumptions. Behind our polemic as a whole stands a very definite theological conception.

The polemic may be classified as a "silent" polemic against the inevitable fate of Judaism inflicted on it by a historical development that seemed to be against the hope and the promises given by God to His people Israel. The polemic turns out to be a vestige of the endeavor of tannaitic Judaism to find some sense in the senseless historical experiences it had to endure. The pagans triumphed over Israel, but Israel recognizing the external powerlessness of its spirit in a hostile world, withdrew this spirit into the internal sphere of literary anonymity where this spirit could continue the fight against Israel's enemies — at least in an intellectual way. This shadow fight was based upon a religio-psychological fact. By the urgency of bitter historical experiences religious expression always becomes more passive. The primary Jewish *fides quae creditur* thus withdrew into an individualistic *fiducia*. The hopelessness of the historic reality was counterbalanced by an unshakeable belief in the future. This shifting into the sphere of eternal hope was a self-defense against the Christian and pagan *opinio historica* that Judaism had suffered a definite setback by the destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem and the Jewish Commonwealth.

The anthropological content of the polemic reveals how a Jew of the second century regarded idolatry and how a pagan's idolatrous thinking looked to him.

As we see the pagan's attitude of reverence for the idol through the eyes of the Jewish compiler of the polemic, the pagan is pictured as expressing the opinion that the idol is fraught with divine power. This power manifests itself to such an extent that God becomes jealous of it (1-3) and the idol is able to protect itself (6-7). Therefore, the power does not only manifest

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 363, note 4.

itself in the consciousness of the idolater but also in a differently conditioned form outside an individual consciousness in an objective manner. That meant to the idolater the confirmation of his belief in the idol since he recognized that it is the same power he is aware of (3). Both expressions of power are to him but different modes of the same origin. The idol's power distinguished as material from the power worshipped in the idol by the idolater is for that reason a vindication of the idolater's belief.

The criticism of idolatry in this polemic is noticeably mild. "But is it only one object (דבר אחד) that you worship?" sounds — aside from the rhetorical implication involved in the question — like a measure of tolerance for the existence of a certain form of idolatry. And the following enumeration (11) of the different objects of idolatry testifies to an upward movement in judging them. The starting point is the lowest grade of idolatry: the worshipping of aniconic idols (דבר אחד), i. e., wooden posts, stone steles and cones, unshaped idols. According to the wording (10) such fetishes, representing a degraded form of animism, were to the Jewish compiler of the polemic a somewhat milder expression of idolatry since the worship of the sun, the moon, the stars and the constellations are the very objects he is especially fighting against.²⁵ The worst idolatrous object is the worship of human beings. Thus, we encounter a conception of idolatry which makes a distinction between the worship of idols to be condemned to a greater or smaller extent. But contrary to the Bible and to the viewpoint of rabbinic Judaism the worship of aniconic idols was not less idolatrous than the worship of the constellations or of man. Therefore the gradual distinction of idol worship cannot be primarily of Jewish origin. The same gradual distinction is also to be found in the diatribe against idolatry in the *Book of Wisdom*. Its origin is, according to the competent judgment of Isaac Heinemann,²⁶ a Greek one. This and the Greek literary influence we pointed out are traces that imply in a polemic against idolatry a very definite anthropological appropriateness

²⁵ The mention of נבעות וזרים in 11 does not interrupt the upward movement of the enumeration materially since they are of a literary origin, taken from the *Tosefta, Aboda Zarah*, VI, 8, ed. Zuckermann, p. 470.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 147.

already alluded to by the mention of the dog-headed Egyptian god Anubis, very often associated with widespread Greek mystery cults. Originally the jackal-headed in Egypt, Anubis became later — as the son of Osiris — the dog-headed when confused with the wolf god of Lykopolis. The North African Apuleius of Madaura (second century C. E.) mentions in *The Metamorphoses*, XI, 9 ff., in the description of a religious procession, Anubis as leading the row of the gods. Anubis was represented by a priest with a dog mask.²⁷ On a marble altar of the Isis Temple erected by Caligula at Rome the dog-headed Anubis is holding the herald stick in the left hand, the green palm branch in the right.

Summarizing the results of the inquiry we may state, that the polemic as a whole represents a subsequent interpolation into the original *Mekilta* text. It was taken from a collection²⁸ of fictitious polemic conversations ascribed to the Patriarch Gamaliel II and a pagan philosopher and is of a literary origin. It must have originated at the latest during the second century.²⁹ A later date is not imaginable due to its historical and theological appropriateness. Theologically speaking it is a remnant of the silent but strong rabbinic resentment against the heathen world that had crushed Jewish secular and religious independence and largely reduced Jewish existence to a *spatium imaginarium*.

The polemic uses in its argumentation against idolatry the same *topoi* and the same terminology as occur in Jewish Hellenistic literature. Thus the naming of the idolaters as שוטים (12) has its equivalent, for instance, in the Diatribe against Idolatry in the *Sapientia* (XIV.11; XV.5.14). These traces of Greek influence go back to the predominantly Hellenistic cultural orienta-

²⁷ *The Golden Ass*, XI, 11, ed. S. Gaselee, 1915, (*The Loeb Class. Libr.*), 556; Anubis, laeva caduceum gerens, dextera palmam virentem quatiens; about the latter see C. Mackay, "The Sign of the Palm-tree," *Church Quarterly Review*, CXXVI, 187, sqq.

²⁸ The existence of another *Collection* was ferreted out in my paper "The Colloquy of Marcus Aurelius with the Patriarch Judah I," *JQR*, XXXI (1940-41), 259-286. Professor Louis Finkelstein (*ibid.*, p. 226) evidently shares the solution I advanced.

²⁹ I assume that the tannaic material used by the second part of the polemic (5-14) was not used in the redacted form or version of the *Mishna* and *Tosefta*.

tion of the Judaism of the first two centuries C. E. Greek as the world language of these times was the language spoken by Hellenized Jews and used likewise in their religious practice. Inscriptions found on Synagogues, on tombstones, and in Jewish catacombs, are mostly in Greek. There exists even the fragment of a Jewish-Greek prayerbook preserved by a Christian Church regulation³⁰ of the fourth century. Recently, a Greek papyrus version of the tefilla reappeared.³¹ The interpretation of the Bible and the sermons in the Synagogues were likewise in Greek. From there, elements of Jewish Hellenistic Bible exegesis representing a Greek Haggadah filtered down into the rabbinic haggadah. This is the main source for the occurrence of Greek ideas and thoughts, of elements of Greek culture, literature, and folk-lore in the rabbinic writings extant till today. This is the Jewish Hellenistic background the traces of which were unearthed in the polemic we dealt with.

With regard to literary history the recognition is important that not only Jewish Hellenistic literature had developed a literary scheme for its argumentation against idolatry but rabbinic literature too. That fact indicates that there does not exist a breach in the continuity between Hellenistic and rabbinic polemic against idolatry. The same valuation of idolatry in the respective argumentations bear ample proof as to the correctness of this statement. The polemical tools employed were the same. As a matter of fact, our polemic reaches even out to the continuation which rabbinic polemic against idolatry found in the early Christian apology. It is known³² that the latter, when it was paving the path for the new creed, used the polemical weapons developed and used by rabbinic literature. Early Chris-

³⁰ In the *Constitutiones Apostolicae*, VII, 33-38; I follow the excellent survey on the Hellenistic Jewish Diaspora as outlined by Hans Lietzmann, *Geschichte der Alten Kirche I* (1932), 64-101.

³¹ Cf. A. Marmorstein, "The Oldest Form of the Eighteen Benedictions," *JQR*, XXXIV (1943), 137-159. Marmorstein did not use the tefilla fragments preserved in the *Constitutiones Apostolicae*. Arthur Spanier, "Die erste Benediktion des Achtzehngebetes," *MGWJ*, 81 (1937), 71-76, has already used them for the interpretation and inquiry in the historical development of the Hebrew text, anticipating a number of Marmorstein's suggestions.

³² Compare P. Wendland, *op. cit.*, passim.

tian literature used the term "philosophos" to designate a man with recognized authority in issues of a religious nature.³³ The Hellenist Justin Martyr, for instance, bids the Jew Tryphon to address him as a "philosopher."³⁴ Now the place of the "philosophos" mentioned as interrogator in our polemic becomes, in this apologetic environment, quite clear.

We hope to have shown by this inquiry that only by applying the modern method of literary form criticism to a haggadic text, its literary form and its origination is to be recognized. It is not enough to deal with such haggadic texts by taking into consideration internal factors only. The external forms are of decisive importance too.³⁵ But to depend only on the literary forms in which the traditions are transmitted, would be wrong too because there exists naturally an inseparable connection between the external forms and the inner contents of every text. Thus, the origination of any rabbinic text which is going to be used as a historical source affords before its being utilized as an instance of historical evidence, a literary treatment. The task is to ferret out its historical appropriateness as to the literary implications involved in it. Only after such an inquiry is it possible to judge whether the respective text is of primary historic value or just the secondary literary transmission of a prior historical source.

Now, what does it mean if the form-critical treatment of the polemic we dealt with found out that a story ascribed by ancient tradition to Rabban Gamaliel, a man of prime importance in the history of early Judaism, turns out to be definitely a mere literary product? Although the story is unhistorically ascribed to Gamaliel, it is nevertheless a valid source of information of the

³³ See note 8. I was unable to see F. Doelger, "Zur Bedeutung von philosophos und philosophia in Byzantinischer Zeit," known to me by the note in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XL (1940), 293.

³⁴ Cf. L. Wallach, in *JQR*, XXXI (1940-41), 284.

³⁵ A. Marmorstein, "The Background of the Haggadah," *HUCA*, VI (1929), 185, was the only scholar to stress the importance of such an approach. Cf. also the form critical characterization of haggadic material by M. Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel* (London, 1934), 133 ff. Arthur Spanier applied the method to liturgical texts; see his studies in *MGWJ*, LXXVIII-LXXXI (1934-1937).

tannaitic Judaism which produced it. Its value is not lessened because the social forces of rabbinic Judaism created it rather than the historical Gamaliel. Even if the larger part of the stories and tales contained in rabbinic literature should be of such a purely literary origination, all these literary creations reveal more about the Judaism of the times of their writing than they do of the venerable men of Jewish tradition to which they are ascribed. But for that reason there is no less value in them. They are as valid as historical sources as other source material provided that they are handled in the proper scientific way. The challenge is to see, through the dazzling sheen of men who made Jewish history, some of the history made by the impact of their names.

Only by the method of literary form criticism, the real insight into the origination of rabbinic literature can be gained and the indispensable treatment provided with that must be preliminary to the utilization of any haggadic text as a historical source.

THE LATE ASSYRO-BABYLONIAN CULT OF THE MOON AND ITS CULMINATION AT THE TIME OF NABONIDUS

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IN 1906, H. Pognon found in the neighborhood of Eski Har-rân a damaged stone block with the remnants of four columns of a cuneiform inscription three of which could be copied, whereas the fourth and shortest column was completely destroyed. Pognon who soon published and discussed the text¹ noted that its author was a devoted worshipper of the god Sîn. He further recognized that the second column deals with the rebuilding by Nabonidus of Eḫulḫul, the famous Sîn sanctuary of Ḥarrân, and that it refers to Nabonidus as *mâru ši-it lib-bi-iâ* "the son, the offspring of my heart".² Hence he deduced (*op. cit.*, p. 10) that this monument was set up on the orders of a hereditary high priest who, because of his old age — referred to in col. II, ll. y+28 f. — and his friendship for the royal benefactor of his temple, called the king of Babylon his son. At the same time, Pognon inferred that that priest died shortly after Nabonidus had been defeated by Cyrus. But P. E. Dhorme who, in a review of Pognon's work, published a revised transliteration and translation of the text³ soon discarded that hypothesis. He showed that the inscription is a funerary memorial consisting of two

¹ See his *Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie et de la région de Mossoul*, Paris 1907, pl. XII f. and pp. 1 ff.

² See col. II, ll. y+5 and y+28.

³ See *Revue Biblique* 1908, pp. 130 ff. As regards the transliteration and translation of the text here under discussion by Langdon in *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*, IV (Leipzig 1912), pp. 288 ff., Thureau-Dangin, *RA* IX (1912), p. 84 was certainly right in stating that it is by far inferior to Dhorme's edition. With Boissier, *Babyloniaca* XI (1929/30), p. 207, it is, however, to be noted that Langdon's interpretation of col. II, ll. y+21 f. was better than Dhorme's. This is also true of his reading of col. III, l. z+24 the last word of which is *šal-mat-[su]*, and not *š[mu-u-a]*, as was assumed by Dhorme. For the exact interpretation of col. I, ll. x+6 and col. III, l. z+19 see Boissier,

parts, viz. a main part exhibiting the characteristics of an autobiography and an epilogue recounting elaborate orders given by Nabonidus in connection with the burial of the personality whose life story is recorded in the main part of the text. From the fact that the epilogue refers to the Babylonian king as ^{md}*Nabû-na'id šar Bâbili*^{K1} *mâru š[i-it] lib-bi-šú na-ra-a[m] ummi-šú* he deduced that that person was a woman. Taking it for granted that *na-ra-a[m] ummi-šú* is to be rendered by "his mother's darlin[g]", Dhorme further concluded that this woman whose name, Šumûa-damqa, he recognized in ll. x+2 and x+20⁴ of the first column⁵ was Nabonidus' mother who is known to have died in 547 at Dûr-karâšu, a town situated on the Euphrates not far from Sippar⁶. Possibly influenced by Pognon's aforementioned opinion, he also regarded it as self-evident that she was a priestess.

In contradistinction to an unfounded hypothesis of Langdon (*op. cit.*, pp. 57 f.) according to which our monument was erected in honor of Nabonidus' father⁷, Dhorme's conclusions have

loc. cit., pp. 206 f. Additional corrections of Dhorme's and Langdon's editions will be found below, *passim*.

⁴ Whereas l. x+20 offers ^f*MU-u-a-dam-ga*, l. x+2 has [^f]*MU-u-a-da-an-ga*. For the meaning of this interesting personal name see below, pp. 418 f.

⁵ A few years after the publication of his above-cited review, Dhorme seems to have been of the opinion that the name of the author of the autobiographical section of our document does not occur in the extant parts of the inscription; for in a brief footnote published in *RA* XI (1914), p. 105 he asserted that the reading ^f*Šumu-u-a-* should be replaced by *mim-mu-u-a*. This reading makes, however, no sense. Inversely, the reading first proposed by him agrees well with the context in ll. x+2 ff.; see below, pp. 414 f.

⁶ So according to obv., col. II, ll. 13 ff. of the so-called Nabonidus-Cyrus Chronicle, B. M. No. 35382 (latest edition in facsimile, transliteration and translation by Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, London 1924, pl. XI ff. and pp. 110 ff.).

⁷ That Langdon's theory, which was endorsed by Olmstead, *Hebrew Union College Annual* II (1925), pp. 43 and 46, is without foundation was shown by Dhorme, *RA* XI (1914), p. 105, note 1 and Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 36, who, nonetheless, admits the possibility that the inscription from Eski Harrân concerns Nabonidus' father (see *ibidem*, pp. 37 and 41). Strangely enough, Langdon regarded it even as possible that Nabonidus' father who, according to his hypothesis, lived from 653-549 was a son of Esarhaddon, although the latter is known to have died in 669.

been widely accepted. De Genouillac⁸, Dougherty⁹, and Weissbach¹⁰ approved them in every respect. Thureau-Dangin (*loc. cit.*, p. 84), expressly referring to Dhorme, considered it certain that the woman who, in the main part of the inscription, speaks in the first person, was Nabonidus' mother, and Meissner¹¹, who omitted any reference to his source, must also somehow have relied upon Dhorme when he boldly asserted "Nabonid (555-539) stammte aus einer vornehmen Familie in Harran Sein Vater Nabu-balatsu-ikbi lebte dort als reicher Fürst, seine Mutter war Oberpriesterin des Mondgottes". But a careful examination of the available data shows that Dhorme's deductions cannot be correct. Aside from the fact that the Eski Harrân inscription contains no evidence compelling us to regard Šumûa-damqa as a woman of sacerdotal status, it is a priori unlikely that Nabonidus' mother was a priestess; for it is almost certain that, in Babylonia and Assyria, priestesses, and particularly high-ranking priestesses of Šin, were not permitted to have children¹². To believe that Nabonidus' mother was the author of the autobiographical part of our text is equally difficult in view of the following passage: "Šin, the king of the [god]s, raised my head¹³ and provided me with a good name in the country. He blessed me with long days (and) delightful

⁸ RA XXII (1925), p. 74.

⁹ *Nabonidus and Belshazzar*, New Haven 1929, pp. 18 ff.

¹⁰ *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, I, Berlin und Leipzig 1932, p. 382.

¹¹ *Könige Babyloniens und Assyriens*, Leipzig 1926, p. 276.

¹² For the evidence which points in this direction see Landsberger, *ZA* XXX (1915-16), pp. 70 ff. and especially Koschaker, *Rechtsvergleichende Studien zur Gesetzgebung Hammurapis*, Leipzig 1917, pp. 226 ff. In view of Meissner's afore-quoted contention, it is interesting to note that in his *Babylonien und Assyrien*, II, Heidelberg 1925, p. 70, Meissner himself stated: "Kinder durften die Oberpriesterinnen nicht bekommen". The tentative proposal of Böhl (*Symbolae ad jura orientis antiqui pertinentes Paulo Koschaker dedicatae*, Leiden 1939, p. 161) to accept Dhorme's hypothesis with the modification that Nabonidus had been adopted by Šumûa-damqa is, of course, untenable since the text expressly says that he was "the offspring of her heart" (š[i-iš] lib-bi-šû; the restoration of š[i-iš] is certain; see below, p. 408 and cf. above, p. 405 with note 2), i. e., a germane descendant of hers.

¹³ For the meaning of this term and the conclusions to be drawn from its occurrence in this context see below, p. 410.

years¹⁴, and thus, from the time of Ashurbanipal, the king of Assyria, until the 9th year of Nabonidus, the king of Babylon, the son, the offspring of my heart, he granted me¹⁵ 104 pleasant years (spent) before Šin¹⁶, the king of the gods, and kept me alive¹⁷. Since the ninth year of Nabonidus' reign is the year 547/6, it follows from this statement that Šumûa-damqa was born in 651/0. On the assumption that she actually was Nabonidus' mother and that, as may reasonably be surmised, Nabonidus was born before his mother had completed her thirtieth year, this date would imply that Nabonidus was born between c. 631 and 622 and that, consequently, he was at least 66 years old when, in 556, the conspirators against Lâbâši-Marduk chose him as king. But this is most unlikely (1) because he was very active during the seventeen years of his rule over the Babylonian empire and (2) because his subsequent rule over Carmania lasted long enough as to lead to a conflict between him and Darius¹⁸. An even stronger argument against Dhorme's interpretation of Šumûa-damqa's memorial results from a comparison of the following data: Our inscription leaves no doubt that the 104 years of Šumûa-damqa's life were spent in the city of Harrân¹⁹, where she was buried, and covered at

¹⁴ Literally, "he added for me long days, years of joy of heart".

¹⁵ Literally, "he put in my heart".

¹⁶ Literally, "vis-à-vis to Šin".

¹⁷ See col. II, ll. y + 22^b ff.: ^dŠin šar [ilâni]^{meš} ri-ši-ia ul-li-ma šuma lâba ina mâti iš-ku-na-an-ni ûmâ^{mu} ar-ku-tû šanât^{meš} tu-ub lib-bi uš-ši-pa-am-ma ul-tu pa-ni ^{md}Aššûr-bani-apli šar ^{md}Aššûr a-di-i šanat ^{gkam md}Nabû-na'id šar Bâbili^{KI} mâru ši-it lib-bi-id 1 me 4 šanât^{meš} damqâti^{meš} ina pu-û-li šâ ^dŠin šar ilâni^{meš} ina lib-bi-ia iš-ku-nu-ma ú-bal-liṭ-an-ni.

¹⁸ This important chronological detail is found in Abydenus' excerpt from Berossus, as preserved in the Armenian version of Eusebius' *Chronicle*; cf. Schnabel, *Berossos und die Babylonisch-Hellenistische Literatur*, Leipzig und Berlin 1923, pp. 149 and 274 (fr. 53) and especially Karst, *Eusebius Werke*, V, Leipzig 1911, p. 20, note 6 and p. 246 sub 58 and Marquart, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran*, II, Leipzig 1905, p. 145, note 2.

¹⁹ This follows, *inter alia*, from the fact that our text speaks first (in col. I, ll. x + 3 ff.) of Šumûa-damqa's unceasing prayers for Šin's "return" to "his city" and then (in the lines preceding the passage here under discussion) of the rebuilding of Eḫulḫul and Šin's and his family's entry into the reconstructed sanctuary. For additional evidence to the effect that Šumûa-damqa

least part of Nabonidus' ninth year²⁰. On the other hand, we learn from the Nabonidus-Cyrus Chronicle²¹ that Nabonidus' mother died not far from Babylon as early as the fifth day of the same regnal year. In consideration of the distance between Harrân and Babylon, these facts manifestly preclude the identification of Šumûa-damqa with Nabonidus' mother.²²

Once it is realized that Šumûa-damqa was not Nabonidus' mother, it is obvious that the abovementioned passage of the epilogue in which Nabonidus is called *na-ra-a[m] ummi-šû* designates him as "his grandmother's — or, less likely, great-grandmother's — darlin[g]"²³ and not as "his mother's darlin[g]", as was supposed by the afore-cited scholars. It will be noted that this interpretation of col. III, l. z+24 has the advantage of avoiding the above-discussed chronological difficulties arising from Dhorme's theory.

In view of the preceding evidence, it is a matter of course that, in the passage translated above (pp. 407 f.) from the second column of Šumûa-damqa's biography, *mâru* "son" is used in the sense of "grandson", "descendant", a use repeatedly found

spent her life in the city in the neighborhood of which Pognon found her memorial see below, pp. 410 ff.

²⁰ It is to be remembered in this connection that when preceding precise dates such as "the month of M" or the "yth year of king K", the preposition *ad* (col. II, l. y+26, see above, note 17) has always an inclusive sense.

²¹ Col. II, ll. 13 ff.; cf. above, p. 406 with note 6.

²² Incidentally, on the basis of Dhorme's theory we would have to assume that, after having waited for 54 years (see Nabonidus, Stela from Hillah, col. X, ll. x+12 ff.) for her god's return to "his city" and rebuilt sanctuary, a priestess decided soon after this event (which took place in 552/1 [see below, p. 435, note 145], i. e., when she was almost a hundred years of age) to leave her god's famous temple and the country in which she enjoyed a "good name" in order to spend her last days far away not only from her god but also from her son who resided neither in the place where she died nor in the near-by capital city of Babylonia.

²³ Since *abu* "father" frequently means "ancestor", it is self-evident that *ummu* "mother" may occur in the sense of "ancestress", "great-grandmother" and "grandmother". Its use in the latter sense is in fact attested by the document 83-1-18, 45, published by Waterman, *AJSL* XXIX (1912-13), pp. 9 f.; cf. the remarks of Streck, *Assurbanipal*, I, Leipzig 1916, p. CCXXVI, note 3. See also the following footnote.

in royal inscriptions²⁴. This brings us to the question as to whether Šumûa-damqa was a queen or at least a princess. A first indication which points in this direction is furnished by the beginning of the same passage in as much as the words "Šin, the king of the [god]s, raised my head and provided me with a good name in the country" strongly recall a phrase occurring in a slightly older inscription from Babylon. We are referring to the Neriglissar cylinder, No. 1 (Langdon, *op. cit.*, pp. 208 ff.) in which Nebuchadrezzar's son-in-law alludes as follows to his elevation to the throne: "(Since) the time when Marduk, the great lord, raised my head (and) gave me the land and people to rule (them), I am faithful to Marduk" ²⁵. Further evidence to the effect that Šumûa-damqa ruled over the city of Harrân and the surrounding territory is to be found a few lines before the end of her biography where, besides speaking of her "elevation", she mentions her generosity toward the nobility and others to whom she owed her dignity: "Everyone among their sons and whosoever of [their] people and their grandees whom I had made richer in possessions and property at the time

²⁴ So particularly in the well-known passages of Nabonidus' inscriptions which speak of "^mNa-ra-am-^dŠin mâr ^mŠarrum-kên" and "^mŠarrum-kên šar Bâbili^{KI} ù ^mNa-ram-^dŠin mâr-šu". If Güterbock, ZA XLII (1934), p. 75 intimates that the cuneiform sources erroneously regarded Šarrum-kên and Narâm-Šin as father and son, he underrates the historical knowledge of the Babylonians and Assyrians, as is perhaps best shown by the significant fact that the Old Assyrian king Narâm-Šin was a grandson of Šarrum-kên of Aššûr, precisely as Narâm-Šin of Akkad was the grandson of Šarrum-kên of Akkad. As regards the use of *mâru* in the sense of "descendant", see Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, Leipzig 1896, p. 390^b and cf. *mâr* ^m*Da-ku-ri* (var. ^m*Da-ku-ru*) and analogous expressions serving as gentilics.

²⁵ See col. I, ll. 15 ff.: *î-nu-um* ^d*Marduk bêlu rabû ri-e-ši-ia ú-ul-lu-ú mâta ù ni-šim a-na bi-e-lu id-di-nam a-na-ku a-na* ^d*Marduk bêli-ia ka-a-a-na-ak . . .*. It is to be noted that in the Nebuchadrezzar cylinder No. 17 (Langdon, *op. cit.*, pp. 144 ff.) the same statement recurs almost verbatim; see col. I, ll. 16 ff.: *[î]-nu-um* ^d*Marduk [be]-lî ra-bi-ù ri-e-ši-ia ú-ul-lu-ù ni-ši ra-ap-ša-a-tim a-na ri-é-ú-tim id-di-na-am a-na-ku a-na* ^d*Marduk be-lî-ia ka-a-a-na-ku*. Cf. further the cognate passages in ll. 1 ff. of the Nabonidus cylinder AO 6444 (published in facsimile, transliteration and translation by Dhorme, RA XI [1914], pp. 109 ff.), l. 14 of the Sargon text K. 1349 (see below, p. 468, note 304), ll. 269 f. of Sargon's "Annals" (Lie, *The Inscriptions of Sargon II*, Paris 1929, p. 42), etc.

[w]hen they²⁶ raised my head — let them say²⁷ '(On) the day not destined for thee²⁸ (thou hast passed away)!' "²⁹ The expectation expressed in the last words of this passage, viz. to be publicly mourned, is particularly significant since a general mourning used to take place upon the death of royalty³⁰.

A cognate passage immediately preceding the lines just quoted sheds some light on the political circumstances under which Šumûa-damqa had come to rule over Harrân: "He prov[ided me]³¹ with an excellent³² name before them. As (if I had been to him) a daughter, the offspring of his heart³³, they

²⁶ As was observed by Dhorme, *Revue Biblique* 1908, p. 135, note 1, it results from the context that "they" refers to human beings and not to gods. This applies, of course, also to the possessive pronoun in *mârê^{meš}-šû-nu* "their sons", *ni-šû-[su-nu]* "[their] people" and *amêl^{meš}-rabûti^{meš}-šû-nu* "their grandees". See further below, p. 414.

²⁷ Lit., "let their mouth put".

²⁸ I. e., "too early". Old Testament passages such as I Reg. 13.30; Jer. 22.18; 34.5 make it certain that Dhorme, *loc. cit.*, p. 135, note 3 was right in assuming that the words *ûm lâ šîmtak* (lit., "the day of thy non-destiny") are taken from the beginning of a funerary hymn, an assumption suggested to him by the fact that funerary inscriptions usually deplore a premature death.

²⁹ See col. III, ll. z+9 ff.: *ma-na-ma ina mârê^{meš}-šû-nu* ■ *man-ma ni-šû-[su-nu] u amêl^{meš}-rabûti^{meš}-šû-nu šá [i]-nu-ma re-ši-[ia] ul-lu-ú ina bu-šu-ú ù makkû[ru] ú-at-tir-šû-nu ûm la šîm(!)-tak pi-šû-nu liš-ku-nu.*

³⁰ See Klauber, *Assyrisches Beamtentum*, Leipzig 1910, p. 21; Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien I*, Heidelberg 1920, p. 79; Ebeling, *Tod und Leben nach den Vorstellungen der Babylonier*, I, Berlin und Leipzig 1931, pp. 58 ff.; von Soden, *ZA XLIII* (1936), pp. 254 f. Cf. also biblical passages such as II Chr. 35.24 f. and I Reg. 14.13; 18.

³¹ That the verb governing the object *šuma^a bab-ba-nu-ú* is to be restored to *iš-[ku-na-an-ni]* is suggested by the phrase *šuma tâba ina mâti iš-ku-na-an-ni* which occurs in l. y+23^b (see above, pp. 407 f. with note 17). It seems possible that both l. y+23^b and l. z+3 allude to Šumûa-damqa's name which, as will be seen below, p. 419, may have been regarded as the counterpart of an Akkadian personal name *Šumî-damîq "My name is good".

³² For *bab-ba-nu-ú* "very good", "excellent", a term denoting the opposite of *bîšu* "bad", "evil" in l. 35 of Xerxes' "Dâiva Inscription", see Ungnad, *Glossar*, p. 41. Dhorme's reading *kûr-ba-nu-ú* "des présents" does not agree with the context and is all the more unlikely since a word *kurbanû* "presents" does not occur elsewhere in the Akkadian sources.

³³ Dhorme's emendation of *lîb-bi-šû* to *lîb-bi-šû-[nu]* is not only precluded by the context but also incompatible with Pognon's copy.

raised m[y] head. Afterwards the destiny carried them³⁴ (away)."³⁵ In other words, Šumûa-damqa's "elevation" took place because she was warmly recommended by a predecessor who was neither her father nor her mother³⁶. Since she mentions here as well as in col. III, ll. z+13^b ff. that she survived those who had "raised her head"³⁷, and since she reached, as we have seen, the age of 104 years, it is further obvious that the political organism ruled by Šumûa-damqa had existed for at least two or three generations when she died in the ninth³⁸ year of Nabonidus' reign.³⁹ It is, however, not likely to have been created when, after the fall of Nineveh (612 B. C.), the last king of Assyria, Aššûr-uballiṭ II, "set himself in the city of Harrân upon the throne for the sovereignty of the country of Aššûr"⁴⁰; for the

³⁴ I. e., "they died".

³⁵ See col. III, ll. z+3 ff.: *šuma^a bab-ba-nu-ú ina maḥar-šú-nu iš-[ku-na-an-ni] ki-ma mār-ti ši-it lîb-bi-šú ul-lu-ú re-ši-i[a] ár-ka-niš šim-ti ú-bil-šú-nu-t[î]*.

³⁶ The possibility that Šumûa-damqa's predecessor was a woman must be taken into consideration since, as Dhorme has conclusively shown, our inscription as well as contemporary texts use the masculine pronominal suffixes for the corresponding feminine suffixes, and since an analogous license of the language might have caused the use of the masculine forms *iš[kunannî]* (in l. z+3) and *iššur* and *ûenippuṣ* (in ll. z+1 f.; see below, p. 413 with note 44) instead of the feminines *taškunannî* etc.

³⁷ For ll. z+13^b ff. which describe how Šumûa-damqa took care of sacrifices to be offered for the ghosts of those people we refer to Dhorme's transliteration and translation. (For the term *sur-qin-nu* [sic] see Muss-Arnolt, *A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*, Berlin, 1905, p. 784 and Bauer, *ZA* XLII [1934], p. 175, note 1, sub 3; for the expression *a-na gi-na-a ú-kin-šú-nu-ti* see Boissier, *loc. cit.*, p. 206.)

³⁸ This is the most likely reading of the numeral in col. III, l. z+20; cf. Pognon, *op. cit.*, p. 10 with note 1; a lower number is precluded by col. II, l. y+27 where, according to Pognon (pp. 6 and 8), *šanat* ^{9^{kam}} is beyond doubt.

³⁹ See col. III, ll. z+20 ff.: *ina šanat 9^{kam} md Nabû-na'id šar Bâbili* ^{KI} *ši-im-[ti] ra-am-ni-šú ú-bil-šú-ma* "In the 9[th] year of Nabonidus, king of Babylon, her own destin[y] carried her (away) and . . ." In this connection, attention may be called to the damaged passage in col. I, ll. x+23 ff. where, after mentioning "Ashurbanipal [and Aššûr]-eṭellu-ilâni, his son", Šumûa-damqa speaks of "[x years of Nabopol]assar, 43 years of Nebuchadrezzar, [2 years of Evil-Merodach (and)] 4 years of Neriglissar". This wording suggests that, after Nabopolassar's complete victory over the Assyrians, the political situation of her country remained stable.

⁴⁰ See l. 50 of the Babylonian Chronicle B. M., No. 21901 (published in

Babylonian Chronicler who reports this event⁴¹ gives Aššûr-uballiṭ the title of a king of Assyria even in that section of his work in which he records how the Assyrians lost Ḫarrân in 610 and besieged and regained it in the following year⁴², whereas Šumûa-damqa's memorial contains no indication whatsoever from which it might be deduced that she regarded herself as a direct successor of the kings of Assyria. On the contrary, the afore-quoted lines 2+3 ff. imply that her country was not a hereditary monarchy as was the Assyrian empire.

This conclusion is borne out by what Šumûa-damqa tells us in the beginning of col. III about her predecessor: "He kept w[a]tch for them⁴³, while, faithful[y], he continuously made a good šá-[. . . .]"⁴⁴. As the expression *maššarti x našâru* "to keep watch for x" characterizes the activities of an official⁴⁵, this statement makes it clear that Šumûa-damqa's predecessor,

facsimile, transliteration and translation by C. J. Gadd, *The Fall of Nineveh*, London 1923, pl. I ff. and pp. 31 ff.): *ina* ^{dl}Ḫar-ra-nu *ana* šarrât^{ut} mât Aš-šur *ina* kussî ittašab^{ab}.

⁴¹ See the preceding note.

⁴² Cf. *MVAeG* XXIX, 2 (1925), pp. 76 f. and *OLZ* XXVII (1924), col. 652. The arguments with which Landsberger and Bauer, *ZA* XXXVII (1927), p. 88 with notes 1 and 2 tried to disprove my deduction that Aššûr-uballiṭ recaptured Ḫarrân in 609 are not conclusive, even though their reading [*ana arkišu*]nu itleḥsu^{su} is to be accepted. But my further inference that those events led, after 609, to the complete destruction of Ḫarrân (see *OLZ* XXVII, col. 653; cf. also Prášek, *Geschichte der Meder und Perser*, I, Gotha 1906, p. 156) was erroneous; col. II of the memorial from Eski Ḫarrân shows that the devastation alluded to in Nabonidus' stela from Ḫillah was limited to Eḫulḫul. See also *VR* 64 (Langdon, *op. cit.*, pp. 218 ff.), col. I, ll. 12 f.

⁴³ Literally, "their w[a]tch". For *EN.NUN*=*maššartu* see Deimel, *Šumerisches Lexikon*, I, No. 99, 85; for the expression *maššarti x našâru* see Delitzsch, *HWB*, p. 478^b and cf. below, note 45. Dhorme's reading *l[a]-šil-tim-šu-nu iṣ-šur* "il garda leur prescription" must be ruled out because *tašlūtu* does not mean "prescription".

⁴⁴ See ll. 2+1 f.: *m[a]ššarti^{ti}-šû-nu iṣ-šur-ma šá-[. . . .] lāba i-te-ni-ip-pu-[u]š ka-a-a-[an]*.

⁴⁵ So particularly in the preamble of the documents K. 211, K. 2729 and Rm. 368 (latest transliteration and translation by Streck, *op. cit.*, pp. CLV f.) in which Ashurbanipal describes deserving officials to be rewarded with large estates as men who, *inter alia*, "grew up in high esteem (lit., "in a good name") in my palace and kept watch for me (lit., "for my sovereignty")". It will be

although a ruler, was not a sovereign. The Akkadian designation of such a prince is *šaknu*. Hence it is evident that the signs at the end of l. z+1 which contained the object of the verb *itenippuš* "he continuously makes" are to be restored to *šá-a[k⁴⁶-nu-ta/u]* "gover[norship]"⁴⁷, so that the beginning of col. III is to be rendered as follows: "He kept w[a]tch for them, while, faithfull[y], he continuously discharged the duties of a good gover[nor]. He prov[ided me] with an excellent name before them. As (if I had been his) daughter, the offspring of his heart, they elevated me (to his position)." It goes almost without saying that in this context — and, consequently, also in the lines z+9 ff. translated above, pp. 410 f. — the pronouns of the third person of the plural refer to Šumûa-damqa's and her predecessor's overlords.

On the basis of the observation that Šumûa-damqa succeeded a governor, we are in a position to see that she designates herself as a *šakintu* "woman-governor", "vicequeen"; for now it becomes clear that the extant part of the first column of her memorial begins thus: "I⁴⁸ (am) Šumûa-damqa, the viceque[en]"⁴⁹. (By) day and night, (in each) month and (throughout) the year[s] I feared (Šin)⁵⁰. I seized the hem of the garment of Šin, the

noted that, much like the passages here under discussion, that preamble stresses the "good name" enjoyed by those officers.

⁴⁶ The first wedge of the sign *ak* is still preserved.

⁴⁷ The term *šaknûta epêšu* is to be compared with the well-known expression *šarrûta epêšu*.

⁴⁸ The word *a-na-ku* "I" is almost completely preserved.

⁴⁹ Read *šá-kín(!)-[tú]*. The reading *kín* of the damaged sign which follows the sign *šá* is assured by its similarity with the sign *kín* (*mur*) as drawn by Pognon in the word *a-mur* in col. II, l. y+4. For further occurrences of the term *šakintu* see especially Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, II, Cambridge 1901, p. 134.

⁵⁰ Read *ap(!)-laḫ(!)*. This reading may be regarded as certain in view of col. II, ll. y+18^b ff.: *šá ul-tu pa-na-ma^d Šin šar ilâni^{meš} la i-pu-šu-ma a-na man-ma la id-di-nu ina na-r[a]-mi-ia šá ilâtu^{tu}-šu ap-la-[ḫ]u sissi[k]tu-šú aš-ba-tu^d Šin šar [ilâni^{meš} re-ši-ia ul-li-ma šuma tâba ina mâti iš-ku-na-an-ni* "What since (long) ago Šin, the king of the gods, had not done and not given to anyone — out of lo[v]e for me who had fea[r]ed his godhead and seized the hem of his ga[r]ment, Šin, the king of the [god]s, raised my head . . .". (Cf. above, p. 410.)

king of the gods⁵¹, while (by) night and day my eyes were directed towards him⁵². [In pr]ayers and prostration I bowed, (speaking) be[fo]re them⁵³ thus: Ma[y] thy return⁵⁴ to th[y ci]ty take place⁵⁵ and the dark-headed people [f]ear th[y] great god-head⁵⁶. The occurrence of Šumûa-damqa's name and title in a passage which, to all appearances, was not close to the beginning of her inscription is not surprising; in the inscription of the governor Šamaš-rêš-ušur⁵⁷, for instance, there appears an analogous *ana-ku* ^{md}Šamaš-rêš-ušur ^{amel}šakin ^{mât}Su-ḫi u ^{mât}Ma-ri in the twenty-seventh line of the second column and in the thirteenth line of the fourth.

Since Šumûa-damqa's governorship falls, as we have seen, in the period following the catastrophe of the Assyrian empire, i. e., in a period not yet elucidated by other historical texts from any of the former capitals of Assyria, the indications furnished by her memorial are of considerable value. In view of her references to [Nabopol]assar, Nebuchadrezzar, [Evil-Mero-dach (and)] Neriglissar⁵⁸, and since her report covers also the first nine years of Nabonidus' reign, it appears that, after Aššur-uballiṭ's definite defeat, the city and country of Ḥarrân remained firmly in the hands of the Babylonians. This being so, Nabonidus' well-known statement according to which, in the

⁵¹ I. e., "I most fervently prayed to Sîn, the king of the gods". Cf. the remarks of Boissier, *loc. cit.*, p. 207 and, *inter alia*, the cognate passage in col. II, ll. 26 f. of the Ashurbanipal text K. 3050 + K. 2694 (Streck, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 252 ff.).

⁵² Literally, "my eyes were with him".

⁵³ I. e., the gods of Ḥarrân; see below, p. 455, note 227.

⁵⁴ Literally, "returns".

⁵⁵ The reading *li[b]-šá-a* (first proposed by Dhorme) is assured by parallel passages; cf. the texts quoted by C. J. Mullo Weir, *A Lexicon of Accadian Prayers*, Oxford and London 1934, p. 358 s. v. *laiârtu*.

⁵⁶ See ll. x+2 ff.: *a-na-ku* ^[1]Šumu-u-a-da-an-qa šá-kín(!)-[tú] ūmu^{mu} u mu-ši arḫu u šanâti^[meš] ap(!)-laḫ(!) sissikti^d Sîn šar ilâni^{meš} ašbat-ma mu-ši u ur-ri ênâ-ia il[ti]-šú ba-šá-a [ina s]u-pi-e u la-ban ap-pi ku-um-mu-sak [ma]ḫ-r[i]-šú-un um-ma ta-a-a-re-tu-ka a-na [á]li-[k]a li[b](!)-šá-a-ma ni-ši šal-mat qaqqadi [lip]-la-ḫu ilûti^{ut}-ka rabûti^{ti}

⁵⁷ Published by Weissbach, *Babylonische Miscellen*, Leipzig 1903, pl. 2 ff. and pp. 9 ff.

⁵⁸ See above, p. 412, note 39.

year of his accession, "the Ummân-Manda surrounded" the temple of Eḫulḫul⁵⁹, evidently alludes to a temporary invasion of Western Mesopotamia and an unsuccessful siege of Ḥarrân by Astyages in 556, and not to the supposed permanent Median occupation of the former Assyrian province of Ḥarrân beginning, in the opinion of Rost⁶⁰ and Streck⁶¹, around 607 or, in the former opinion of the present writer⁶², in 584/3⁶³. From Šumûa-damqa's above-quoted remark to the effect that she bestowed property upon the sons, the people, and the magnates of those who had entrusted her with her high office⁶⁴ it follows that Nabopolassar and his successor had made their conquest of Western Mesopotamia safe by transplanting Babylonians to the province of Ḥarrân. This conclusion is all the more indicated since the Neo-Babylonian bricks and vessels found in Susa⁶⁵ and the Neo-Babylonian contracts excavated in Nêrab⁶⁶, as well as a passage in the Book of Jeremiah (40.10), according to which Gedaliah regarded the arrival in Palestine of Babylonians as a matter of course, prove that it was the established policy of

⁵⁹ See *V R* 64 (Langdon, *op. cit.*, pp. 218 ff.), col. I, ll. 24 f.: *bîta šu-a-tî ša taq-bu-ú e-pe-šu amēl Ummân-Man-da sa-ḫi-ir-šum-ma pu-ug-gu-lu e-mu-qá-a-šu*.

⁶⁰ *MVAG* II, 2 (1897), pp. 101 f.

⁶¹ *Op. cit.*, I, p. CDXLVI.

⁶² *MVAeG* XXIX, 2 (1925), pp. 15 f.

⁶³ This conclusion, viz. that, after Aššûr-uballit's fall, the province of Ḥarrân was annexed by the Babylonians, but menaced by Astyages is in perfect agreement with an observation of Herzfeld published in his *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, I (1929-30), p. 81, note I and III (1931), pp. 58 f.: From the Behistûn inscription he deduced that, before Cyrus' war against Astyages, certain formerly Assyrian territories north of the Tigris which included the modern towns of Erbil and Sa'irt had been parts of Media, whereas Northern Mesopotamia with Ḥarrân had remained outside the Median empire.

⁶⁴ See col. III, ll. 2+9 ff. (above, pp. 410 f.).

⁶⁵ For detailed references and additional evidence see Scheil, *Textes élamites-sémitiques*, I, Paris 1900, p. 123, Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, III, 2, Leipzig 1905, pp. 315 ff.; J. Lewy, *Hebrew Union College Annual* XIV (1938), pp. 133 f.

⁶⁶ For these tablets the oldest of which dates from the first regnal year of Nebuchadrezzar (604 B. C.) see Dhorme, *RA* XXV (1928), pp. 53 ff.

Nabopolassar and Nebuchadrezzar to settle Babylonians in the various countries they conquered in connection with, and after, the destruction of the Assyrian empire. As may be seen from Gedaliah's appointment as governor of Judea, those colonists were, at least occasionally, placed under the orders of native vicekings. Šumûa-damqa's memorial leaves no doubt that this was also the case in the "land of Ḥarrân"; for, as was mentioned above⁶⁷, she expressly tells us that, since the time of Ashurbanipal, she spent 104 years of her life "before Sîn". Equally significant is the particular satisfaction with which she reports that she witnessed how Nabonidus reconstructed Eḫulḫul and enlarged the city: "[Thus] said to me [Sîn], the king of the gods.⁶⁸ I rend[ered] praise and I saw (it) myself. Nabonidus, the king of Babylon, the (grand)son, the offspring of my heart, performed the forgotten rites of Sîn, Ningal, Nusku (and) Sadarnunna. He built Eḫulḫul anew and perfected it⁶⁹. He perfected the city of Ḥarrân beyond what (had been) before and restored (it) to its (legitimate) place. He took the hand of Sîn, Ningal, Nusku (and) Sadarnunna (accompanying them) from Šuanna, his royal city, and caused them to dwell in gladness and joy at Ḥarrân in Eḫulḫul, the residence of their delight."⁷⁰ The fact that she calls Sîn "the king of the gods" also indicates that the country of Ḥarrân was her home. With the exception of Ashurbanipal, who had himself crowned at Ḥarrân⁷¹, and Nabonidus, who, *inter alia*, states that Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal ruled the world by the grace of "Sîn, the king of the

⁶⁷ See pp. 407 f.

⁶⁸ This refers to a prediction which was related in the lost upper part of col. II; according to l. y + 1^a the prediction ended with the words *a-na Ê-ḫul-ḫul ú-še-[rāb]* "he [will] cause (them) to [enter] Eḫulḫul".

⁶⁹ Lit., "its work".

⁷⁰ See col. II, ll y + 1^b ff.: [*ki-a-am* ^d*Sîn*] *šar ilāni*^{meš} *iq-ba-a at(!)-ta'-[id-ma] a-mur a-na-ku* ^{md}*Nabû-na'id šar mâtBâbili*^{KI} *mâru ši-it lib-bi-iá par-ši ma-šu-tú šá* ^d*Sîn* ^d*Nin-gal* ^d*Nusku* ^d*Sa-dar₄-nun-na ú-šak-lil Ê-ḫul-ḫul eš-šiš ipuš^{us}-ma ú-šak-lil ši-pir-šú* ^{ál}*Har-ra-nu e-li šá ma-ḫar ú-šak-lil-ma a-na áš-ri-šú ú-tir qa-ti* ^d*Sîn* ^d*Nin-gal* ^d*[Nu]sku* ^d*Sa-dar₄-nun-na ul-tu Šu-an-na ál šarrûti*^{ú-ti} ^{šú}*iš-bat-ma ina lib-bi* ^{ál}*Ḥarrâni ina Ê-ḫul-ḫul šu-bat tu-ub lib-bi-šú-nu ina ḫi-da-a-tú u ri-šá-a-tú ú-še-šib.*

⁷¹ See below, p. 456.

gods”⁷², no Assyro-Babylonian king or governor is known to have given the “Lord of Ḥarrân” this epithet which, so far as historical texts are concerned, usually is given to Aššûr and Marduk⁷³.

Since Nabonidus pays such homage to Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, it might seem that he and his grandmother were descended from the kings of Assyria. Whereas this is probably true of him⁷⁴, Šumûa-damqa’s name suggests that she belonged to the Aramaean population of Ḥarrân known to us from the

⁷² See his barrel-cylinder inscription B. M., No. 104738 (published by King in *CT* 34, pl. 26 ff.; transliterated and translated by Langdon, *AJSL* XXXII [1915-16], pp. 103 ff.), col. II, ll. 37 f.: *md* Aššûr-aḫa-iddina šar *mât* Aš-šur u *md* Aššûr-bani-apli mâr-šû ša *d* Sîn šar ilâni^{meš} kiš-šat mâtâti ú-šat-li-mu-šû-nu-ti (-ma) “Esarhaddon, the king of Assyria, and Ashurbanipal, his son, (both of) whom Sîn, the king of the gods, presented with the totality of the countries”

⁷³ Cf. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta*, Helsingforsiae 1938, p. 234. The passage in which Ashurbanipal styles the moon-god šar ilâni is found in obv., ll. 11 f. of the text K. 2813 + K. 8394 + 79-7-8, 134 (published by Th. Bauer, *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*, Leipzig, 1933, I, pl. 29 f., II, pp. 38 f.). Another passage to which Tallqvist might have called attention is l. 4 of the Ḥammu-rapi text published by Ungnad, *Babylonian Letters of the Ḥammurapi Period* (UM VII), Philadelphia 1915, No. 133; there Šamaš, Ḥammu-rapi’s tutelary god, is invoked as šarrum ša ilî.

⁷⁴ The view that Nabonidus was a descendant of the Assyrian kings was held by Langdon (*op. cit.*, pp. 57 f.); but, as we have seen above, p. 406, note 7, he based it on an untenable supposition. We would, however, go too far in dismissing it entirely, for in a passage where he mentions Ashurbanipal and Shalmaneser II and the latter’s father, Nabonidus calls the kings of Assyria his royal ancestors (see *V R* 64, col. II, ll. 3 ff.) — a title which he never gives to any Babylonian king. Since, furthermore, Esarhaddon’s son Aššûr-etil-šamê-eršiti-uballištu was *urigallu*-priest “before Sîn who dwells in Ḥarrân” (see below, pp. 454 f.), and since, finally, it may well be assumed that this priest had a son who came to Babylon when, in connection with the destruction of Eḫulḫul, the images of Sîn, Ningal, Nusku and Sadarnunna went into their Babylonian exile, we are inclined to surmise that Nabonidus’ father Nabû-balâštu-iqbî was a grandson of Aššûr-etil-šamê-eršiti-uballištu and a son-in-law of Šumûa-damqa. In other words, we infer that, as a son of Nabû-balâštu-iqbî, Nabonidus was a great-great-grandson of Esarhaddon’s, whereas his maternal grandmother was not descended from the kings of Assyria. It will be noted that this deduction is in agreement with Berossus’ well-known statement that Nabonidus hailed from Babylon.

proper names that are a characteristic of the cuneiform texts from the K. Collection published by C. H. W. Johns as "An Assyrian Doomsday Book or Liber Censualis of the District round Ḫarran"⁷⁵. To be sure, the name Šumûa-damqa consists of two Akkadian elements, viz. *šumûa* "my name" and *damqa* "he has been good (or friendly) to me"; but since it is utterly unlikely that a girl was named "My son was good to me" or "My name was friendly to me", it is evident that *šumu* means here neither "son", as it does in genuine Akkadian names of the Old Babylonian and later periods⁷⁶, nor "name" in the ordinary sense of the word. On the other hand, the name Šumûa-damqa yields the reasonable sense "My god was friendly to me" if it is assumed that *šumu* serves here as a substitute for *ilu* "god" or a divine name, as it does in Old Akkadian names and — in later periods — in names borne by Western Semites⁷⁷. Hence the conclusion imposes itself that Šumûa-damqa was of Aramaean descent, all the more so since the use of *šumu* for "god" is not traceable in genuine Assyrian names of the seventh century, whereas the Aramaic שם occurs in this sense in the personal name שמהיקר which appears in a contemporary Aramaic letter⁷⁸.

As was shown by Forrer⁷⁹ and Thureau-Dangin⁸⁰, the Assyrian kings of the late ninth, the eighth and, possibly, the early seventh century regarded the office of the governor of Ḫarrân as so important that they entrusted it to the *tartânu*, i. e., the highest military commander of the empire whose eminent rank is, *inter alia*, characterized by the fact that he used to be the king's immediate successor in the *limu*-office⁸¹. Under the last kings of Assyria this tradition was discontinued, but, so far as we know, the "Land of Ḫarrân" was even then administered

⁷⁵ Leipzig 1901.

⁷⁶ Cf. Stamm, *MVAeG* XLIV (1939), pp. 40 f.

⁷⁷ See Thureau-Dangin, *Syria* XV (1934), pp. 141 ff.

⁷⁸ See Lidzbarski, *Altaramäische Urkunden aus Assur*, Leipzig 1921, No. 1 (V. A. 8384), l. 10.

⁷⁹ *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, Leipzig 1920, pp. 21 ff.

⁸⁰ *RA* XXVII (1930), pp. 11 ff.

⁸¹ See Forrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 6 ff.

not by vicequeens but by governors⁸². In view of its controlling location on the most important Mesopotamian highway, it is evident that Nabopolassar and his successors must have been as much interested in its administration as had been the Assyrian kings. Since, furthermore, the Babylonians, no less than the Assyrians, used to be ruled by kings and vicekings, it appears that Šumûa-damqa's appointment to the office of a vicequeen of the province of Harrân was due to particular circumstances. On the other hand, it follows from Esarhaddon's report⁸³ on his father's and his own policy toward the Arabs of the oasis of Adummatu⁸⁴ that her "elevation" was not entirely unprecedented. After relating that his father took "Iskallatu, the queen of the Arabs", i. e., as the context shows, the queen of that oasis, as a captive to Assyria, he tells us of his decision to "return" a certain Tabûa (who may have been Iskallatu's daughter) to "her country" and to install her "as queen⁸⁵ over them", i. e., over the inhabitants of Adummatu⁸⁶. Since Esar-

⁸² See Forrer, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

⁸³ See now col. IV, ll. 1 ff. of the prism TH 1929-10-12, 1 published in facsimile, transliteration and translation by R. Campbell Thompson, *The Prisms of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal*, London 1931, pl. 1 ff. and pp. 9 ff. A badly damaged text (K. 8523) a part of which is most closely related to the passage to be discussed presently was published by Winckler, *ZA* II (1887), pl. II and *Allorientalische Forschungen*, I, VI, Leipzig 1897, pp. 526 f. Cf. further the stela of Esarhaddon published by Thureau-Dangin, *Syria* X (1929), pp. 193 ff.

⁸⁴ I. e., Dûmat al-Ğandal, the biblical Dûmâ (Gen. 25.14); cf. Winckler, *Auszug aus der Vorderasiatischen Geschichte*, Leipzig 1905, p. 71; Hommel, *Ethnologie und Geographie des Alten Orients*, München 1926, p. 574, note 1 and p. 594; Landsberger and Bauer, *loc. cit.*, p. 95; Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, New York 1927, p. 480.

⁸⁵ Lit., "for the sovereignty".

⁸⁶ The contention of Winckler (*Auszug*, p. 72) that Tabûa was born in Nineveh is hardly compatible with Esarhaddon's statement that he "returned her to her country" (see l. 16: *a-na mâti-ša ú-tir-ši*). From the fact that (in l. 15) he calls her *tar-bit êkal abi-iá* "one who had been reared in my father's palace", it merely follows that she had been educated at the Assyrian court. Winckler's tentative assumption that she was a daughter of the priestess Te'-el-ĥu-nu, whom Ashurbanipal mentions in connection with her in the fragmentary texts K. 3087 and K. 3405, meets with the difficulty that Esarhaddon refers (in l. 4) to Iskallatu and not to Te'elĥunu, as should be ex-

haddon states in this connection that, yielding to the supplications of the Arabian king Ḥazâ'il⁸⁷, he returned the Arabian gods which Sennacherib had brought, together with Iskallatu, from Adummatu to Assyria, Tabûa's installation was, no doubt, a concession to the Arabs many of whom were accustomed to being ruled by queens⁸⁸. Thus the question arises as to whether Šumûa-damqa was appointed to her high office because the Babylonians deemed it wise to respect the traditions of a population not averse to gynocracy.

In fact, there is, in addition to the indications furnished by the Bible⁸⁹, strong evidence to the effect that the Aramaic-speaking population of Ḥarrân was closely related to the tribes of the West-Arabian territories subdued by Tiglath-Pileser III and his successors whose campaigns extended as far south as the Northern Ḥeġâz⁹⁰. In the text VAT 8288⁹¹, one of the Assyrian

pected if Tabûa was made queen of Adummatu in succession to Te'elḥunu. That the latter was not only priestess but also queen of Adummatu cannot be deduced from the damaged text VA 3310 which deals with Sennacherib's Arabian campaign and his attack upon Adummatu; for here we learn only that a certain "[.]-nu, queen of the Arabs", was defeated, whereupon "she together with Ḥazâ'il" fled to Adummatu. The hypothesis of Hommel, *op. cit.*, p. 582 and Rosmarin, *JSOR XVI* (1932), p. 31 according to which Tabûa was a daughter of Te'elḥunu and Esarhaddon has no basis whatsoever in the sources. The same is true of Meissner's assertions (in his *Könige Babylonien und Assyrien*, pp. 203 and 222) that Ḥazâ'il and Te'elḥunu were a "Herrscherpaar", and that Tabûa had to furnish "reiche Abgaben von Kameelen, Edelsteinen, Gold und Spezereien".

⁸⁷ From col. IV, ll. 17 ff. of Esarhaddon's prism it follows that Ḥazâ'il was the supreme king of the Arabs within the Assyrian sphere of influence, and that he was made responsible for the tribute of the various Arabian "kingdoms".

⁸⁸ With the exception of Iskallatu, the queens mentioned in the Assyrian sources as rulers of various Arabian towns or simply as "Arabian queens" were repeatedly listed; see particularly Streck, *op. cit.*, II, p. 217, note II and pp. 411 f. and Rosmarin, *loc. cit.*, pp. 29 ff. and cf. the remarks of Hommel, *op. cit.*, p. 581, note I.

⁸⁹ For this evidence see Ed. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, Halle 1906 (hereafter quoted as IN), pp. 235 ff.

⁹⁰ Cf. Musil, *The Northern Ḥeġâz*, New York 1926, p. 291 *sub* Tamudi.

⁹¹ Published by Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*,

sources which deal with the subjugation of the Aramaean states of Western Mesopotamia, Adad-narârî II (911-891) tells us that three Têmânites (^{mât}*Te-ma-na-a-a*⁹²) — i. e., men from the oasis of Têmâ⁹³ which, three and a half centuries later, played an outstanding rôle in the life of Šumûa-damqa's grandson⁹⁴ — ruled over large parts of the "country of Ḥanigalbat"⁹⁵; since, as may be seen from the context, Adad-narârî II used the term Ḥanigalbat in exactly or approximately the same sense as did Adad-narârî I and Shalmaneser I who enumerate Ḥarrân among the major cities of Ḥanigalbat⁹⁶, his statements suggest that the Aramaean population of Šumûa-damqa's province included elements whose ancestors had come from the desert regions where, as we have mentioned, the government was quite frequently in the hands of queens. This conclusion is borne out by the onomastic material contained in the afore-quoted texts that were published by Johns and in cognate texts such as K. 13210⁹⁷. As was repeatedly observed⁹⁸, this material includes

II, Leipzig 1922, No. 84, transliterated and translated by Seidmann, *Die Inschriften Adadnirâris II.*, Leipzig 1935, pp. 8 ff.

⁹² Thus l. 39; the spelling ^{mât}*Te-ma-na-a-a* alternates with ^{mât}*Te-man-na-a-a* (ll. 46, 49, 80) and ^{mât}*Te-man-na-a-ia* (l. 63). For the sharpened *n* of the two latter variants see Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik*², Berlin 1906, § 48; as regards the ending of these and analogous gentiles, cf. the interesting remarks of Poebel, *JNES* I (1942), pp. 471 ff., but see also the next footnote.

⁹³ ^{mât}*Te-ma-na-a-a* is, of course, the cuneiform equivalent of Aramaic חִמְנִי which denotes, in the Nabataean inscriptions from Medâ'in Šâleḥ (el-Heḡr, Hegrâ), an inhabitant of the neighboring oasis of Taimâ' (cf. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, I, Weimar 1898, p. 385 and see further below, p. 443, note 179).

⁹⁴ See below, pp. 434 ff.

⁹⁵ As regards the question as to whether the Aramaeans re-established the former Mitannian state of Ḥanigalbat, cf. the remarks of Forrer, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, I, p. 290, who, however, erroneously asserts that the Têmânites were subdued by other Aramaeans.

⁹⁶ See, for instance, ll. 38 ff. of the text Assur 10557 published by Weidner, *Archiv für Orientforschung* V (1928-29), pp. 90 ff.

⁹⁷ For K. 13210 see Bezold, *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection*, III, London 1893, p. 1296.

⁹⁸ See, for instance, Johns, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Zimmern *apud* Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*³, Berlin 1903, pp. 434 f.; Schiffer, *Die Aramäer*, Leipzig 1911, p. 34, note 17 and p. 41.

the personal names *^mA-tar-id-[ri]⁹⁹, *^mA-tar-bi'-[di]¹⁰⁰, *^mA-tar-gab-ri¹⁰¹ and other names beginning with the theophoric element *A-tar*. Hence we learn not only that, in the epoch here under discussion, the originally bisexual — or perhaps asexual — old deity Ištar-Astarte held an important place in the pantheon of the Harrânians, but also that they pronounced its name *Atar* (<'Atar <'Attar <'Attar)¹⁰², as did the Aramaeans of the Hâbûr region as early as the end of the tenth century¹⁰³. This pronunciation (which is characterized not by a "Lautverschiebung", as asserted by Eduard Meyer¹⁰⁴, but by an assimilation of *t* to *l* common in Syriac¹⁰⁵ and also known from another early Aramaic name from the district of Harrân¹⁰⁶) recurs in the same***

⁹⁹ See Johns, *op. cit.*, No. 5, col. VII, l. x+2; the restoration of the last sign is assured by numerous analogous names (cf. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names*, Helsingfors 1914, p. 264).

¹⁰⁰ See Johns, *op. cit.*, No. 11, col. II, l. x+9; for the restoration of the last sign see Tallqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

¹⁰¹ Quoted from K. 13210 by Johns, *op. cit.*, p. 17; for analogous names see Tallqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

¹⁰² In the opinion of H. Bauer, *Archiv für Orientforschung* VIII (1932-33), p. 3, the Assyrian scribes should have written *At-tar*, and not *A-tar*. This hasty statement overlooks the possibility that the replacing of double consonants by simple consonants which characterizes the Western Syriac dialect (see Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik*, § 21 A; Brockelmann, *Syrische Grammatik*³, § 27^b) may have begun during the Assyrian period. Cf. the repeated rendering by ^{dl}*Ha-da-tú* of the place name *Hadattâ* discussed below, note 106.

¹⁰³ This is learnt from the fact that the afore-quoted text VAT 8288 mentions (in l. 114) a certain *^mBa-ar-A-ta-ra* as the ruler of a town in the country of Laqê. (For analogous Aramaic names composed of *bar* "son" and a divine name see Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 103.)

¹⁰⁴ *Geschichte des Allertums*² II, 2, Stuttgart und Berlin 1931 (hereafter quoted as *GA* II, 2), p. 145.

¹⁰⁵ Numerous examples of this assimilation were given by Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik*, § 26 sub B (for the correct explanation of the form *t^llâtaihôn* quoted by Nöldeke, *ibidem*, p. 88, note 1, see Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, I, Berlin 1908, p. 488).

¹⁰⁶ We are referring to *Hadattâ* (<*Hadattâ*) "The New (Town)", the ancient name of the ruin mound of Arslan Taş, which the Assyrians rendered as ^{dl}*Ha-da-at-ti* (thus, probably in the genitive, in K. 4754, etc. = Johns, *op. cit.*, No. 6, obv., col. I, l. 14) and ^{dl}*Ha-da-tú* (thus in an inscription of

epoch in the Northern Ḥeḡâz and in the adjacent territories extending toward the oasis of Dûmat al-Ġandal. In the former region it is directly traceable thanks to the occurrence of the name עהרשם in several Thamudic inscriptions from Dêḡdân (i. e., the oasis of el-'Ulâ¹⁰⁷) published by Jaussen and Savignac¹⁰⁸, and indirectly because king מתעאל of Arpad (c. 760-740), whose father was, according to the stela from Sudšîn¹⁰⁹, a certain עהרסמך, was a namesake of a king of Dêḡdân¹¹⁰, a fact which suggests that the family of עהרסמך had come from the same part of Western Arabia¹¹¹. As for the region north of Dêḡdân, it is attested by the inscriptions of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal: Esarhaddon's list of the gods whose images he returned to the aforementioned Arabian king Ḥazâ'il¹¹² begins with ^dA-tar sa-ma-a-a-in "Atar of the heavens" and ends with ^dA-tar qu-ru-ma-a¹¹³, and Ashurbanipal's report on his relations with Ḥazâ'il's

Tiglath-Pileser III and in another text found at Arslan Taş and published by Thureau-Dangin, *Bibliothèque archéologique et historique*, XVI, *Texte*, Paris 1931, pp. 61 ff. and 85 f., respectively). It might be well to mention that Ashurbanipal (Annals, col. VIII, ll. 79 ff. and K. 2802, col. VI, ll. 1 ff.; cf. Streck, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 70 ff. and 204 f., respectively) records, in its non-Assyrianized form ^{ai}Ha-da-at-ta-a, the name of a homonymous place situated in the desert and now called Ḥadet (see Honigmann in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Reihe II, VIII, Stuttgart 1932, col. 1601 and 1703 and cf. Hartmann, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* XXIII [1901], p. 15, No. 153).

¹⁰⁷ See Jaussen et Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, II, *Texte*, Paris 1914, pp. 74 ff.

¹⁰⁸ See *ibidem*, Ch. IV, Nos. 388, 283, and 317.

¹⁰⁹ Edited by Ronzevalle, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*, XV (1931), pp. 237 ff. et pl. XXXIX ff. and re-edited by H. Bauer, *Archiv für Orientalforschung* VIII (1932-33), pp. 1 ff.

¹¹⁰ See Jaussen et Savignac, *op. cit.*, Ch. III, Nos. 138 and 186 and cf. H. Bauer, *loc. cit.*, p. 3.

¹¹¹ This deduction is all the more likely since, as was pointed out by H. Bauer, *loc. cit.*, p. 3, the first component of the name מתעאל consists of a root מתע that occurs frequently in South-Arabic, and especially Sabaeen, inscriptions.

¹¹² See col. IV, ll. 10 ff. of the afore-quoted prism TH 1929-10-12, 1.

¹¹³ Since Aramaic קרם means "to incrust", and since the technique of overlaying a core of cheaper material with precious metal was known among the Western Semites since early times, it would appear that the deity ^dA-tar qu-ru-

son, who also lost his gods to the Assyrians, corroborates the information furnished by Esarhaddon, for it relates that, in order to obtain once more the return of ^d*A-tar sa-ma-a-a-in*, Hazâ'il's son was ready to admit defeat and to conclude a treaty¹¹⁴.

Another cult that was common to both the Ḥarrânians and the inhabitants of the western stretches of the Arabian desert and that may therefore be regarded as indicative of the origin of the Aramaic-speaking Ḥarrânians was that of the moon-god *îêr* in whose name Hilprecht recognized a dialectic variant of שֶׁר, the well-known South Arabic term denoting the moon¹¹⁵. The popularity of *Têr* in the district of Ḥarrân (where real estate was dedicated to him¹¹⁶) is assured not only by the personal name ^m*Te-er-nadin-apli* "*Têr* is the giver of a son"¹¹⁷ but also by ^m*Ti-ri-i*, a name borne by one of the last Assyrian governors of Ḥarrân¹¹⁸. Since this hypocoristic name is to *Têr* as the Arabic name *Sam-si-i*¹¹⁹ is to *Sams*, and since that derivation

ma-a was so called because its image was a statue covered with sheets of gold or silver.

¹¹⁴ See Ashurbanipal's Annals, Cyl. B., col. VII, ll. 87 ff. (Streck, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 130 ff.) and cf. K. 30 (published by Th. Bauer, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 18), col. III, ll. x+2 ff. For Ashurbanipal's further references to the "Arabian" deity ^d*A-tar sa-ma-a-a-in* (var. *A-tar sa-ma-in*) see Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?*, Leipzig 1881, pp. 298 f. and Streck, *op. cit.*, III, p. 739

¹¹⁵ Cf. Hilprecht *apud* Clay, *Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur Dated in the Reign of Darius II* (hereafter quoted as *BE X*), Philadelphia 1904, p. XIV and Tallqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 261. See also below, p. 431 with note 141.

¹¹⁶ See Johns, *op. cit.*, No. 12, col. II, ll. x+9 f.: *ina URU.ŠE dTe-er ina alIm-mer-i-na*. It might be well to recall in this connection that, according to the Ashurbanipal text K. 2564 (published in facsimile, transliteration and translation by Th. Bauer, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 21; II, p. 90), a farm which is likewise defined as *URU.ŠE* was dedicated to ^d*Sin a-šib alE(?)lu-ma* "Sin who dwells in the town of E(?)luma".

¹¹⁷ Johns, *op. cit.*, Nos. 5, col. II, ll. 4 and 11, col. I, l. x+5.

¹¹⁸ See Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, I, Cambridge 1898, No. 274, l. 1 and cf. Forrer, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

¹¹⁹ The name *Sam-si-i* was borne by an Assyrian military officer mentioned in the year 686 B. C. (see Johns, *op. cit.*, No. 453, rev., l. 13) and is obviously identical with that of the Arabian queen ^f*Sa-am-si-e* who paid tribute to Sargon in 715 (see Sargon's "Display Inscription", l. 27).

from the name of the sun-god appears also in the spelling *Sa-am-si*¹²⁰, it is evident that *^mTe-e-ri*, the name of one of the Arabian princes enumerated by Ashurbanipal¹²¹, is identical with the name of the governor just mentioned. As significant as those close religious links between the Aramaeans of Harrân and the desert tribes from Dêdân and Têmâ in the south to Adummatu in the north is the fact that the inscription of Adad-narârî II quoted above, pp. 421 f. contains a reference to an Aramaean queen: according to l. 114 of this text, the aforementioned *^mBa-ar-A-ta-ra* of Laqê¹²² was a son (or a descendant) of a certain *^fHa-lu-bi-e*¹²³. Hence there remains no doubt that the inhabitants of Šumûa-damqa's province, and particularly the worshippers of Atar and Têr, consisted of, or included, elements who, having immigrated, before 900 B. C., from the desert regions afterwards brought into subjection by the Assyrian kings of the eighth and seventh century, had at least occasionally been ruled by queens before they lost, in the ninth century, their independence to Adad-narârî II and his successors. Provided that there are reasons for inferring that Šumûa-damqa's family belonged to those elements, it may therefore be concluded that the Babylonians installed her as governor in order to win the support of a considerable part of the population of the formerly Assyrian territory in Western Mesopotamia which they had annexed after Aššûr-uballiṭ's defeat.

Whereas Šumûa-damqa's memorial contains no evidence to the effect that she or her family was related to the desert tribes which worshipped Têr, the so-called Verse Account of Nabonidus¹²⁴ furnishes an indication that points in this direction. That

¹²⁰ So, *inter alia*, in two passages of Tiglath-Pileser's inscriptions and in one passage of Sargon's Annals which refers to the same Arabian queen as his "Display Inscription" (for the references see Tallqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 191).

¹²¹ For the references and the variants *^mTe-'e-ri* and *^mTe-'-ri* (which confirm the aforementioned etymology of the divine name Têr) see Streck, *op. cit.*, III, p. 727. See also below, p. 431.

¹²² See above, p. 423, note 103.

¹²³ As was recognized by Forrer, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, I, p. 296, it is very likely that she was the ruler after whom the country of Laqê subsequently used to be called *Bît Ha-lu-pi-e*.

¹²⁴ Published in facsimile, transliteration and translation by Sidney Smith,

detailed description of Nabonidus' unorthodox religious activities blames Šumûa-damqa's grandson not only for having placed Sîn above Marduk but also for his belief in ^d*Il-te-ri*¹²⁵, a deity known to us, in the first place, from the West Semitic personal names ^{md}*Il-te-ri-ḥa-na-na*¹²⁶, ^{md}*Il-te-ri-ia-a-ḥa-bi*¹²⁷ and ^{md}*Il-te-ri-za-bad*¹²⁸. From the occurrence of the personal name ^{md}*Il-te-ri-nu-ru* "İltêri is the light" in one of the aforementioned contracts from Nêrab¹²⁹ — a place where an Aramaic-speaking population worshipped the moon-god in much the same way as did the Harrânians¹³⁰ — it follows that, in certain regions, the cult of ^d*Il-te-ri* was as much a corollary of the worship of Sîn as was

op. cit., pp. 83 ff. and pl. V ff.; cf. the improved translation by Landsberger and Bauer, *loc. cit.*, pp. 88 ff.

¹²⁵ See col. V, l. x+11 where the poem quotes Nabonidus as saying *û-šab-ra-an* ^d*Il-te-ri* "İltêri caused me to see a vision" (cf. Landsberger and Bauer, *loc. cit.*, p. 92).

¹²⁶ Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cyrus, König von Babylon (Babylonische Texte, VII)*, Leipzig 1890, No. 177, l. 3.

¹²⁷ Clay, *Business Documents of Murashu Sons of Nippur Dated in the Reign of Darius II (UM II, 1)*, Philadelphia 1912, No. 144, ll. 1 and 22. For the analogous names ^{md}*Qu-su-ia-a-ḥa-bi* and Σαμεσιααβος (var. Σεμσιααβος) see Hilprecht and Clay, *Business Documents of Murašû Sons of Nippur Dated in the Reign of Artaxerxes I (BE IX)*, Philadelphia 1898, pp. 27 and 69 and Zimmern, *loc. cit.*, p. 473, on the one hand, and Seyrig, *Syria XX* (1939), pp. 317 f., on the other.

¹²⁸ Clay, *Neo-Babylonian Letters from Erech*, New Haven 1919, No. 16, l. 1.

¹²⁹ No. 19, rev., l. 2.

¹³⁰ As was noted by various scholars (e. g., by Cooke, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, Oxford 1903, pp. 186 ff.), the Aramaic stelae from Nêrab mention either directly or indirectly — i. e., by their occurrence in personal names — the first three of the four deities Sîn, Ningal, Nusku and Sadarnunna whose images Nabonidus returned to Eḫulḫul (cf. above, p. 417). From the cuneiform texts from Nêrab which spell the personal name *Šêr-idrî* "Šêr is my help" sometimes ^{md}*XXX^{ir}-id-ri-* and at other times ^{md}*Še-e-ri-id-ri-* (see Dhorme, *loc. cit.*, p. 59, note 4) it is further learnt that there, precisely as in the neighborhood of Harrân (see the names listed by Johns, *An Assyrian Doomsday Book*, p. 16, last paragraph), the pronunciation of the name of the moon-god שר was, among certain elements of the population, *Šêr*. In this connection, attention may be called to the similarity of the terms in which Agbar, the שר-priest of Nêrab, on the one hand, and Šumûa-damqa, on the other, attribute to the moon-god their "good name", their "long days" and the unimpaired health with which they were blessed in their old age.

the cult of Têr¹³¹. This conclusion is borne out by the name ^d*Il-te-ri* itself: *Il-te-ri* is a compound of *il* "god" and the *adjectivum relativum*, *têrî* = *têr* + *î* (< י + חרר¹³²) "belonging to Têr"¹³³

¹³¹ It is to be noted that *Iltêrî-nûru*'s father was a ^{md}*Nusku-ra-pi-e*; in consideration of this hybrid Assyro-West Semitic name, it can hardly be doubted that *Iltêrî-nûru*'s family worshipped the son of the moon-god and, accordingly, the moon-god himself.

¹³² That *têrî* includes the root חרר is beyond doubt since the spelling ^d*Il-te-ri* alternates with ^d*Il-te-eh-ri* and ^d*Il-te-he-ri*; cf., e. g., the personal names ^{md}*Il-te-eh-ri-nûrî*' (BE X, No. 34, ll. 6 ff.; UM II, I, No. 41, ll. 5 ff.) and ^{md}*Il-te-he-ri-a-bi* (BE X, No. 99, l. 16). The statement of Clay (BE X, pp. 39 and 70 f.; endorsed by Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum*, Romae 1914, p. 145 and by Landsberger and Bauer, *loc. cit.*, p. 92, note 4) that ^{md}*Il-te-eh-ri-nûrî*' alternates with ^{md}*Al-te-eh-ri-nûrî*' finds no support in Clay's facsimile of the text BE X, No. 34. (As for the addition of '-' to the ideogram ZALAG = *nûrî*, see Rimalt, *Archiv für Orientforschung* IX [1933-34], p. 125.) For the personal name ^m*Il-te-he-er-za-ba-du* (Dougherty, *Records from Erech*, New Haven 1920, Nos. 169, l. 22 and 231, l. 26) see the next footnote *in fine*.

¹³³ Syntactic reasons make it impossible to accept the identification of ^d*Il-te-ri* with the second component of the Sinaitic personal name גרמאלשרי, as proposed by Hilprecht, *loc. cit.*, pp. XIII f. and p. 39, note 2, who supposed that the first syllable of ^d*Il-te-ri* represented "the Arabic article *āl* or *ēl*". Whereas in that Sinaitic name גרמאלשרי is preceded by גרמ, and, therefore, a genitive (cf. the observations of Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, p. 105), the theophoric component of the afore-quoted personal names ^{md}*Il-te-ri-ha-na-na* "Iltêrî is merciful", ^{md}*Il-te-ri-za-bad* "Iltêrî has presented (a son)", etc. is necessarily a nominative. The ensuing conclusion that the final vowel of ^d*Il-te-ri* is not a case ending is confirmed by the absence of any vocalic ending in ^d*Il-tam-meš* (varr. ^d*Il-ta-meš*, *Il-tam-meš*, *Il-tam-meš* and *Il-te-meš*; for references see Hilprecht, *loc. cit.*; Tallqvist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch*, Helsingfors 1905, p. 288; Dougherty, *op. cit.*, p. 22; Pohl, *Analecta Orientalia* 8 [1933], p. 23; 9 [1934], p. 15; Krückmann, *Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungs-Texte*, Leipzig 1933, p. 53, note 4), a divine name which appears in various West Semitic personal names at the same time and mostly in the same regions as ^d*Il-te-ri*, and which Hilprecht, *loc. cit.*, pp. XIII f. correctly combined with שמש "sun". That this name, too, does not begin with the Arabic article, as was presumed by Hilprecht and Tallqvist, may be seen from the fact that ^d*Il-tam-meš* is to *Tam-meš* — a theophoric element occurring in West Semitic personal names such as ^m*Tam-meš-id-ri* (K. 974; see Bezold, *op. cit.*, I, p. 203), ^m*Tam-meš-ša-ma*'-[ni] and others (see Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names*, p. 229) — as "Akkadian" ^d*I-lu-me-er* is to "Akkadian" ^d*Me-er*. In other words, in much the same way as, in the Old Assyrian epoch, it was possible to say *a-lum A-šur* "the city, (namely) Aššûr", instead of *A-šûr*^{K1}, the Akkadians used sometimes ^d*I-lu-me-er* "The God Mêr",

and, consequently, defines *Il-têrî* as "the god who belongs to the moon", i. e., "the god who manifests himself in the moon"¹³⁴. Hence it is obvious that *Il-têrî* was not the name of an obscure tribal god ("Stammesgott"), as was supposed by Landsberger

instead of ^d*Me-er*, and the Western Semites אֱלֹהֵם (<אֱלֹהֵם>), instead of מֶשׁ (<מֶשׁ>). This applies, of course, also to personal names such as ^m*Al-si'-mil-ki* and ^m*Al-na-âš-ḥu-mil-[ki]* which occur in the province of Ḥarrân besides ^m*Si'-id-ri*, ^m*Na-âš-ḥu-sa-ma'-a-ni* and other West Semitic names containing *Sî* (= *Sin*) and *Našḥu* (= *Nusku*) as theophoric elements (see Johns, *op. cit.*, pp. 74 f.); if Hilprecht here, too, held that "*al* in the names quoted can scarcely be anything else than the article *āl* or *ēl*", he overlooked Syriac *'allāhā* which proves that in certain dialects *il* was shifted to *al*. It might be well to note in this connection that the theophoric component *Il-te-ḥe-er*, as found in the name ^m*Il-te-ḥe-er-za-ba-du* (see above, p. 428, note 132), is to the theophoric component *Te-er*, as found in the name ^m*Te-er-naḏin-apli* (see above, p. 425), as *Il-tam-meš* is to *Tam-meš*; from the linguistic point of view, *Il-te-ḥe-er* is, therefore, not completely identical with ^d*Il-te-ḥe-ri* and ^d*Il-te-ri*. See also the following footnote.

¹³⁴ In other words, West Semitic (^d)*il tērî* is to *tēr* "moon" as Akkadian (^d)*ilu amurrû* "the god who belongs to the west", "the god who manifests himself in the west" is to *amurru* "west". The use of these compounds had, of course, the advantage of avoiding the ambiguity caused by the fact that, in the spoken language, the appellatives *tēr* "moon" and *amurru* "west" coincided with the divine names ^d*Tēr* and ^d*Amurru*. I take this occasion to call attention to the fact that the West Semitic pantheon includes a considerable number of divine beings whose names exhibit the same characteristics as the compound *il-têrî*, the only difference being that in those names the *adjectivum relativum* precedes the element '*il*' > *ēl*. For the present, I limit myself to a reference to the well-known list of the "fallen angels" in the sixth chapter of the Book of Enoch the discussion of which by Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, Oxford 1912, p. 16 is unsatisfactory in as much as he translates names such as שֶׁמְשִׁיאל and כּוֹכְבִּיאל by "sun of god" and "star of god", although the analogous אֶרְקִיאל can certainly not mean "earth of god". Aside from אֶרְקִיאל "The Earthly God" (i. e., the god who acts in the earth, and not in the skies, etc.), שֶׁמְשִׁיאל "The Sun-natured God" (i. e., the god who manifests himself in the sun; the sun-god) and כּוֹכְבִּיאל "The Star-natured God", this list includes, *inter alia*, the divine names ברְקִיאל "The Lightning-natured God" (embodying the lightning; acting through the lightning), שְׁקִיאל "The Air-natured God", יוֹמִיאל "The Wind-natured God" (i. e., the god who manifests himself in the wind; for יוֹם "wind", "storm" see H. and J. Lewy, *The Origin of the Week and the Oldest West Asiatic Calendar* [Hebrew Union College Annual XVII (1942/3)], pp. 5 ff.) and, last not least, שְׁהִיאל "The Moon-natured God" in which we recognize a synonym of ^d*Il-têrî*.

and Bauer¹³⁵, but — like Têr and Šêr¹³⁶ — one of the various designations of Sîn himself. While the vocalism of the basic element of the *adjectivum relativum*, *têri* leaves no doubt as to the Aramaic character of the compound *^dIl-te-ri*¹³⁷, the vocalism of its first component as well as the termination of its second element make it fairly certain that this name of the moon-god was coined by the Aramaic-speaking population of the Arabian desert; for the pronunciation *il* of 𐤀𐤋 and particularly the use of

¹³⁵ *Loc. cit.*, p. 96.

¹³⁶ For the occurrence of this divine name in personal names from Nêrab and the province of Ḥarrân and for the evidence which definitely proves that it denotes the moon-god see above, p. 427, note 130. Since *^dŠe-e-ru* may well be an Assyrianized form of *Še-er*, and in view of the not all too great distance between Nêrab and the state of Damascus, it is possible that the temple of Šêru (*bîl ^dŠe-e-ri*) at Malaḥa — a residence of king Ḥazâ'il of Damascus mentioned, together with its temple, in an inscription of Shalmaneser III (see Schroeder, *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung* II [1924–25], p. 70) — was among the places where the moon-god was worshipped under the name of Šêr.

¹³⁷ As was mentioned before (see above, p. 428, note 132), *^dIl-te-ri* alternates with *^dIl-te-eḥ-ri* and *Il-te-ḥe-ri*. Since Babylonian *ḥ* represents here *h* (cf. the various spellings of the personal name *^mTe-e-ri* which were listed above, p. 426, note 121), these variants show that *têr-* stands for *tehr-* and *teher-*. This means that, so far as its vocalism is concerned, the basis of the adjective *têri* is characterized by much the same features as Biblical Aramaic and Syriac forms of *qatl* formations such as *š^elem < šalm*. In other words, the dialect in which the name *^dIl-te-ri* originated shares with Biblical Aramaic and Syriac the peculiarity (1) of inserting *e* between the second and the third radical of nouns of the type *qatl* and (2) of shifting *a > e* in the formerly shut syllable of the same class of nouns. (Unfortunately, the cuneiform script does not indicate whether or not the *e* which replaced the original *a* in the first syllable of these nouns was reduced to *ē*. Nonetheless, it seems probable that there was at least a strong tendency toward that reduction. For the second element of the afore-quoted divine name *Il-te-meš < 𐤀𐤋𐤕𐤌𐤕*, the vocalism of which corresponds to that of *teher-*, alternates, as we have seen, with *-tammeš*, and the gemination of the middle radical of this variant is likely to have been a means of avoiding the reduction of *tameš > temeš > t^emeš* [cf. Syriac *'allâhâ < 'alâhâ* and the analogous cases listed by Ungnad, *Syrische Grammatik*, München, 1913, p. 20, *sub k*; Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, I, p. 69, *sub ff*].) The fact that, on the other hand, the dialect in question connects a vocalic affix, viz. the ending *tî*, with *tehr-* or *teher-*, and not with **tahr-*, furnishes a first indication to the effect that it differed considerably from Biblical Aramaic and Syriac.

adjectiva relativa ending not in *-ai*¹³⁸ or *-âi* but in *-î* are characteristics of certain names appearing in Palmyra¹³⁹. The fact that the *adjectivum relativum*, *têrî* and the aforementioned personal name *Te-e-ri*¹⁴⁰ are marked by the same peculiar shift to *t* of the initial sibilant — a shift attested as early as the first half of the second millennium in the lower Hâbûr region¹⁴¹ — confirms

¹³⁸ This termination is found, *inter alia*, in the exceedingly old biblical names אל שר "The god who belongs to the mountain", "The god who is active in the mountain" and הר סיני "The Sînian Mountain". For the latter name, by which the *harra* (i. e., the volcanic site) where אל שר was thought to manifest himself is defined as the "Mountain of Sin", see for the present below, pp. 441 f. with note 173, for the former cf. my remarks in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* CX (1934), pp. 50 ff., which are, however, to be modified to some extent because further investigation shows that אל שר was not a more or less unimportant tribal god but the moon-god Sîn.

¹³⁹ We are referring in the first place to the divine name ירחבול (*Iaribwāl*). That this name is composed of an *adjectivum relativum*, *iarhî* "belonging to the well" and *bôl* "lord" and, accordingly, means "The lord who manifests himself in the well" or "The lord who acts in the well" is obvious in consideration of the following data: (1) As was repeatedly noted (lastly by Février, *La religion des Palmyréniens*, Paris 1931, pp. 83 ff. and 149 ff.), it follows from the text *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* III, 26 (1853), No. 4502 that ירחבול was the deity of the "spring of 'Εφα" (cf. Syriac 'afqâ, Mandaic אפיקא "creek") at the entrance of the town of Palmyra. (2) A term *iarhu* (< Hurrian *iar(i)u* + *h(a)*); see J. Lewy, *Revue des Études Sémitiques* 1938, 2, p. 73) occurs repeatedly in Assyrian texts as a designation of a "fountain" or a "watering place" (for references see Meissner, *OLZ* XIX [1916], p. 151 and Ebeling, *Altorientalische Bibliothek*, I, Leipzig 1926, p. 38, note 6). (3) The use of this term was by no means limited to Assyria, as may be seen from the fact that, according to Dossin, *Syria* XIX (1938), p. 112 and Jean, *Revue des Études Sémitiques* 1937, 3, p. 102, the texts from Ma'eri mention a town *Ia-ri-ih* or *Ia-ri-ha-wa*, and that the biblical place name יריחו (< *Iari-h-wa*; see Lewy, *loc. cit.*, pp. 73 f.) denoted a town that was situated upon an abundant spring. Another Palmyrenian name to be quoted in this connection is עולבול ('Αγλιβωλ) which is composed of 'agli "belonging to the calf", "calf-natured" and *bôl* "lord" (see below, p. 448 with note 199).

¹⁴⁰ See above, p. 426.

¹⁴¹ We are speaking of the well-known place name Tirqâ/Sirqâ (for references see Thureau-Dangin and Dhorme, *Syria* V [1924], pp. 277 ff. and Stephens, *RA* XXXIV [1937], p. 187), in the two forms of which *t* and *s* alternate in the same way as in *Têr* and Aramaic סרר. Cf. further the occurrence in Targumic Aramaic of both אהכלא and סנולא "grape" (for the other Aramaic dialects see, on the one hand, Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen*

this conclusion because the bearer of this name was a Qedarite¹⁴², i. e., an Ishmaelite¹⁴³, and lived in the western part of the desert where Aramaean and Arabian bedouins roamed for many centuries within the same vast stretches of territory¹⁴⁴. Hence

Sprachwissenschaft, Strassburg 1910, p. 64 and Brockelmann, *Lexicon Syriacum*², p. 459, on the other). The variants under which Akkadian *sahlû* (<Sumerian *za(g)-hi-li*) appears in Aramaic seem to exhibit the same peculiarity: whereas the stela from Sudšîn offers שחלין (see Driver, *Archiv für Orientalforschung* VIII [1932–33], p. 204; Friedrich and Landsberger, *ZA* XLI [1933], pp. 316 f.), Jewish Aramaic and Syriac know the same plant as חחל (see Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, p. 820). Should Holma, *Kleine Beiträge zum assyrischen Lexikon*, Helsinki 1912, pp. 84 f. be right in connecting Akkadian *šaḫullatu* with חחל, this word would also furnish a parallel to the replacing of š by t as found in the afore-discussed divine name שטש < *שטש < שטש and in the Aramaic ethnical name ^{amēl} *Mar-te-na-a-a*, which, as was noted by Streck, *MVAG* XI, 3 (1906), p. 29, alternates with ^{amēl} *Mar-šá-na-a-a*.

¹⁴² See Asb. Rm. IX, 16 f. (Streck, *op. cit.*, II, p. 74): ^m*A-bi-ia-te'* ^{mār}*Te'-ri* ^{māt}*Qid-ra-a-a*.

¹⁴³ Perhaps it should be noted in this connection that the statement of P in Gen. 25.12 f. according to which the Qedarites were Ishmaelites is borne out by the Assyrian sources: ^m*Ia-ta'*, whose succession to the throne of the aforementioned ^m*Ha-za-īl šar* ^{amēl}*A-ri-bi* is reported in col. IV, ll. 19 ff. of the above-cited Esarhaddon prism TH 1929-10-12, 1, appears in Ashurbanipal's inscriptions as ^m*Ia-u-ta'* ^{mār} ^m*Ha-za-īl šar* ^{māt}*Qi-id-ri* (Annals, Cyl. B, col. VII, ll. 87 f.; Streck, *op. cit.*, II, p. 130) and as ^m*Ia-u-te'* ^{šar} ^{māt}*Su-mu-īl* (l. 119 of the text published by Thompson and Mallowan, *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* XX [1933], pl. XC ff. and pp. 80 ff.). — As for the identity of ישמעאל and *Su-mu-īl* (var. *Su-mu'-īl*), see Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*⁵, Leipzig 1912, p. 183 and Thompson, *loc. cit.*, p. 98.

¹⁴⁴ Much as afterwards in the countries of the Fertile Crescent, the Arabs or "Ishmaelites" (see the preceding footnote) arrived here later than the Aramaeans whom they eventually supplanted. This development (which explains, *inter alia*, why, at the time of Esarhaddon, the Arabs of these regions worshipped *Ištar-Astarte* as עטר, and not as עֲתָר) is perhaps best illustrated by the following data from the history of Tadmur-Palmyra and of Têma. Between c. 2000 and 1100 B. C. Palmyra was a more or less Akkadianized Amorite town. This follows from the fact that while a Palmyrenian (*Tadmurtum*) mentioned around 1980 B. C. in the Old Assyrian texts from Kültepe (see J. Lewy, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* CX [1934], p. 40) bore, like many Akkadianized Amorites of the adjacent Mesopotamian regions, the name Puzur-Ištar, Tiglath-Pileser I (c. 1114–1076) defines Palmyra (^{āl}*Ta-ad-mar*) as a town of the country of Amurru. (For references see Lewy, *ibidem*, p. 41,

the afore-cited information about Nabonidus' cult of ^d*Il-te-ri* may in fact be regarded as evidence that his family was related to the tribes of the desert, and that the appointment of his grandmother to the governorship of Harrân actually served the purpose of winning for the Babylonians the sympathies of a population considerable parts of which had come from the Syro-Arabian desert and, consequently, had been more or less accustomed to being ruled by queens.

note 20.) At the same time, Tiglath-Pileser relates that he defeated Aramaean nomads (*Aḥ-la-me-e Ar-ma-a-ia*^{meš}; for the references see Forrer, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, I, pp. 131 f.) in, or in the neighborhood of, the oasis. Hence it is evident that the transformation of Palmyra into an Aramaean center is due to the ethnic movement which brought, in the centuries after Tiglath-Pileser I, increasing numbers of Aramaeans to the countries of the Fertile Crescent. Subsequently Aramaic remained, as is well-known, for many centuries the language of Palmyra, although the Assyrian sources point to the presence of nomadic Arabs in the regions West and South West of Palmyra as early as 853 B. C. (for reference see, e. g., Rosmarin, *loc. cit.*, pp. 7 f.). That Têma, too, became the Ishmaelite oasis as which it figures in Gen. 25.15 at a comparatively late time, viz. after 700 B. C., is, in the first place, indicated by the Sennacherib prism B. M. 103000 (*CT* XXVI, pl. 1 ff.). In defining the "Desert Gate" (*abul mad-ba-ri*) of Nineveh as the gate through which the presents of "the men of Ishmael and the men of Têma" (see col. VII, l. 96: ^{amēl}*Su-mu-'il ū amēl Te-e-me*) used to enter the Assyrian capital, this source evidently draws a distinction between the Ishmaelites and the inhabitants of Têma. The Greek version of Gen. 25.1-4, which inserts *Θαιμάν* — i. e., Têma (see below, p. 443, note 179) — between *Σαβάν* and *Δαιδάν*, points, at least indirectly, in the same direction, for it makes Abraham (whom the Bible regards as an Aramaean) and his concubine *Q'urâ* the grandparents of Têma, thus indicating that the Sabaeans and the inhabitants of the oases of Têma and Dêdân, i. e., el-'Ulâ, about 150 kilometers south of Têma (see above, p. 424), comprised Aramaean elements. Since the names of the kings of Arpad, on the one hand, and of Dêdân, on the other, reveal the existence of particularly close relations of the Aramaeans who settled in Syria with the Sabaeans and Dedânites (see above, p. 424 with note 111), this tradition deserves much more consideration than was admitted by Meyer, *IN*, p. 313, who overlooked that, much as Gen. 25.3 LXX enumerates *Θαιμάν* after *Σαβάν*, Tiglath-Pileser III (*III R* 10, No. 2, l. 27) mentions ^{ai}*Te-ma-a-a* immediately before ^{amēl}*Sa-ba-'-a-a*. Since, finally, Gen. 25.12 ff. belongs, as is generally agreed, to the Priestly Code, whereas Gen. 25.1-4 reflects a much older source, the conclusion imposes itself that the occupation of Têma by the Ishmaelites occurred in the period between Sennacherib (704-681) and the author (or last redactor) of the Priestly Code.

An investigation into the circumstances of Nabonidus' prolonged stay in the oasis of Têma shows the inherent probability of our conclusions as to the original home of Šumûa-damqa's family and her relations to the tribes of the desert. Being unparalleled in the history of the kings of Assyria and Babylonia, this stay (which began in Nabonidus' fourth year [552/1]¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁵ The data that make it virtually certain that, contrary to the assumption of Dougherty, *op. cit.*, p. 143, Nabonidus' stay at Têma began in his fourth year are the following: (1) The Nabonidus-Cyrus Chronicle, the well-preserved parts of which record the king's absence at Têma on New Year 549/8, 547/6, 546/5 and 545/4 (cf. below, p. 438), contains nothing from which it might be concluded that Nabonidus had gone to Têma as early as the beginning of his third year (553/2). In other words, the beginning of the year 553/2, in the course of which he organized a campaign against [A]dummu (see below, p. 438), is the *terminus post quem* of his stay at Têma. (2) A *terminus ante quem* is furnished by a tablet in the Goucher College Babylonian Collection (published by Dougherty, *Archives from Erech*, New Haven 1923, No. 294 and discussed by him in his *Nabonidus and Belshazzar*, p. 116) which concerns the dispatching of a messenger to the "country of Têma"; as this text bears the date of Adâru the 5th of Nabonidus' fifth year, it is likely that the king was at Têma by the end of the regnal year 551/0, all the more so since the texts Nos. 405 and 322 of the same collection (discussed by Dougherty, *op. cit.*, pp. 100 and 87, respectively) seem to indicate that the administration of Babylonia was in the hands of the crown-prince as early as the fourth and sixth month of the same year. (3) According to the second column of the "Verse Account", Nabonidus entrusted his eldest son with the administration of Babylonia and went to Têma *ša-lul-ti šatti ina(!) ka(!)-ša-du(!)* "when the third year came" (l. x+17; cf. Landsberger and Bauer, *loc. cit.*, p. 91, note 1, whose free translation "zwei Jahre darauf" is, however, misleading); since the "Verse Account" (the second column of which deals, in contradistinction to the first column, with Nabonidus' activities in the empire countries other than Babylonia) describes the laying of the foundation of Eḫulḫul, its completion and the transfer of the royal residence to Têma as parts of the same undertaking, that chronological remark indicates that the departure for Têma took place about two years after the reconstruction of Eḫulḫul had started. (4) From Nabonidus' Sippar Cylinder (V R 64; Langdon, *op. cit.*, pp. 218 ff.) it is learnt (a) that the decision to restore Eḫulḫul was taken in Nabonidus' *rêš šarrûti*, i. e., between Simânu — or perhaps Aiuru — and Adâru 556/5 (see Weissbach, *ZDMG* LXII [1908], p. 630 and particularly Schwenzner, *Klio* XVIII [1912], p. 57 and Parker and Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology* 626 B. C. — A. D. 45, Chicago 1942, p. 11), and (b) that two years later (see l. 28: *i-na ša-lu-ul-ti šatti i-na ka-ša-du*), when Cyrus opened the hostilities against Astyages, Nabonidus raised a large

and lasted at least until the eleventh year of his reign¹⁴⁶) has been

army of workmen from all his provinces in order to build Eḫulḫul. (Langdon's rendering by "meine zahlreichen Truppen" of the term *um-ma-ni-ia rap-ša-a-ti* [ll. 39 and 43] is to be abandoned not only because ll. 46 ff. imply that the levy of Nabonidus' forces served the purpose of building Eḫulḫul but also because it results from the variants of Darius' building inscription from Susa that the Neo-Babylonian scribes used both ^{amēl}*um-ma-an* and ^{amēl}*ŠAB.ḪI.A* as a designation of craftsmen assembled from various provinces; cf. also the remarks of R. C. Thompson, *Late Babylonian Letters*, London 1906, p. XIV and particularly those of Ungnad, *Glossar*, p. 19 concerning the interchangeability of ^{amēl}*um-ma-nu* and *ŠAB.MEŠ* which explains the use of the feminine form *rapšāti*, instead of *rapšāti*.) Hence we may well conclude that the solemn laying of the foundations of Eḫulḫul fell in the middle of the regnal year 554/3, a conclusion which is all the more indicated since the military expedition against Ḥamât, which the Nabonidus-Cyrus Chronicle (col. I, l. 9) records for this year, did not take place before the month of Têbêtu. Accordingly, the chronology of Nabonidus' first years presents itself as follows:

- 556/5. Accession of Nabonidus. Decision to rebuild Eḫulḫul as soon as feasible.
- 554/3. Commencement of Cyrus' war against Astyages. Mobilization of workmen for the rebuilding of Eḫulḫul and laying of its foundations. Expedition against Ḥamât.
- 553/2. Expeditions against Syria (cf. Weidner, *JSOR* VI [1922], p. 120) and [A]dummu.
- 552/1. Completion of Eḫulḫul and solemn transfer of the statues of Šin, Ningal, Nusku and Sadarnunna from Babylon to Ḥarrân. Appointment of Belshazzar as vice-king. Departure for Têmâ.

It follows from the preceding that we are in disagreement with the chronological remarks of König, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, VII (1931/2), pp. 178 ff., his conclusions being based upon two assumptions which are incompatible with the wording of the afore-quoted sources, viz. that Nabonidus' stay at Têmâ began two years after Eḫulḫul had been completed and that the building of the latter began not before 552/1. The chronology of the first years of Nabonidus' reign, as proposed by Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 107 ff., is necessarily erroneous since he assumed that Nabonidus' rule began in 555.

¹⁴⁶ As was observed by various scholars, this is the last year for the beginning of which the Nabonidus-Cyrus Chronicle attests the king's sojourn at Têmâ. Provided that this be not merely due to the fact that the end of the second and the beginning of the third column of the Chronicle are lost, the biblical tale (Dan. ch. 4) according to which the Most High decided that Nebuchadrezzar — i. e., Nabonidus (see J. Lewy, *MVAeG* XXIX, 2 [1925], pp. 16 f.; von Soden, *ZAW* LIII [1935], pp. 84 ff.) — should be expelled from human society and live for seven years with the beasts of the wilderness would have shortened the true length of Nabonidus' stay in the Syro-Arabian

explained in various ways. Landsberger and Bauer¹⁴⁷, followed by von Soden¹⁴⁸ and Baumgartner¹⁴⁹, interpreted it as an attempt at winning the help of the Arabs against the danger of Persian invasion. But, as Dougherty¹⁵⁰ correctly states, this menace did not exist when Nabonidus entrusted his son with the administration of Babylonia and chose an Ishmaelite oasis¹⁵¹ for his own residence; moreover, it is hard to see how the attempt at securing Arabian troops for a future war against Cyrus should have required Nabonidus' prolonged personal presence in one particular oasis and the building there of a palace comparable to that of Babylon¹⁵². The same objection must be raised against

desert by less than a year. There are, however, texts such as the tablets H. S. W. 48 (published in facsimile, transliteration and translation by Pinches, *PSBA XXXVIII* [1916], pl. I and pp. 27 f.) and YBC 4017 (published by Dougherty, *Records from Erech*, New Haven 1920, No. 155) which make it likely that Nabonidus' absence from Babylon lasted at least until the end of his twelfth regnal year; cf. Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar*, pp. 96, 131 and 161. At any rate, it is an open question as to whether Landsberger and Bauer, *loc. cit.*, p. 97, Meissner, *Könige Babylonien und Assyrien*, p. 280, Weissbach, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, I, p. 383 and Böhl, *ibidem*, II, p. 118 are right in asserting that Nabonidus spent eight years in Têma.

¹⁴⁷ *Loc. cit.*, p. 97.

¹⁴⁸ *Loc. cit.*, p. 86.

¹⁴⁹ *Theologische Rundschau* XI (1939), p. 126.

¹⁵⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 144 f.

¹⁵¹ See above, pp. 432 f., note 144.

¹⁵² Perhaps it should be mentioned that Böhl, *Symbolae ad jura orientis antiqui pertinentes Paulo Koschaker dedicatae*, Leiden 1939, p. 160 modified Landsberger's and Bauer's thesis as follows: "Im klaren Bewusstsein der Gefahr, die von Iran her drohte, verlegte er [i. e., Nabonidus] das Machtzentrum seines Reiches nach dem Westen (Harrân und die Oase von Têma), und suchte er die Nebenregierung der mit dem Feinde konspirierenden Marduk-Priesterschaft durch die konsequente Bevorzugung der älteren Tempel und Priesterschaften zu brechen". Böhl's assertion is, however, absolutely unacceptable. In the first place because there is not the slightest evidence to the effect that, at the time when Nabonidus decided, in the early years of his reign, to go to Harrân and Têma, the priests of the capital had an understanding with foreign enemies of the state or attempted unduly to interfere in the affairs of the government. Secondly because Têma was hardly the proper place for the creation of a "Machtzentrum" destined to facilitate the defense of Babylonia against the Iranians. Thirdly because Babylon remained the administrative center of the empire as well as the residence of the crown-prince. This follows not only from the indirect documentary evidence gathered

Rosmarin's hypothesis "dass Nabonidus seine Residenz für einige Jahre nach Tema' verlegte, um von dort aus besser den Handel zu kontrollieren"¹⁵³. If, finally, Meissner¹⁵⁴ states "unglücklicherweise wurde der König im Libanongebiet ernstlich krank und zog, um Gesundung zu finden, nach der Oase Adummu (heute Duma) in der Syrisch-arabischen Wüste. Hier scheint er eine besondere Vorliebe für das reine Wüstenklima gefasst zu haben, die ihn veranlasste, auch später die Stadt zu fliehen und sich, wie ein Beduine, nur in der Wüste aufzuhalten", his assertion finds not the slightest support in the passage of the Nabonidus-

and discussed by Dougherty, *op. cit.*, pp. 87 ff. and 117 ff., but also directly from the "Verse Account" and the Nabonidus-Cyrus Chronicle. From col. II, ll. x+16 ff. of the former it may be concluded that while an Akkadian contingent of the army accompanied the king to Têma, the major part of the armed forces of the empire was placed under the command of Belshazzar whom Nabonidus "entrusted with the kingship". The Chronicle corroborates this inference by repeatedly stating that during his absence in Têma "the king's son, his grandees and his troops" were in Akkad (cf. below, p. 438). Equally significant is the fact that, according to building inscriptions such as B. M. No. 108981 (see below, p. 441, note 171) and CBS 16108 (see below, p. 452, note 212), Nabonidus took care for the strengthening of the fortifications of Kutha and Kiš as well as of the capital itself. As regards the assumption that he made Harrân the first city and fortress of the empire, it finds no support in the sources. Šumûa-damqa's memorial merely says that he enlarged the city and "restored it to its place" (see above, p. 417), and the data discussed above, p. 434, note 145 make it obvious that the time Nabonidus spent there in connection with the solemn dedication of Eḫulḫul in 552/1 was short. It is, of course, possible that Nabonidus visited Harrân in subsequent years (to judge from the epilogue of the Eski Harrân inscription, he possibly attended personally the funerary celebrations in honor of Šumûa-damqa), but after his stay in Têma he seems to have gone not to Harrân but, as was emphasized by Böhl himself (*Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, II, p. 118), to Babylon.

¹⁵³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 22; Rosmarin's hypothesis was anticipated by Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 81 and *JRAS* 1925, p. 511 and Albright, *ibidem*, pp. 294 f. Only as a curiosity — or rather an aberration characteristic of a Teutonic mind — we mention the modification of Rosmarin's hypothesis which was advanced recently by Gallig, *Syrien in der Politik der Achaemeniden*, Leipzig 1937, p. 10: he considers it a matter of course that Nabonidus' stay at Têma served the purpose of looting the Arabian countries, and he seems to assume that the building there of a city and a beautiful palace was a natural consequence of such undertaking.

¹⁵⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 279 f.

Cyrus Chronicle which he quotes in this connection; the text (col. I, ll. 11 ff.) merely says that, apparently after his return from Syria¹⁵⁵ to Babylon, the king fell sick, recovered and prepared in the month of Kisilîmu of his third regnal year another military expedition against the "country of Amurru" in the course of which he came to [A]dummu, i. e., the oasis of Adummatu mentioned above, p. 420¹⁵⁶. The futility of all those speculations as to the motives of Nabonidus' sojourn in the desert becomes particularly clear when it is remembered that the "Verse Account" — the only available source which gives a somewhat detailed description of his activities at Têma — serves the purpose of exposing the "heresy" of the last ruler of the Neo-Babylonian empire. In other words, the very fact that the "Verse Account" deals at length with his stay in the Ishmaelite oasis suggests that the transfer of the residence to a place in the desert was dictated by religious considerations¹⁵⁷. A comparison of the "Verse Account" with the passages of the Nabonidus-Cyrus Chronicle which mention the king's absence at Têma leads to the same conclusion. As was repeatedly noted¹⁵⁸, those passages, introducing the paragraphs in which the Chronicle records events of the seventh, ninth, tenth and eleventh year of Nabonidus' reign, run as follows: "The king (was) in the town of Têma; the king's son, his grandees¹⁵⁹ and his troops¹⁶⁰ (were) in the country of Akkad. The king did not come to Babylon for the month of Nisânu; Nabû did not come to Baby-

¹⁵⁵ See Weidner, *loc. cit.*, pp. 119 ff.

¹⁵⁶ As Dougherty, *op. cit.*, p. 159 states, there is no indication whatsoever in the sources that the general health of Nabonidus was other than normal. He might have added that, according to Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, I, Cambridge 1888, pp. 287 f., Têma is, at this day at least, by no means a salubrious place.

¹⁵⁷ For the sake of convenience, we speak of religious considerations, instead of religious and historical considerations. As for the latter, see particularly pp. 464 ff.

¹⁵⁸ Lastly by Dougherty, *op. cit.*, pp. 111 f.

¹⁵⁹ Var. "the grandees"; see Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 116; Dougherty, *op. cit.*, pp. 111 f.

¹⁶⁰ Var. "the troops"; see Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 116; Dougherty, *op. cit.*, pp. 111 f.

lon¹⁶¹; Bêl did not go forth¹⁶²; the *akîtu* festival was suspended."¹⁶³ Prior to the publication of the "Verse Account", it was reasonable to deduce from this statement that "the non-observance of the New Year's festival was a natural result of Nabonidus' prolonged sojourn at a great distance from Babylon"¹⁶⁴. But in view of the lines x+10 and x+11 of the second column of the poem which attribute to him the words "While I finish this (undertaking) and accomplish what I desire to do¹⁶⁵, let me relinquish the (most important) festival, let me suspend (the celebration of) the New Year!", it is now manifest that he intentionally suppressed the celebration of the *akîtu* festival¹⁶⁶.

¹⁶¹ This means that, contrary to the established custom, the god Nabû did not come to the capital where he used to arrive on the fifth day of Nisânu in order to participate in the New Year's festival; for the details see Zimmern, *Das babylonische Neujahrsfest*, Leipzig 1926, pp. 13 f.; Güterbock, *ZA* XL (1931), pp. 289 f.; Weissbach, *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 59, Leipzig 1938, pp. 71 f. and 75 f.

¹⁶² I. e., Marduk did not leave his temple in Babylon in order to proceed to the *akîtu*-temple outside the city; for detailed descriptions of this procession and the rôle the king played in the rites to be performed on this most solemn occasion we refer to Thureau-Dangin, *RA* XIX (1922), pp. 141 ff. and *Rituel accadiens*, Paris 1921, pp. 146 f.; Zimmern, *op. cit.*, pp. 18 ff.

¹⁶³ It is possible that, in leaving in col. II, l. 9, after the words *šanat 8kâm*, an empty space just sufficient for this statement, the Chronicle indicates that the conditions which marked the beginning of Nabonidus' eighth year were the same as in the preceding year. But the empty space is more likely to imply that the situation was somewhat changed, and that the Chronicler was unwilling or unable to state exactly where the king spent the beginning of the year. In either case we have to conclude that Nabonidus made no effort to be in Babylon on the first day of the year 548/547.

¹⁶⁴ Thus Dougherty, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

¹⁶⁵ Literally, "reach my desire"; cf. Landsberger and Bauer, *loc. cit.*, p. 90, note 6.

¹⁶⁶ It is true, as the "Verse Account" speaks of Nabonidus' contempt for the New Year's celebration before describing the restoration of Eḫulḫul, it might seem that the afore-quoted two lines refer only to the time before the completion of the Sin temple of Harrân, and that, accordingly, the suspension of the festival in the seventh, ninth, tenth and eleventh year was not due to the king's "heresy". But a closer examination of the "Verse Account" shows that this is out of the question: before reporting in detail how, in execution of a pre-conceived plan, Nabonidus restored Eḫulḫul and made the necessary preparations for his subsequent stay in Têma (col. II, ll. x+12 ff.), the text

As this festival had its roots in a religion which originally had nothing in common with the cult of the moon and the other celestial bodies¹⁶⁷, this is in fact what we may expect of him who, according to Šumûa-damqa's memorial, "performed the forgotten rites of Sîn"¹⁶⁸, and who, according to his own inscriptions, placed the moon-god above Marduk and all other gods.¹⁶⁹ If,

gives a brief summary of the king's plan, and in this summary (col. II, ll. x+4 ff.) the reference to his intention to suspend the New Year's festival does not precede but follows the statement that he intended to rebuild Eḫulḫul and, after its completion, to transfer Sîn from Babylon to Ḫarrân. It is easy to see that this outline by the author of the Verse Account of Nabonidus' designs agrees well with the chronological data discussed above, p. 434, note 145; for those data make it certain that the laying of the foundations of Eḫulḫul preceded the suspension of the New Year's festival which the Verse Account regards as the climax of the king's "heresy".

¹⁶⁷ That the celebration of an *akītu* festival is one of the characteristic institutions of a religion which, originating from an agricultural population, was most antagonistic to the cult of the moon, as practised by populations of nomadic origin, follows from an investigation into the early calendaric systems of Palestine, Assyria and Babylonia; see H. and J. Lewy, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 59 ff. and 98 and *passim*. On the other hand, it is to be noted that, evidently owing to a syncretistic development, even the inhabitants of Ḫarrân were, at least in the Neo-Assyrian epoch, accustomed to celebrate a festival in the course of which Sîn left his temple and re-entered it after having proceeded to a *bīt akīti*; cf. Winckler, *Allorientalische Forschungen*, II, Leipzig 1898/9, p. 306 and particularly Behrens, *Assyrisch-Babylonische Briefe kulturellen Inhalts aus der Sargonidenzeit*, Leipzig 1906, pp. 21 ff.; Thureau-Dangin, *Rituel accadien*, p. 146, note 4. See also below, p. 455.

¹⁶⁸ See above, p. 417 and cf. below, p. 486 f.

¹⁶⁹ See above, p. 417 f. with note 72 and cf., *inter alia*, the inscription commemorating the restoration of the temple tower at Ur (*I R* 68, No. 1; latest transliteration and translation by Langdon, *op. cit.*, pp. 250 ff., No. 5) in which Nabonidus praises (in col. I, ll. 28 f.) Sîn as *bēl ilāni^{meš} ša šamē u iršilim^{im} šar ilāni^{meš} ilāni^{meš} ša ilāni^{meš}* "lord of the gods of heaven and earth, king of the gods, (even) god of the gods". (As may be seen from col. II, l. 5 of the same text, the words *ilāni^{meš} ša ilāni^{meš}* constitute a third epithet which, against Langdon, *op. cit.*, pp. 251 and 253, is but loosely connected with the preceding *šar ilāni^{meš}*; hence there is little doubt that the first *ilāni^{meš}* of the expression *ilāni^{meš} ša ilāni^{meš}* is a *pluralis magnitudinis* corresponding to Hebrew מַלְאִיִּם "god". Cf. further the occurrence in Dan. 2.47 of מַלְאִיִּם אֱלֹהִים and the Babylonian epithet *i-lat i-la-a-ti* "the goddess of the goddesses", which is found, for instance, in col. I, l. 3 of the inscription VA 3031, published by Ungnad, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, I, Leipzig 1907, No. 36 and trans-

however, so fervent a worshipper of Sîn went for religious reasons to Tê mâ, the conclusion imposes itself that he did so because he wished to promulgate there the cult of his god¹⁷⁰ or because he was desirous of adoring the moon-god in a place the holiness of which surpassed, in his opinion, even that of Ur and Harrân. It is also manifest that in either case his decision to make that Ishmaelite oasis his residence must have been influenced by the traditions of his family.

Several indications make it virtually certain that the second of those religious motives actuated Nabonidus in the selection of Tê mâ as his residence. From his votive inscriptions¹⁷¹ concerning the consecration of a daughter of his to the office of a Sîn priestess at Ur as well as from the afore-quoted passage of the Eski Harrân inscription we learn how anxious he was to revive, at the old seats of the moon-cult, rites that had become obsolete and, in doing so, to "restore" those centers of Sîn worship to their "proper place". From the fact, on the other hand, that early biblical traditions know of a *הר סיני*, i. e., a "Sînian Mountain" or "mountain holy to Sîn"¹⁷² which certainly

literated and translated by Thureau-Dangin, *RA* XVI [1919], pp. 141 ff.) In view of such testimonies to Nabonidus' ardent Sîn worship, it cannot be doubted that the "Verse Account" is a reliable source. Therefore it is unjustified to define it as a pamphleteer's "Zerrbild", as do Landsberger and Bauer, *loc. cit.*, pp. 96 f., without substantiating their verdict. See also below, pp. 487 f.

¹⁷⁰ This possibility was briefly considered by Dougherty, *op. cit.*, pp. 154 f., who, while dismissing it for lack of evidence, referred to Smith's interpretation of the damaged l. x+27 of the second column of the "Verse Account". Smith's restoration of this line remains, however, doubtful, and his translation is untenable from the grammatical point of view. See also Dougherty, *op. cit.*, p. 110 with note 367.

¹⁷¹ The pertinent cylinder inscriptions are B. M., No. 108981 (*CT* 36, pl. 21 ff.) and its duplicate AO 6444 (see above, p. 410, note 25) and YBC 2182 (published, transliterated and translated by Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Babylonian Collection*, New Haven 1915, pl. XXXIII ff. and pp. 69 ff.; cf. the greatly improved transliteration and translation by Böhl, *loc. cit.* [see above, p. 407, note 12], pp. 162 ff.).

¹⁷² That the name *סיני* is derived from Sîn has been repeatedly observed but — in spite of the excellent remarks of Kautzsch (*Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, Leipzig 1884, p. 80, *sub e*) on participles such as *בנין* — nobody

was situated in the volcanic regions of the Northern Ḥeġāz¹⁷³ and possibly only 165 kilometers west-south-west of Têmâ¹⁷⁴,

seems to have noticed that the biblical onomastic material includes several names in which the Aramaic termination *-âi* appears as *-ai*. The key to the understanding of those early forms is furnished by plurals such as נהרים "those who live along the river", מצרים "those who live along the boundary" and אנרים "people) from the town of אפרים", which will be discussed elsewhere.

¹⁷³ See particularly Oberhummer's article on "Die Sinaifrage" in *Mitteilungen der K. K. geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien* LIV (1911), pp. 628 ff., an almost complete English translation of which is found in the *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution* 1912 (Washington 1913), pp. 669 ff., and Meyer, *IN*, p. 69. Strangely enough, Meyer did not notice how much the view that Mt. Sinai was a volcano is supported by Ex. 13.21 and the cognate passages. No one who has travelled both by day and night in the direction of active volcanos can fail to realize that if the legends centering around Israel's stay at the Sinian Mountain speak of a column of cloud and a column of fire which guided the Israelites by day and night, respectively, this motif betrays acquaintance with a volcano. Moreover, if Meyer, speaking of the *ḥarrât* between Tabuk and Mekka, says "der Annahme, dass einer oder mehrere dieser Vulkane in historischer Zeit noch tätig gewesen sind (ähnlich wie z. B. der Albanerberg erst etwa um 1000 v. Chr. erloschen ist, in geschichtlich fassbarer Zeit, obwohl davon keine Kunde in Literatur und Sage vorliegt), steht nichts im Wege", this is misleading since Arabic sources deal, *inter alia*, with eruptions which occurred at the time of the caliph 'Omar (634-644) and as late as A. H. 654 (A. D. 1256); cf. Loth, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* XXII (1868), pp. 378 ff. and Wüstenfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Medina*, Göttingen 1860, pp. 18 ff. and see further Oberhummer, *loc. cit.*, pp. 639 ff.; Moritz, *Arabien*, Hannover 1923, pp. 11 f. For the eruption of the Ḥarrat an-Nâr at the time of the second caliph cf. also Musil, *The Northern Ḥeġāz*, p. 218, note 53, who identifies this *ḥarra* with the volcanic territory of ar-Rḥa' and al-'Awêrez where he located Mount Sinai (see the next footnote).

¹⁷⁴ 165 kilometers is the approximate distance between Têmâ and the Ḥala'-l-Bedr "Massif of the Full Moon" which Musil and Haupt identified with Mt. Sinai. (For the term *ḥala'* see Musil, *Arabia Petraea*, III, Wien 1908, p. 1 and cf. Socin, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* XXII [1899], p. 36 s. v. *hilla*, *halla*.) While Musil, *Anzeiger der kais. Akademie d. Wiss. in Wien*, Phil. Hist. Kl. XLVIII (1911), p. 154 (cf. also his afore-cited work on *The Northern Ḥeġāz*, pp. 214 ff.) apparently based this identification upon the sacredness attributed to the "black volcano el-Bedr" by the Arabs of the surrounding district (who offer sacrifices there on a spot marked by twelve stones and known as al-Maḍbaḥ "The Altar") and upon the fact that the adjacent volcano of al-'Âṣi is said to contain the *morâjer* 'abid Mûsâ "Caves of the Servants of Moses", Haupt, *Wellhausen-Festschrift* (1914), p. 198 and *JAOS* XXXIV (1915), p. 415 felt and empha-

it follows that the Aramaic-speaking inhabitants of Western Arabia worshipped Sin centuries before Nabonidus dreamed of bringing back the "Age of the Moon-god"¹⁷⁵. It is further to be remembered in this connection that (as was shown, for instance, by Meyer¹⁷⁶) one version of the biblical narratives about Jacob's trip to Laban assumes that the home of the latter, i. e., of the moon-god¹⁷⁷, was in Ḥarrân, whereas another version locates it in the country of the כרם בני in the region southeast of Palestine¹⁷⁸; this divergency was, of course, only possible if at least one sanctuary in that territory was as famous for its cult of the moon-god as was Ḥarrân. To be sure, those narratives do not permit to deduce that the place in question was the oasis of Têmâ, but it is significant that a passage in the Book of Habakkuk (3.3) parallels חִמָּן — which is certainly identical with Têmâ¹⁷⁹ — with הַר פְּרָאן, and that the latter mountain was,

sized that the name Ḥala'-l-Bedr means the same as הַר סִינִי, although he was not aware of the exact meaning of the latter name. This important detail was overlooked by Musil in his subsequent attempt to locate "The Mountain of God" (*op. cit.*, pp. 296 ff.).

¹⁷⁵ Allusions to a past epoch that was regarded as the "Era of the Moon-god" are found in the "Display Inscription" of Sargon II of Assyria; see ll. 110 and 146: *ul-tu ùmē^{meš} ru-qu-ti a-di-i^d Nannari* "since the distant days of the age of Nannaru". For a discussion of the meaning of these allusions see below, pp. 461 ff.

¹⁷⁶ *IN*, p. 236.

¹⁷⁷ The question as to the identity of the biblical Laban with the moon-god (cf. Zimmern *apud* Schrader, *op. cit.*, p. 363) is to be answered in the affirmative; see for the time being *Hebrew Union College Annual* XVIII (1944), p. 434, note 39 and pp. 455 ff.

¹⁷⁸ See Meyer, *IN*, pp. 236; 243 ff.; 312.

¹⁷⁹ As was intimated before (see p. 433, note 144), the usual scepticism against the identity of חִמָּן and חִמָּא is unfounded. A recapitulation of the following data will show that the loss of a final *n* which accounts for the form חִמָּא is by no means exceptional. The Aramaic name חִין (thus in Nabataean inscriptions; see Lidzbarski, *op. cit.*, p. 273, Jaussen et Savignac, *op. cit.*, II, p. 228) of a ruler of Sam'al-Sincirli which, after having been provided with the Assyrian nominative ending *-u*, appears in the records of Shalmaneser III as *Ḥa-a-a-nu* (var. *Ḥa-ia-a-nu*) recurs in ll. 3 and 9 of the inscription of the former's son כְּלֻט as חִיָּא (see Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, III, Giessen 1915, pp. 222 ff., whose assumption that *Ḥa-a-a-nu* is not Semitic is, however, untenable since, as was noted by Tallqvist, *op. cit.*,

according to Deut. 33.2, as celebrated a place of worship as the

p. 83, the same name appears in the Aramaean state of Hindânu as well as elsewhere, and since, according to Poebel, *JNES* I (1942), pp. 268 ff., II (1943), p. 85, the Assyrian king list from Dûr-Šarrukên enumerates a *Haidanu*, father of *Ilu-Mer*, among a group of Assyrian rulers of the third millennium whose names are unmistakably West Semitic). Moreover, as was stated by Tallqvist, *ZA* VII (1892), p. 284, note 1 and Johns, *op. cit.*, pp. 13 f., Late Assyrian texts, and particularly those from the district of Harrân, furnish a considerable number of West Semitic, especially Aramaic, personal names which offer, instead of the theophoric component Sin, a variant *Si'*, i. e., *Si* (see Rimalt, *loc. cit.*). In other words, the relation of חִסְנָא to חִסְנָא is that of חִסְנָא to חִסְנָא, of *Sîn* to *Sî* and, last not least, of מְרֹנֹ (Zech. 12.11; cf. 'Αρμαγεδών Rev. 16.16) to מְרֹנֹ (LXX Μαγεδών). It is true, some scholars have tried to disprove the opinion of Ewald, Olshausen, Stade and Friedrich Delitzsch that מְרֹנֹ is the older of the two forms. But if in doing so Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*², Leipzig 1894, pp. 363 f. observed "Für das Arabische vollends bliebe diese Annahme ohne alle Stütze und stünde mit allen sonstigen Erscheinungen im Widerspruch; denn اُن and اء sind hier stets verschieden, und werden darum auch überall streng auseinandergehalten. اء ist für das Arabische nur *âw*, *âj*", niemals = *ân*", he overlooked that צִידָן (< *Sîdân(u)*; see Lewy, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* CX [1934], pp. 48 f. and *MVAeG* XXXV, 3, [1935], p. 182) was replaced by صيداء and that, accordingly, تيماء, the modern name of Têma, is to חִסְנָא is to צִידָן. (Cf. also the gentilic صيدا نقي). If Bauer and Leander (*Historische Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache*, Halle 1922, p. 503) attempted to support Barth's view by alluding to the fact that the cuneiform documents from Tell Ta'annek and Tell el-Amarna refer to מְרֹנֹ as ^{al}*Ma-gi-id-da*, their argument has no weight since the onomastic material contained in the texts from Nuzi shows that, in certain regions, the divine name Sin, too, lost its final *n* as early as the 15th century: in these documents the spelling *Šarru-d Sîn mâr Ar-ša-tù-ia* (Chiera, *Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at Nuzi, Publications of the Baghdad School*, V, Philadelphia 1934, No. 448, l. 21; cf. *ibidem*, IV, No. 324, 43) alternates with ^m*Šarru-Sî mâr Ar-ša-tù-ia* (Chiera, *Harvard Semitic Series*, V, Cambridge 1929, No. 99, ll. 25+36), precisely as *A-pîl-d Sîn* (Chiera, *op. cit.*, III, No. 270, l. 27) alternates there with *A-pî-il-Sî* (Pfeiffer and Lacheman, *Harvard Semitic Series*, XIII, Cambridge 1942, No. 20, l. 25). And if, finally, Barth, *op. cit.*, p. 364 and Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, I, pp. 52 and 399, instead of admitting, with the afore-cited older scholars, that the gentilics השילוני "the man from שילה (v.l.r. שלו, Arabic سيلون)" and החִסְנִי (in Aramaic: חִסְנִי, see above, p. 422, note 93) "the man from Têma" preserved the final ון of שילון and חִסְנָא because it was here protected by the following gentilic ending, suppose that in these cases a ון was inserted in order

"Sînian Mountain" itself¹⁸⁰. Moreover, the well-known stela

to avoid a hiatus, their assumption is by no means cogent since the preservation of a final *n* which otherwise is lost occurs also elsewhere in the same circumstances. In German, for example, the local dialect drops the *n* of the place name *Giessen* but preserves it in the gentilic *Giessener*. In Hebrew itself, the original final *n* of the so-called cohortative forms אֲשַׁמְרָה < אֲשַׁמְרָן and לִכְהֵן < לִכְהִינָה (< אֲשַׁמְרָן + *nā*) is preserved in the emphatic forms אֲשַׁמְרֶנָּה (< אֲשַׁמְרָן + *nā*) and לִכְהִינֶנָּה (< לִכְהִינָה + *nā*), as is shown by the so-called *Dagesh forte conjunctivum* in נָא (see Haupt, *The Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, XIII, No. 114 [1894], p. 109 and cf. my remark in *ZA XXXVI* [1925], pp. 162 f.). We must therefore conclude that if the Septuagint renders חִמָּה always by *Θαιμάν* the translators preferred the older form of the name, precisely as they did in rendering שְׁלֵמָה by *Σαλωμών*. (שְׁלֵמָה-*Σαλωμών* is not a hypocoristic name, as was assumed, for instance, by Bauer and Leander [*op. cit.*, p. 503], but the Hebrew equivalent of *Salāmānu* [for the references see Tallqvist, *op. cit.*, pp. 190 f.], a name which consists of the divine name *Salām* and the ending *-ān* and, consequently, means "Belonging to *Salām*", "Dedicated to *Salām*". [For the god *Salām* see for the present my remarks in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions CX* (1934), pp. 62 f.; *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud*, I, Paris 1939, p. 275 and *JBL LIX* (1940), p. 519; as for the ending *-ān*, cf. Nöldeke, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft XV* (1861), p. 806 and Lewy, *Hebrew Union College Annual XVIII* (1944), p. 441, note 75.]) Any error on the part of the LXX in rendering חִמָּה by *Θαιμάν* is out of the question since in Jer. 49.7 f. and Ez. 25.13 *El-'Ulā* is associated with חִמָּה in much the same way as it is with חִמָּה in Isa. 21.13 f. and Jer. 25.23. Moreover, much as in the passage Gen. 25.3 the LXX (*Ἰεζάν δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Σαβάν καὶ τὸν Θαιμάν καὶ τὸν Δαιδάν*) links *Tēmān* not only with *D'ān* but also with *Šēḥā*, Tiglath-Pileser III enumerates the inhabitants of *Tēmā* (*ṭe-ma-a-a*) immediately before the Sabaeans (cf. above, p. 433, note 144). Hence there is, also from the geographical point of view, no reason for separating חִמָּה from חִמָּה.

¹⁸⁰ If so far virtually no Old Testament scholar recognized that the mountain of legislation was a place of Sîn-worship, this is in part due to the aforementioned failure to determine the full meaning of the name הַר סִינִי. In addition, it was not sufficiently noted that, in ancient Oriental times, a tribe, or a group of tribes, which migrated to other settlements felt compelled to recognize the gods, and especially the supreme deity, of the new habitat (cf. for the present my observations in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions CX*, pp. 59 f.). As a rule, the recognition of the gods of the new homeland did not lead to any farreaching changes in the religion of the immigrants, but merely to an increase in the number of their gods and to limited syncretistic developments. Those Israelite tribes, however, who, before settling in Palestine, had worshipped Sîn, finally relinquished their older religion to such an extent that הַר סִינִי came to be regarded as a mountain holy to יהוה.

of the priest ¹⁸¹צלמשור, which Huber and Euting discovered at Têmâ, indicates not only that the moon-god was worshipped there, but also that the Sîn cult of Têmâ was characterized by its archaic features. The text of the stela mentions among "the gods of Têmâ" a deity ¹⁸²שנולא whose name "Sîn of the accumulation of stones"¹⁸³ clearly shows that a "heap of stones" — evidently a *harra*¹⁸⁴ — was thought to be the abode of Sîn¹⁸⁵. Precisely this idea, viz. that a "heap of stones" was the seat of the deity, is reflected in a biblical narrative which, no doubt, springs from a period considerably earlier than the time of Nabonidus. We are referring to the tale about Laban's treaty with Jacob (Gen. 31.17 ff.) according to which a גל — i. e., in this case, certainly a mountain or mountain range¹⁸⁶ and prob-

¹⁸¹ *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Pars Secunda, Tomus I, pl. IX and pp. 107 ff.; cf. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, pl. XXVII and p. 447; Cooke, *op. cit.*, pp. 195 f.

¹⁸² See ll. 16 f.: צלם וי מחרם ושנולא ואשירא אלהי חימא.

¹⁸³ שנולא, a name consisting of the divine name Sîn and the genitive גל "the heap of stones", is a name of the same type as, for instance, ענתביחאל (Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus Elephantine*, Leipzig 1911, No. 18, col. VII, l. 6). Needless to say that, in consideration of this possibility of interpreting the name שנולא on the basis of an Aramaic etymology, it is methodologically unsound either to regard it (with Hommel, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* XXI [1899], pp. 135 f., Zimmern, *Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für babylonischen Kultureinfluss*², Leipzig 1917, p. 69 and Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 80) as a more or less corrupted form of Akkadian *ušumgallu* (<Sumerian *ušumgal*) which denotes a mythical serpent (see particularly Landsberger, *Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien*, Leipzig 1934, pp. 56 f.) or to render it by "le grand Sîn", as do Jaussen et Savignac, *op. cit.*, p. 144, apparently in view of the Sumerian adjective *gal* "great", "big".

¹⁸⁴ Since a *harra* looks like a vast accumulation of stones (cf. the photograph published by Moritz, *op. cit.*, pl. 6, fig. 9), גל may well have been used in the sense of *harra*.

¹⁸⁵ A case of a *harra* being regarded as the abode of a deity is known since Dussaud, *Syria* X (1929), pp. 144 ff. published "Šafaitic" inscriptions from the Ḥarrat er-Râḡil; see Grimme, *Archiv für Orientforschung* VIII (1932-1933), p. 111. It is significant that the god whose temenos was the Ḥarrat er-Râḡil is רצו, i. e., a deity whose cult is traceable from Medâ'in Šaleḥ and el-'Ulâ in the south to the Ḥaurân and Palmyra in the north.

¹⁸⁶ See Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs*², Berlin 1889, pp. 43 f. and Meyer, *IN*, pp. 244 f.

ably a *ḥarra*¹⁸⁷ — was to be the witness, and, in case of a violation of the treaty, also the judge¹⁸⁸, of the contracting parties¹⁸⁹. In fact, the Têma monument itself bears witness to the high antiquity of the local moon cult. The lower register of the relief on its side shows an altar surmounted with a bull's head; to quote Dougherty, who lately recalled this fact¹⁹⁰, "held by the horns of the altar is the head of a bull, the symbol of the moon-god in South Arabia". The custom of representing Sin as a bull — or, more exactly, as a young bull — was, however, not limited to South Arabia. At Ur it is attested, on the one hand, by a prayer which, invoking the moon-god as the protector of the city and its principal temple¹⁹¹, praises him as "the impetuous¹⁹² young bull with thick horns, perfect limbs and a lapis-lazuli beard"¹⁹³ and, on the other hand, by an archaeological find obviously to be associated with this description of Sin's appearance: the "King's Grave", one of the exceedingly old tombs of the so-called Royal Cemetery, contained a figure of a young bull whose head is made of thin sheet gold hammered over a wooden

¹⁸⁷ As is well known, the territory north or northeast of the Jabbok where, to judge from Gen. 32.23, J located the 𐎶 in question, is of a decidedly volcanic character.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. my remarks in *MVAeG* XXXIII (1930), p. 247 (248), note b, paragraph 2.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. Gunkel, *Genesis*², Göttingen 1902, p. 312 who correctly observed: "Da man hier den Steinhaufen als Zeugen anruft und daneben die Gottheit als Richter 53a, so wird eine ältere Vorstellung gewesen sein, dass die Gottheit im Steinhaufen wohne, und also den Übeltäter, der ins Gebiet der Nachbarn einbricht, und der bei ihr vorüber muss, sehen werde."

¹⁹⁰ *American Journal of Archaeology* XXXIV (1930), p. 307.

¹⁹¹ This bilingual prayer is known to us from a Late Assyrian copy from Ashurbanipal's library (K.2861 + K. 4999 + K.5068 + K.5297; published *IV R*, pl. 9). For complete transliterations and translations we refer to E. G. Perry, *Hymnen und Gebete an Sin*, Leipzig 1907, pp. 1 ff. and Langdon, *Babylonian Penitential Psalms*, Paris 1927, pp. 6 ff.

¹⁹² For *iqdu* "impetuous", "ardent", "fierce" see Mullo Weir, *A Lexicon of Accadian Prayers*, Oxford and London 1934, p. 116 and cf. Ungnad, *ZA* XXXVIII (1929), p. 197.

¹⁹³ Lit., "the impetuous young bull who is made thick in regard to the horns (and) who is perfected in regard to the limbs, bearded with a beard of lapis-lazuli".

core, while the heavy beard consists of tesserae of engraved lapis-lazuli¹⁹⁴. Nabonidus certainly was aware of the fact that, in bygone days, the moon-god was represented as a young bull, although in his own time the usual symbol of Sin was the crescent¹⁹⁵; for the afore-cited old prayer was, as was pointed out by Langdon¹⁹⁶, recited in Babylonia as late as the Neo-Babylonian period. Yet there is no reason to assume that the bull-head on the stela of צלמשוב reflects Nabonidus' activity in Têma. For the biblical tradition in regard to the golden calf adored by the Israelites at the foot of the "Sînian Mountain"¹⁹⁷ — a tradition that certainly antedates the Babylonian captivity — shows that the Sin-worship practised in West Arabia did, at least in this regard, not differ from the early Sin cult of Ur¹⁹⁸. Significantly enough, the same can be said of the desert regions north of Têma, since the moon-god of Palmyra was called עגלכול ('Αγλιβωλ) "The Calf-natured Lord"¹⁹⁹ even at a time when

¹⁹⁴ For reproductions and detailed descriptions of this masterpiece of early Sumerian(?) art see Woolley, *The Antiquaries Journal* VIII (1928), pl. LXIV and pp. 437 f.; Gadd, *History and Monuments of Ur*, London 1929, pl. VIII and pp. 34 f. and particularly Woolley, *Ur Excavations*, II, London and Philadelphia 1934, pl. 107.

¹⁹⁵ For references see Unger, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, IV, 2, Berlin 1926, p. 436, § 28.

¹⁹⁶ *RA* XVIII (1921), p. 159.

¹⁹⁷ Ex. 32.1 ff.

¹⁹⁸ In consideration of the rôle the moon and the stars necessarily play in the life of the inhabitants of the Syro-Arabian desert, it is difficult to follow Meyer when he states (*GA* II, 2, p. 158, note 1): "Name und Kult des Mondgottes Sin ist nach Südarabien wohl erst von Babylonien eingedrungen, so gut wie die Verehrung von Sternen. Ebenso wird der Mondgott Šahr [sic] in den aramaeischen Inschriften von Nerab bei Aleppo dort ebensogut assyrischen Ursprungs sein wie der Name seines Priesters und der Götter Nikal und Nušk und der Stil der Skulpturen und wie der Mondgott Sin in Charrân". The worship of Ningal in these places merely shows that the Sin cult of Ur exerted a certain influence upon the other centers of moon-worship, a fact which is not surprising since it is self-evident that sanctuaries dedicated to the cult of the same deity maintained relations among each other. [Cf. now my observations in *American Journal of Archaeology* XLIX (1945), p. 181.] See also below, pp. 482 ff.

¹⁹⁹ Meyer's tentative rendering of עגלכול by "Kalb des Bôl" (*op. cit.*, p. 155, note 1) is unacceptable since it makes no sense. His further contention (*ibidem*, p. 158, note 1) that "die Mondgötter [sic] Jarchibôl und 'Aglibôl von

he was no longer exclusively represented as a young bull²⁰⁰ but also as a warrior with the horn of a crescent on, or near, each shoulder²⁰¹. Here, too, late Babylonian influence is utterly unlikely, for the second component of the name עִנְלִבּוֹל is not the Akkadian *bēl* but the West Semitic *bōl*²⁰², and as regards its first component, nothing advocates its identification with Akkadian *agalu* "mule"²⁰³, whereas, on the other hand, the association with the West Semitic term denoting the calf is strongly suggested by the aforementioned evidence to the effect that since an early epoch the moon-god was commonly compared to a young bull.²⁰⁴

Palmyra zeigen durch ihre Namen dass sie junge Schöpfungen sind" is not only not accompanied by any evidence but improbable in view of the fact that the first component of the name ירחבול is derived from an old term which the Semites borrowed from the Hurrians (see above, p. 431, note 139).

²⁰⁰ As such he appears on the tessera No. 3346 which was published by Seyrig, *Syria* XVIII (1937), p. 208, fig. 7 and pl. XXXII, No. 10. This tessera which names the gods עִנְלִבּוֹל and מל[כב] shows on one side a bull and on the other a human figure which, as was proved by Seyrig, *ibidem*, pp. 200 ff., is to be identified with מלכבּל. Hence it is reasonable to infer that the bull symbolizes עִנְלִבּוֹל, an inference which is all the more likely since the moon-god's other symbol, the crescent, is shown above the animal. It is interesting to note that, whereas this tessera shows the bull's entire body and the crescent, another piece of the same kind (De Vogüé, *Inscriptions Sémitiques*, Paris 1868-1877, pl. 12, No. 139) represents only a bull's head and a crescent.

²⁰¹ So, for instance, on the reliefs reproduced by Seyrig, *loc. cit.*, pl. XXXI and *Syria* XIII (1932), pl. XLII and on the tessera published by De Vogüé, *op. cit.*, pl. 12, No. 141.

²⁰² Cf. the remarks of H. Bauer, *Das Alphabet von Ras Schamra*, Halle 1932, p. 75.

²⁰³ That Akkadian *agalu* does not denote the calf but either the mule or the saddle-donkey has been proved by Meissner, *Beiträge zum Assyrischen Wörterbuch*, II, Chicago 1932, pp. 2 f. and Meier, *ZA* XLV, 1939, p. 211.

²⁰⁴ It is worthwhile noting in this connection that as late a writer as Al-Šahristānī (*Kitāb al-milal wal-nihāl*, ed. Cureton, p. 452) mentions the setting up of, and the cult offered to, the image of a calf (صنم على صورة عجل) among the traditional institutions of the moon-worshippers (عباد القمر). The significance of his statement is not impaired by the fact that he refers to this custom in a chapter in which he deals with the worship of the stars (and especially the moon and the sun) as practised in India. For since the genuine Indian religions do not recognize the planets as important deities, it is obvious that the cult described by him was imported into India from the Semitic countries; cf. the remarks of H. Oldenberg, *Aus Indien und Iran*

The conclusion that Nabonidus went to Têma because this oasis and the adjacent regions of the Northern Heġâz were old religious centers where his ancestors formerly worshipped the moon-god is in line with the extreme religious conservatism noticeable in his inscriptions dealing with the restoration of temples in Babylonia. In col. III of the stela from Hilla²⁰⁵, for example, he praises Nebuchadrezzar²⁰⁶ for rebuilding the temple of Ištar at Uruk and simultaneously ordering the temple rites to be again performed according to the ancient rules which (about 200 years before Nebuchadrezzar) had been abolished by king Erība-Marduk. When relating his own building activities, he lays great stress upon his efforts to find the earliest foundations of the sanctuaries in question and to reconstruct them according to the old ground plans²⁰⁷. By the same token, the Sippar cylinder V R 65²⁰⁸ indicates Nabonidus' dissatisfaction with the way in which Nebuchadrezzar reconstructed the temple of Šamaš at Sippar: After stating that, owing to his failure to uncover its oldest foundations, Nebuchadrezzar was compelled

(Berlin 1899), pp. 179 f. and the same savant's *Die Religion des Veda*² (Stuttgart und Berlin 1917), pp. 189 ff.

²⁰⁵ Latest transliterations and translations by Messerschmidt, *MVAG* I, 1 (1896), pp. 24 ff. and Langdon, *op. cit.*, pp. 270 ff.

²⁰⁶ See Messerschmidt, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

²⁰⁷ This is the sense of the formula *eli te-me-en-na X* [with *X* we denote the name of the ruler or the building referred to in this connection in each of those records] *ubân la a-ši-e ubân la e-ri-bi uš-šú-šú ad-di* "upon the foundation of *X* I laid its (new) basis without going outward by a finger (width) and without going inward by a finger (width)", which occurs frequently in the pertinent passages (see, e. g., A. H. 82-9-18, 3680 [CT 34, 23], col. I, ll. 17 ff.; for variants see Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 8^b s. v. *ubânu* and, *inter alia*, col. III, ll. 66 f. of the aforementioned barrel cylinder B. M. No. 104738 and col. II, ll. 54 ff. of the text W-B 5, referred to in the next footnote). It is, of course, doubtful to which extent Nabonidus' architects were capable of actually reconstructing temples the original plan of which goes back to the third millennium, but in so far as more recent buildings were concerned, the excavations furnish the proof that they refrained from modifying the earlier plans; see, for instance, Woolley, *The Antiquaries Journal* V (1925), p. 368, last paragraph.

²⁰⁸ Latest transliteration and translation by Langdon, *op. cit.*, pp. 252 ff., No. 6; cf. the cognate text W-B 5, published by Langdon, *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*, I (Oxford 1923), pp. 32 ff. and pl. 23 ff.

to rebuild it according to his own ideas (see col. I, l. 20: *i-na ra-man-ni-šú*), the text implies that this was the reason why the re-erected sanctuary began prematurely to decay²⁰⁹ and required another reconstruction in connection with which Nabonidus made a real and successful effort to reach the foundations laid by Narâm-Sîn of Akkad²¹⁰. From *V R* 63²¹¹, another inscription dealing with the reconstruction of the same temple, it is learnt that similar care was taken to give the Šamaš statue the appearance which it supposedly had in times long past²¹².

²⁰⁹ The correctness of this interpretation of *V R* 65, col. I, ll. 16 ff. is confirmed by the fuller statements in W-B 5, col. I, 52-col. II, l. 1 and col. II, ll. 9-12.

²¹⁰ This being so, Meissner, *op. cit.*, p. 278 obviously errs in asserting that Nabonidus' endeavors to uncover the foundations of the temples of Babylonia were inspired by an "ausgesprochen archäologisches Interesse". If Meissner were right, we should assume that, for example, Esarhaddon, too, was interested in archaeological studies; for in a text concerning the rebuilding of the sanctuary of Nanâ at Uruk (published by Thureau-Dangin, *RA* XI [1914], pp. 97 ff.), he expressly tells us that he searched for its plans. Meissner's statement is all the more unwarranted since, throughout the centuries, Babylonian and Assyrian rulers concluded their building inscriptions with admonitions urging the future rebuilders of temples as well as secular structures to have regard for their foundation documents. Even if these exhortations would not say that those documents should again be deposited in the places where their authors had laid them down, it would follow from those well-known passages that the kings expected their successors to uncover the foundations of the buildings in question in order to reconstruct them according to the old pattern. Since, furthermore, the kings assure the future rebuilders of the blessings of the gods in return for heeding those admonitions, it is equally manifest that respect for the old plans was regarded as a religious duty. Hence a king who, like Nabonidus, acts accordingly proves his scrupulousness in religious matters.

²¹¹ Langdon, *op. cit.*, pp. 262 ff.; see also Sidney Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 58 f. and Denner, *Archiv für Orientforschung* VII (1931/2), pp. 186 f.

²¹² These data make it particularly clear that Nabonidus' religious activities had nothing in common with those of Amēnhotep IV-Ekhnaton, although both kings transferred their residence to the desert, and although the endeavors of both of them met with similar opposition on the part of their contemporaries. They also disprove a hypothesis taken into consideration by Landsberger and Bauer, *loc. cit.*, p. 97, according to which it was Nabonidus' intention to abolish, for reasons of Aramaean nationalism, the established cults of Babylonia in favor of the worship of Sîn. In fact, the number of foundation documents found *in situ* in temples reconstructed by Nabonidus compels us to acknowledge the correctness of his own statement to the effect

It follows from the preceding evidence that, no matter whether he served Šin or honored the other "great gods" of his empire, Nabonidus was always actuated by the same ardent desire to restore the sanctuaries in accordance with their original features and to revive customs of the past. One might be inclined to regard this preference for institutions of bygone centuries and millennia²¹³ as a consequence of the catastrophic events directly witnessed, if not by other members of his family, at least by Šumûa-damqa (who seems to have exerted a considerable influence upon her grandson²¹⁴) during the long war in which the cities of Aššûr and Nineveh and their old sanctuaries as well as the principal Šin temple of Harrân had been destroyed. According to the religious ideas of the epoch, which were shared by Nabonidus²¹⁵, such calamity proved beyond doubt that the

that he was anxious "to take care of the cult centers of all great gods" (see B. M., No. 108981, col. II, ll. 14 f.: *ana ma-ḥaz ilâni rabûti ka-li-šu-nu za-na-nu na-ša-an-ni lîb-bî*). — It might be well to mention that Berossos, fr. 54 (*apud* Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, I, 20, § 149) and especially the text CBS 16108 (published in facsimile, transliteration and translation by Legrain, *Royal Inscriptions and Fragments from Nippur and Babylon* [PBS XV], Philadelphia 1926, pl. XXXIII f. and pp. 46 f.) refutes Landsberger's and Bauer's hasty contention (*loc. cit.*, p. 97) that Nabonidus failed to strengthen the fortifications of Babylon.

²¹³ It will be remembered that in consecrating his daughter to the office of a high priestess of Šin, Nabonidus revived a custom which can with certainty be traced back at least to the times of Šarrum-kên of Akkad; cf. Böhl, *loc. cit.*, pp. 152 ff.

²¹⁴ This assumption is suggested, in the first place, by the satisfaction with which Šumûa-damqa relates that the rebuilder of Eḫulḫul was her own (grand)son Nabonidus, and secondly by the significant fact that, in the epilogue of her memorial, the latter calls himself "his (grand)mother's darling"

²¹⁵ See, for instance, *V R 64* (Langdon, *op. cit.*, pp. 218 ff.), col. I, ll. 8 ff.; Stela from Hillah (*ibidem*, pp. 270 ff.), col. X, ll. x+8 ff.; col. I, ll. 17 ff. and cf. col. III, ll. 26 ff. of the barrel cylinder B. M. No. 104738 (see above, p. 418, note 72): *Ê-ul-maš šâ Sippar^{KI} dA-nu-ni-tum šâ dŠin šar ilâni^{meš} eli âli û bîti šâ-a-šu is-bu-su ú-šad-kâm-ma^{md} Šin-aph^{meš}-erība šar mât Aš-šur amâ^l nakru za-ma-nu-ú âla û bîta šâ-a-šu ú-šâ-lik kar-mu-tam . . .* "(As for) Eulmaš of Sippar Annunitum, against which city and temple Šin, the king of the gods, was enraged — he summoned Sennacherib, the king of Assyria, a wicked enemy, and caused that city and temple to go to destruction".

deities of the affected cities had been utterly dissatisfied with the worship offered them in the recent past. Hence Nabonidus might have found it necessary to return to the customs of the times when the empire had flourished, hoping that, in doing so, he would avoid a disaster in which the Neo-Babylonian state would suffer the fate of its Assyrian predecessor. But from his references to Sennacherib, Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, on the one hand, and from the history of Ḫarrân and the cult of the moon-god, on the other, it follows that other motives determined the policy of Šumûa-damqa's grandson.

As was mentioned before²¹⁶, Nabonidus maintained that when Šin became enraged against the Babylonian city of Sippar Annunîtum and its temple Eulmaš, he summoned Sennacherib for their destruction. We also called attention to a passage in which Nabonidus, who described himself as a ruler chosen by Šin and Ningal²¹⁷, proclaims that Šin entrusted "Esarhaddon, the king of Assyria, and Ashurbanipal, his son" with "the totality of the countries" (*kiššat mâtâtî*)²¹⁸. At first glance, it might seem that these statements lack any historic basis and serve merely the purpose of extolling Šin and comparing Nabonidus' own rule with that of famous kings of Assyria; for several inscriptions show that, no less than their predecessors, those Assyrian kings were used to refer to Aššûr as the god to whom they owed their power.²¹⁹ But there are data which prove that, since the reign of Sargon (721-705), the rulers of Assyria professed allegiance to the moon-god of Ḫarrân to such a degree as to justify Nabonidus' allusions. The invocations and lists of gods, for instance, contained in the historic inscriptions of Sargon, Sennacherib, Esarhaddon and, particularly, Ashurbanipal differ in many cases most strikingly from the corresponding passages in the records of their predecessors by naming Šin immediately after Aššûr (or Aššûr and his parhedros), i. e., they give him the second place in the hierarchy of the Assyrian

²¹⁶ See the preceding note.

²¹⁷ See VR 64, col. I, ll. 4 f.

²¹⁸ See above, pp. 417 f. with note 72.

²¹⁹ For references see Tallqvist, *Der Assyrische Gott*, Helsingforsiae 1932, pp. 88 ff.

gods²²⁰. Ashurbanipal even went so far as to draw a distinction between "the great gods" in general and "Sin who dwells in Ḫarrân, my lord" in particular²²¹. These changes in the tenor of the inscriptions are accompanied by equally conspicuous actions in favor of the city of Ḫarrân and its cult. Sargon gave the city the same privileged status as Aššûr's holy city²²², and his successors continued on the same line, as may be seen from Ashurbanipal's well-known statement that he acted in accordance with his father's wishes when he consecrated one of his brothers for the *urigallu*-priesthood "before [Aššûr]²²³" and another one

²²⁰ For references see Thureau-Dangin, *RA* XXI (1924), pp. 190-192. As may be seen from Pfeiffer's article on "Assyrian Epistolary Formulae" (*JAOS* XLIII [1923], pp. 26 ff.), the conclusions to be drawn from Thureau-Dangin's quotations are corroborated by the introductory lines of the contemporary letters, in so far as here, too, Sin frequently figures immediately after Aššûr.

²²¹ See K. 228 and its duplicates (Streck, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 158 ff.; cf. Bauer, *op. cit.*, II, p. 33), rev., ll. 32 f.: "Thanks to the aid of the great gods and of Sin, who dwells in Ḫarrân, my lord, the wicked submitted to my might."

²²² See particularly Sargon's so-called Pavement Inscription, No. 5 (Winckler, *Die Keilschriftlexie Sargons*, II, Leipzig 1889, pl. 40, sub V), ll. 9-11: *za-kut Bal-til^{ki} û ^âḪar-ra-na ša ul-tu ûm^{meš} ul-lu-û-ti im-ma-šu-ma ki-din-nu-us-su-un ba-til-ta û-tir aš-ru-uš* "(As regards) the freedom of the city of Balti [i. e., that part of the Assyrian capital which existed in pre-Assyrian times; see below, pp. 467 ff.] and of the city of Ḫarrân which had been forgotten since far-off days — their suspended privileged status I restored" and cf. his "Cylinder Inscription" (Winckler, *ibidem*, pl. 43), ll. 5 f.: *ka-šir ki-din-nu-tu Bal-til^{ki} ba-ṭi-il-tu ša eli ^âḪar-ra-na andulla^{la}šu iṭ-ru-šu-ma ki-i ša-ab ^dA-nim u ^dDa-gan iš-tu-ru za-kut-su* "the restorer [lit., "he who binds"] of the suspended privileged status of the city of Balti who spread out his (protecting) shadow over the city of Ḫarrân and, being [lit., "as"] the warrior of the god Anum and the god Dagan, wrote (the charter of) its freedom". It is interesting to note in this connection that the barrel cylinder TH 1930 — 5 — 8,3+122615 (Thompson, *Iraq* VII [1940], pp. 86 ff. and figs. 1 and 2), l. x+2 of which is to be restored in accordance with the passage quoted above from the Pavement Inscription, No. 5, mentions in l. x+6 an amount of silver given by Sargon for "work on Eḫulḫul, the sanctuary of Sin who dwells in Ḫarrân".

²²³ Considering the afore-quoted passages from Sargon's inscriptions, the reading *ina maḥar ^d[Aššûr]* "before [Aššûr]" may well be taken for certain; see already Jensen, *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* LX (1920), p. 42.

for that "before Sîn who dwells in Harrân"²²⁴. At the same time he showed an increasing interest in the temples of Harrân: After rebuilding Eḫulḫul as early as the year of his accession to the throne²²⁵, he beautified the *bīl akīti*²²⁶; he also reports the construction of another Sîn sanctuary called [. . . .]UZU.MU²²⁷ and of a temple for Nusku named E-melam-anna both of which do not seem to have existed before²²⁸.

It is further noteworthy that in choosing for their eldest sons the names ^d*Sîn-aḫḫê-erība* "Sîn replaced for me the (deceased) Brothers" and ^d*Sîn-iddina-apla* "Sîn gave me a Son as Heir", respectively, Sargon and Esarhaddon affirmed that it was Sîn who guaranteed the continuance of the royal house²²⁹, to which

²²⁴ See K. 891 (Streck, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 248 ff.; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, II, Chicago 1927, pp. 376 f.), obv., ll. 12 ff.

²²⁵ See K. 228 (above, p. 454, note 221), rev., l. 51.

²²⁶ See l. 64 of the inscription from Nineveh published by Thompson, *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* XX (1933), pl. XC ff. and pp. 80 ff.

²²⁷ See the fragment K. 4451 (published in facsimile, transliteration and translation by Bauer, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 39 f. and II, p. 41), l. x+15. Ll. x+8 ff. suggest that either Sennacherib or, more likely, Ashurbanipal was the first to build this otherwise unknown sanctuary. Incidentally, the existence of this second Sîn temple, which, no doubt, was provided with images of the moon-god and the other gods of Harrân, may explain how it was possible that, according to ll. x+2 ff. of her memorial (see above, pp. 414 f.), Šumûa-damqa "seized the hem of Sîn's garment" and prayed to him despite the destruction of Eḫulḫul and the absence from Harrân of its images of Sîn, Ningal, Nusku and Sadarnunna.

²²⁸ That Emelamanna, to all appearances a part of Eḫulḫul, did not exist prior to the reconstruction of the latter temple follows from col. II, l. 50 of the prism TH 1929-10-12, 2 (published by Thompson, *The Prisms of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal*, pl. 14 ff. and pp. 29 ff.); see also Bauer, *op. cit.*, II, p. 21.

²²⁹ That these names are to be interpreted in this sense is assured by a stone inscription from the Ningal temple which Sargon built, in addition to a magnificent temple of Sîn, in his residence Dûr-Šarrukên. The text (published in facsimile, transliteration and translation by Jacobsen *apud* Loud, *Khorsabad*, I, Chicago 1936, p. 133, No. 7) consists of the following prayer: "O honored one among the (divine) ladies, exalted Ningal! For Sargon, king of the totality, king of Assyria, governor of Babylon, king of Sumer and the Akkadians, the builder of thy cella, speak before Sîn, thy beloved consort, *h i s f o s t e r - f a t h e r*, a word good for him to the effect that [lit., "actually speak a word of good things of his which (says that)"] he may fix as his destiny strength of

declaration Ashurbanipal subscribed in stating that Šin created him for royalty²³⁰. Of even greater significance is the fact that Ashurbanipal gave his second son the name ^d*Šin-šarra-iškun* "Šin installed the King"; for when interpreted in conjunction with the introductory lines of his "Annals" — "I (am) Ashurbanipal whose name Aššûr and Šin, the lord of the tiara, have pronounced since distant days" ²³¹ —, this name leads to the conclusion that he deemed it desirable to add to the royal insignia bestowed upon him by Aššûr a crown granted by Šin, a conclusion now borne out by the fragmentary text K. 2822²³², ll. x+7 ff. of which read as follows: "[Ashurbanipal, the great king, the mighty king, the king of the totality²³³, the king of Assyria, of]²³⁴ Šin and Ningal, who in the fidelity of their heart crowned him²³⁵ with the lordly tiara".

Ashurbanipal was, however, not the first Sargonid to wear this tiara. This follows from the letter K. 2701a²³⁶, from which

his dynasty, (eternal) life of the soul (and) long [lit., "far"] (earthly) days, (and) to the effect that his descendants may rule all inhabited places to the end of days!" — As for the term *abbûtu* "foster-father", "foster-parent" (an abstract noun derived from *abu* "germane father"), which occurs in the Old Assyrian texts from Kültepe as well as in the Nuzi tablets, see H. Lewy, *Orientalia N. S.* IX (1940), p. 366, note 3.

²³⁰ See K. 3065 (Streck, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 216 f.; Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, II, p. 364), ll. x+2 ff.: [*a-na*] *e-peš Ê-hûl-hûl iz-kur ni-bit šumi-ia* ^d*Šin šá ib-na-an-ni a-na šarrûti*^{u-li} "[to] rebuild Eḫulḫul, Šin, who created me for the kingship, pronounced my name". Cf. the afore-quoted prism TH 1929-10-12, 2, col. II, ll. 31 ff.

²³¹ See ll. 1 ff. of the so-called Rassam Cylinder (Streck, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 2 ff.; Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 291 ff.).

²³² Published in facsimile, transliteration and translation by Bauer, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 30 and II, pp. 40 f.

²³³ For this title see below, pp. 464 ff.

²³⁴ As may be seen from the context, and particularly from the preceding *mi-gir* ^d<*Aššûr*> *u* ^d*Ištar*, Šin and Ningal is a genitive which was preceded by a term describing Ashurbanipal's relation to the moon-god and his consort.

²³⁵ According to Bauer's copy (*op. cit.*, I, pl. 30), *e-pi-ru-šû* is fully preserved. For *apâru* "to cover with a headgear", "to crown" see the dictionaries.

²³⁶ This letter, which was written by a certain Marduk-šum-ušur, was published in facsimile by Winckler, *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten*, II, Leipzig 1894, pl. 9 and re-edited by R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian*

it is also learnt that the coronation by Šin and Ningal took place at Harrân. The essential part of the letter, which may have hastened Ashurbanipal's decision to increase the number of his regalia by a crown bestowed by Šin, runs as follows: "In a dream, Aššûr said 'O wise one!' to the grandfather of the king, my lord. The king, the lord of kings²³⁷, the grandson of the wise one, h[e] (is) even Adapa!²³⁸ You²³⁹ surpassed the wisdom of the Apsû²⁴⁰ and all [its] sages!²⁴¹ — When the father of the king, my lord, went to Egypt, they²⁴² crow[ned him]²⁴³ in the pre-

Letters, IX, Chicago and London 1909, No. 923. For the first paragraph of the text (ll. 1-6) which, consisting of introductory formulas, has no bearing upon the present discussion, we refer to the transliterations and translations by Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire*, II, Ann Arbor 1930, pp. 140 ff. and Pfeiffer, *State Letters of Assyria*, New Haven 1935, No. 248.

²³⁷ It will be remembered that the epithet *bêl šarrâni* "the lord of kings" is characteristic of those official letters of the Sargonid period which were addressed to Ashurbanipal (see Behrens, *op. cit.*, p. 26). For this reason and in view of the fact that it speaks of an Egyptian campaign of the addressee's father, it should never have been doubted that the letter K. 2701a was sent to Ashurbanipal.

²³⁸ Perhaps it should be recalled that Adapa, the son of the wise god Ea of Eridu, was famous for his wisdom.

²³⁹ Singular.

²⁴⁰ Apsû, the usual designation of Ea's realm, stands here in the sense of "house of wisdom" (*bîl nêmiqi*); cf. K. 150 (*IV R* 51 f.; transliterated and translated by Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*, Leipzig 1901, pp. 2 ff.), col. III, l. 34 where *bîl nêmiqi* is an epithet of *apsû*.

²⁴¹ The "sages of the Apsû" are the famous "seven wise ones of Eridu" known from several religious texts; cf. H. and J. Lewy, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 ff. — The fact that Marduk-šum-ušur praised Ashurbanipal's wisdom in these terms makes it clear that he wrote the letter here under discussion in answer to an inquiry by the king, and not of his own initiative.

²⁴² The context does not indicate whether "they" refers here to human personages or to deities. In view of the afore-quoted passage from K. 2822 it is, however, most probable that Marduk-šum-ušur means Šin and Ningal.

²⁴³ Read, in accordance with Winckler's edition, either *e-pi-[ru-šû]*, as indicated by the afore-quoted passage from K. 2822, or *e-pi-[ru-uš]*, as suggested by l. x+3 (*a-gi-e bêlûti^{u-lî} e-pi-ru-uš*) of the Šin-šarra-iškun cylinder K. 1663 (*CT* 34, 6; cf. Streck, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 382 ff.). The reading *e-lam-[ru]*, taken into consideration by Klauber, *op. cit.*, p. 20 and accepted by Waterman and Pfeiffer on the basis of Harper's edition, is incompatible with Assyrian syntax.

cinct²⁴⁴ of Ḥarrân (in) the temple²⁴⁵ of cedar-wood²⁴⁶. Sîn was present²⁴⁷ above the (temple's) shoulder²⁴⁸; 2 diadems (were) on hi[s]

²⁴⁴ Lit., "in the hem", "in the tip"; for other texts in which *qannu* means "border", "boundary" and the like see Jensen, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, VI, I, p. 365.

²⁴⁵ *bît ili* is *accusativus loci*; cf. J. Lewy *MVAeG* XXXIII (1930), p. 119, note c.

²⁴⁶ This "temple of cedarwood" cannot be identical with Eḫulḫul; in the first place because — contrary to an unsubstantiated contention of Unger, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, V, 1926, p. 128 — Eḫulḫul was situated w i t h i n (*qirib*) the city of Ḥarrân (see, besides *V R* 64, col. I, l. 47, K. 228+K. 2675, rev., l. 37 and cf. l. 60 of Ashurbanipal's "Limestone Inscription from the Temple of Iṣtar at Nineveh", quoted above, note 226), and secondly because Ashurbanipal's reports on his care for the Ḥarrânian sanctuaries emphasize that, in the years prior to his accession to the throne and, accordingly, at the time of Esarhaddon's visit to Ḥarrân, Eḫulḫul was in a ruinous condition; see K. 228+K. 2675, rev., ll. 37 ff. and cf. the important passage TH 1929-10-12, 2, col. II, ll. 31 ff., as restored by Piepkorn, *Historical Prism Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal*, I, Chicago 1933, p. 5. On the other hand, it follows from one of the pertinent passages, viz. ll. 64 f. of the "Limestone Inscription" just cited, that "long-lasting wood" was among the materials used for the embellishment of that Ḥarrânian temple which served as *bît akīti*. Since, furthermore, temples designated as *bît akīti* were always situated outside the gates of the large towns (cf. H. and J. Lewy, *op. cit.*, pp. 61 ff.), there can hardly be any doubt that the sacred building referred to in the letter here under discussion was the *akītu* temple known from two other Neo-Assyrian letters as a sanctuary of Sîn of Ḥarrân (K. 1234 and 81-7-27, 30; cf. above, p. 440, note 167 *in fine*).

²⁴⁷ For *kammus* "is present", "was present" see, for instance, the letters K. 499 (Harper, *op. cit.*, I, No. 119), ll. 7 f.; 81-2-4, 49 (Harper, *op. cit.*, IV, No. 370), rev., ll. 5 f.; 81-2-4, 67 (Harper, *op. cit.*, V, No. 474), l. 8.

²⁴⁸ This means "The moon was visible above the side-wall of the temple". As the context shows, the term *b/pādu* "shoulder" (for which Holma, *Die Namen der Körperteile im Assyrisch-Babylonischen*, Leipzig 1911, pp. 54 f. may be consulted) has here the technical meaning that its Hebrew synonym כֶּתֶף has in biblical passages such as I Ki. 6.8 and 7.39. The ideogram here used for *b/pādu* is known from l. 248 of the Second Tablet of the series *diri* = *dir* = *stiaku* = *watru*, as reconstructed by Meissner, *Mitteilungen der Alt-orientalischen Gesellschaft* III, 3, Leipzig 1929, pp. 5 ff. Cf. further Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Glossar*, Leipzig 1914, p. 38 s. v. *eškiri* and especially p. 64 *sub* II. *bar* and p. 192 s. v. *murgu* and Dossin, *RA* XXI (1924), p. 181; XXX (1933), p. 90.

head²⁴⁹. While Nusku stood before him²⁵⁰, the father of the king, my lord, entered²⁵¹ (the temple). He²⁵² put²⁵³ [oil] on (his) head²⁵⁴, saying: 'You²⁵⁵ shall go! You²⁵⁵ shall conquer the countries there'. [He we]nt²⁵⁶; he conquered²⁵⁷ Egypt. — The king, the

²⁴⁹ This refers to two stars in the neighborhood of the moon; for the use of *agû* "tiara", "diadem" in the sense of "neighboring star" see Schaumberger, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, 3. *Ergänzungsheft*, Münster 1935, p. 306. — That the suffix *-šu* of the word *qaqqidi-š[u]* is almost completely preserved, was stated by Waterman, *op. cit.*, III, p. 262.

²⁵⁰ Regarding the construction of the circumstantial clause *dNusku ina maḥar-šû iz-za-az*, cf. the analogous cases discussed by Bauer and Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen*, Halle 1927, p. 283 *sub q*. The clause serves the purpose of supplementing the preceding general statement concerning Sin's presence in the skies by making it clear that it was especially the "new moon" (*dNusku*) which was visible when the king entered the temple. The implication is that the moment was particularly favorable.

²⁵¹ Literally, "he did enter", "he actually entered (as he was expected to do)"; cf. my remarks in *MVAeG* XXXV, 3 (1935), p. 169, note 1 and *RA* XXXV (1938), p. 83, note 2.

²⁵² I. e., the officiating priest who told king Esarhaddon that his campaign against Egypt would be successful.

²⁵³ Lit., "He did put"; cf. above, note 251.

²⁵⁴ I. e., "he anointed him". The restoration of *šamna* "oil" is certain in view of the occurrence of the idiom *šamna ina qaqqad X šakânu* in other texts; see Bezold-Götze, *Babylonisch-Assyrisches Glossar*, Heidelberg 1926, p. 272 and cf. particularly ll. 4 ff. of the letter VAT 559 (Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, I, Leipzig 1915, No. 51), a passage which attests the unction of the ruler of a kingdom not far from Harrân as early as the 15th century. (For evidence suggesting that the custom of anointing kings was familiar to the Assyrians, too, as early as the Middle Assyrian period see especially Thureau-Dangin, *RA* XXXIV [1937], p. 194.) Meissner's interpretation of our passage (*Könige Babylonien und Assyrien*, p. 222: "Nach diesen Erfolgen glaubte Asarhaddon den Kampf mit Ägypten selbst aufnehmen zu können. Auf dem Marsche dorthin kam er in Harran in das berühmte Heiligtum des Mondgottes, der eine seiner beiden Kronen von seinem Haupte abnahm und ihm aufsetzte mit den Worten") is unacceptable not only because it presupposes an almost phantastic *pia fraus* on the part of the priests, but also because the text speaks of the presence (in the skies!) of the moon-god *b e f o r e* relating that Esarhaddon entered the sanctuary. Meissner's remark about the author of the lines here under discussion (*ibidem*, p. 296, note 26) also shows that he misunderstood our document.

²⁵⁵ Singular.

²⁵⁶ Lit., "[he did g]o"; cf. above, note 251.

²⁵⁷ Lit., "he did conquer".

lord of kings, will conquer²⁵⁸ the rest of the countries [which] have not (yet) submitted [to] Aššûr (and) Sîn."²⁵⁹ Whereas it is thus established that Esarhaddon took occasion to acquire the crown granted by Sîn and Ningal, there is no direct evidence to the effect that Sennacherib did the same. But the conspicuous renaming of a city gate which seems to have taken place in 695 B. C. may well point in this direction. We are speaking of the fact that a prism²⁶⁰ written in the eighth month of the eponymy of Šulmu-Bêl (696 B. C.) refers to the gate at the end of Nineveh's broadest street, the "Royal Road"²⁶¹, as "the Gate of the Gardens", surnamed "Igi-sig-sig"²⁶² makes the Fruit Plantations luxuriant", whereas the well-known prism B. M. 103000, dated in the fifth month of the eponymy of Ilu-ittiia (694 B. C.), lists it as "Sîn Gate" with the significant surname "Nannaru"²⁶³ (is) the Guardian of my Lordly Tiara"²⁶⁴. Be that as it may, the

²⁵⁸ I. e., by the same token, the present king, on his part, will also conquer, provided he follows his father's example.

²⁵⁹ See II. 7 ff.: ^dAššûr ina šutti a-na abi-šû ša šarri bêli-ia apkallu iq-ti-b[ia-âš-šû] šarru bêl šarrâni^{mes} lîb-bi-lîb-bi ša apkalli u A-da-pâ š[u-ut] tu-šâ-tir ni-me-qî apsê û gi-mir um-ma-nu-[šû] ki-i abu-šû ša šarri bêli-ia a-na ^{mât}Mu-šur il-lik-û-ni] ina qa-an-ni ^{ât}Harrâni bît ili ša ^{is}erini e-pi-[ru-uš] ^dSîn ina eli GIŠ.SIBIR kam-mu-us 2 agê^{mes} ina qaqqidi-š[u] ^dNusku ina maḥar-šû iz-za-az abu-šû ša šarri bêli-ia e-tar-ba [šamna] ina qaqqidi is-sa-kan ma-a tal-lak mâtâtî ina lîb-bi ta-kaš-šad [it-ta-l]ak ^{mât}Mu-šur ik-ta-šad ri-iḫ-ti ma-ta-a-ti [šâ a-no] ^dAššûr ^dSîn la kan-šâ-a-ni šarru bêl šarrâni^{mes} i-kaš-šad.

²⁶⁰ 1910-10, 8, 142 + 144, etc.; see L. W. King, *Supplement to Bezold's "Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyounjik Collection"*, London 1914, p. 223.

²⁶¹ A description of the "Royal Road (*girru šarri*) at Nineveh is found in inscriptions engraved upon two stelae of Sennacherib (latest transliteration and translation by Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib*, Chicago 1924, pp. 152 f., No. XVII). See further Thompson and Hutchinson, *A Century of Exploration at Nineveh*, London 1929, p. 129.

²⁶² For this god, the chief-gardener of the god Anum, see Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum*, Romae 1914, p. 145.

²⁶³ I. e., the moon-god.

²⁶⁴ For the details see King, *op. cit.*, pp. XIX ff. and Thompson and Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 127 ff. and *The Excavations on the Temple of Nabû at Niniveh*, Oxford 1929, pp. 111 ff. As for a text which replaces the surname ^dNannaru nâšir agê bêlûtiia by ^dNannaru mukîn agê bêl[ûtiia], see Thompson, *Iraq VII* (1940), pp. 90 ff.

evidence gathered above proves that, beginning with Sargon, the Late Assyrian rulers turned more and more to the cult of the moon-god of Harrân. This development points to the existence of certain religious or spiritual links between Sargon and the Sargonids, on the one hand, and Šumûa-damqa and her grandson, on the other, links which, aside from explaining why the latter speak of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal with high regard, may well shed additional light on Nabonidus' activities, provided we succeed in further elucidating the new course chosen by the last kings of Assyria.

Important, if indirect, information in regard to the motives of the Late Assyrian preference for the cult of the moon comes from Sargon's so-called Display Inscription²⁶⁵. As was intimated before²⁶⁶, this text alludes twice to a past "Era of the Moon-god". Introducing a paragraph according to which the king of far-off Ethiopia was so impressed by Sargon's might that he extradited of his own accord a fugitive adversary of Assyria, the first of the two passages in question includes the following words: "The king of Meluḥḥa whose ancestors, since the distant days of the age²⁶⁷ of Nannaru, had not sent their envoy to the kings, my ancestors, to inquire about their well-being" ²⁶⁸. The second passage (which deals with the tribute sent to Sargon from Cyprus) begins as follows: "Seven kings of the country of Ia', a district in Iadnana, who are settled (at the distance of) a seven days' journey in the midst of the western sea so that their home is remote, the name of whose country, since the distant days of the age of Nannaru, nobody among the kings, my ancestors, of Assyria and Karduniaš had ever heard" ²⁶⁹. Obviously these passages define the "Age of

²⁶⁵ Transliterated and translated by Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, I, pp. 96 ff.; latest English translation by Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 25 ff.

²⁶⁶ See above, p. 443.

²⁶⁷ For *adû* "age" see Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 24^a and cf. the additional passages quoted by Thureau-Dangin, *RA* XI (1914), p. 156.

²⁶⁸ See ll. 109 ff. (Winckler, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 34, No. 72): *šar mât Me-luḥ-ḥa [ša ul-tu] ûmē^{meš} ru-qu-ti a-di-i^d Nannari abbē^{meš} šû a-na šarrânī^{meš} ni abbē^{meš} ia rak-bu-šû-un la iš-pu-ru a-na šâ'-a-al šul-mî-šû-un*

²⁶⁹ See ll. 145 ff. (Winckler, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 35, No. 75): *7 šarrânī^{meš} ni ša mât Ia'-na-gi-i ša mât Ia-ad-na-na ša ma-lak 7 ûmē^{me} i-na qabal tam-tim e-reb*

the Moon-god" as a period during which the ancestors, i. e., the predecessors, of Sargon II of Assyria were in friendly contact with Meluḥḥa and, at the same time, recognized as overlords of Cyprus; in addition they imply that, thanks to his military successes, those glorious times had come back in Sargon's days. A political situation corresponding to the conditions alluded to in the passages just quoted is described in VAT 8006²⁷⁰, a Neo-Assyrian copy of an older work which, following Albright, may conveniently be called a "Geographical Treatise on Sargon of Akkad's Empire"²⁷¹. This text says that Šarrum-kên's²⁷² domain extended to the boundary of Meluḥḥa²⁷³ and included the "countries beyond the Upper Sea", i. e., the islands of the Eastern Mediterranean. Since, furthermore, Šarrum-kên appears to have been a faithful worshipper of the moon-god — a daughter of his was high priestess of Sin at Ur²⁷⁴, and his grandson was called *Narâm-dSin* "Sin's Darling" —, and since, finally, the name *dNannaru* denotes especially the patron god of the city of Ur, it would seem that the term "Era of the Moon-god" could reasonably be used as a designation of that period of the third millennium which is characterized by the rise of the vast empires

^dŠamši^š šit-ku-nu-ma ni-is-sa-at šu-bat-su-un ša ul-tu ūmē^{me} ru-qu-ti a-di-i
^dNannari i-na šarrân^{meš} ni abbē^{meš} ia ša mât Aš-šur^{KI} ■ mât Kar^d Du-ni-āš
 ma-nam-ma la iš-mu-ú zi-kir mât-i-šú-un.

²⁷⁰ Published by Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, Leipzig 1920, No. 92 and transliterated and translated by Albright, *JAOS* XLV (1925), pp. 195 f. and 243 f., respectively.

²⁷¹ In view of the close affinity between K. 2130 (King, *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, II, London 1907, pp. 25 ff., No. III), § V, ll. 16 f. (where *II-šú* is to be restored to *[I]II-šú*), § VII, ll. 24 f. and K. 3401+S. 2118, etc. (*ibidem*, pp. 87 ff.), col. I, l. 18, on the one hand, and ll. 41-44 of VAT 8006, on the other, it should never have been doubted that the latter deals with the empire of Šarrum-kên of Akkad, and not with that of Šarrum-kên I of Assyria. See also below, p. 465.

²⁷² For the sake of convenience, we shall continue to reserve the original form of the name Šarrum-kên for the Old Akkadian king, whereas his Neo-Assyrian namesake will, as before, be referred to as Sargon.

²⁷³ The question as to whether or not the geographic term Meluḥḥa denoted in the third millennium the same region as in the first does, of course, not bear upon the present discussion.

²⁷⁴ Cf. above, p. 452, note 213.

of Akkad and Ur. There is also little doubt that the Late Assyrian kings who, as we have shown, turned more and more to the cult of Šîn were strongly inclined to imitate the ancient Akkadian king because, their domain extending as far as his, they regarded themselves as his successors. To which extent the conviction of being the heirs of Šarrum-kên's world empire sometimes influenced their actions becomes particularly clear if we compare the inscriptions and activities of Sargon (whose throne name indicates that he admired the former as an exemplary ruler) with the sources dealing with the founder of the Dynasty of Akkad. The so-called Legend of Šarrum-kên²⁷⁵, for instance, the concluding lines of which amount to what may be called a political testament²⁷⁶, relates that Šarrum-kên used pickaxes of bronze for the opening of ways through mountainous terrain, and that he urged all future kings to follow this example²⁷⁷. A statement to be found in l. 24 of his well-known report on the campaign against Urartu²⁷⁸ shows that Sargon was anxious to heed that admonition. The "Legend" enumerates the conquest(?) of Dilmun and an anabasis unto the city of Dêr among those accomplishments of Šarrum-kên which should be repeated by his successors²⁷⁹. Sargon notes with satisfaction that he received tribute from the king of Dilmun²⁸⁰, and that he defeated the Elamites at Dêr²⁸¹ and liberated its inhabitants²⁸². According to

²⁷⁵ See King, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 87 ff.

²⁷⁶ As will be remembered, the "Legend" consists of two parts, viz. an autobiography (ll. 1-21) and an exhortation (ll. 24 ff.) addressed to "whatsoever king shall rise after me" (l. 22), in which Šarrum-kên expresses the hope that each of his own exploits, as listed in ll. 14-21, would be repeated by his successors.

²⁷⁷ See ll. 15 and 25.

²⁷⁸ Published in facsimile, transliteration and translation by Thureau-Dangin, *Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon*, Paris 1912; latest translation by Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 73 ff.

²⁷⁹ See ll. 19 f. and 29 f.

²⁸⁰ See, for instance, ll. 144 f. of the "Display Inscription".

²⁸¹ See, e. g., l. 23 of the "Display Inscription".

²⁸² See particularly ll. 4 f. of the so-called Display Inscription of Salon XIV (Winckler, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 80 ff.; II, pl. 26 ff.; Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 39 ff.).

the "Chronicles", Šarrum-kên built for himself a new city not far from Akkad²⁸³. Sargon founded in the neighborhood of Nineveh the new residence of Dûr-Šarrukên. Thus it is evident that the policy of the last kings of Assyria — and subsequently that of Nabonidus who, much as Sargon founded Dûr-Šarrukên, converted Tê mâ into a "bright" city and built there a residence "like the palace of Babylon"²⁸⁴ — was largely determined by the idea that great rulers had to observe the old customs and principles by which Šarrum-kên of Akkad had been guided²⁸⁵.

A further examination of the old sources which deal with the famous founder of the Dynasty of Akkad and his achievements shows that the tradition laid much stress on his title *šarru kiššati* "king of the totality". The author of the afore-quoted text VAT 8006, for instance, introduces him (in ll. 4^b f.²⁸⁶) to the

²⁸³ For the slight divergencies found in the various "Chronicles" in regard to the location of this city and its name see Güterbock, *loc. cit.*, pp. 52 (with notes 10 and 11) and 54, but also Boissier, *Babyloniaca* IX (1926), pp. 25 f.

²⁸⁴ See obv., col. II, ll. x+28 f. of the "Verse Account": *âla-[šu] uš-ta-pi i-te-pu-uš [êkalla . . .] ki-ma êkal ŠU.AN.NA^{KI} i-te-pu-šu*

²⁸⁵ It might be well to note in this connection that the most successful conqueror of the Middle Assyrian epoch, Tukulti-Ninurta I, was as much influenced by the Šarrum-kên tradition as was Sargon. In obv., ll. 43 f. of his stone slab inscription VA 8253 (Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*, II, No. 60; Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 56 ff.) he expressly states to have used bronze pickaxes when he had to make his way through the mountains he crossed during his campaigns. (Cf. further l. 7 of the clay cone inscription Assur 1337 [Messerschmidt, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*, I, Leipzig 1911, No. 18; Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 55 f.].) In obv., l. 15 of T 94 (Schroeder, *op. cit.*, No. 61; Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 59 ff.), one of the texts recording the building of his magnificent new residence Kâr-Tukulti-Ninurta, he styles himself "king of Dilmun".

²⁸⁶ Albright's transliteration and rendering of l. 5 (see the study quoted above, p. 462, note 270) make little sense and are contrary to the rules of Assyrian grammar, the so-called *i cohortativum*, for which he seems to have taken the *i-* of the verb *iḫlu* "he ruled", "he mastered", never being followed by an *imperativus pluralis* ending in *-û*; cf. the remarks of Ylvisaker, *Zur babylonischen und assyrischen Grammatik*, Leipzig 1912, p. 47, note 2 and Meissner, *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil. Hist. Kl. 1931, pp. 389 f. See also the following footnotes.

reader as Šarru-kên [ša mâtâti²⁸⁷ ša] kiš-ša-ti i-bi-lu-[ma š]a ibbalkitû²⁸⁸ i-bi-lu-šu-nu-ti "Šarru-kên [who] ruled [the countries] of the totality [and] (even) ruled [whichever] (countries) revolted²⁸⁹"; even when subsequently mentioning him, as he did in ll. 31 and 44, he missed no occasion to add šarru kiššati to his name. It would therefore seem that, according to tradition, this title (which was actually borne by Šarrum-kên and his next successors²⁹⁰, and which, of course, may have been an attribute of even earlier kings) originated in what Sargon called

²⁸⁷ In consideration of the context, which speaks of "9 kings" (l. 2) and of "those who brought tribute and gifts" to Šarrum-kên (l. 4^a), one might think of restoring šarrâni, instead of mâtâti. We prefer mâtâti because mâtû and mâtâti figure frequently as object of the verb bêlu (see Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 162 and cf., *inter alia*, the passage quoted below, p. 475, from K. 3939), and because cognate passages of the "chronicle" Assur 13955 gv (published in facsimile, transliteration and translation by Güterbock, *ZA* XLII [1934], pp. 48 ff; see also below, pp. 488 f.) use the expression šarrûti¹ kiš-šat mâtâti "the kingdom of the totality of the countries" as a technical term.

²⁸⁸ The reading BAL = ibbalkitû of the sign which Albright, *loc. cit.*, p. 195 transliterated by -ti follows with a fair degree of certainty from K. 2130, § X, l. 37 (King, *op. cit.*, II, p. 34) and the corresponding passage of the "Chronicle" (obv., l. 11; King, *op. cit.*, II, p. 6).

²⁸⁹ Lit., "[and] (who) [those who] revolted ruled them". These words, which recall a similar statement of the so-called "Omens of Šarrum-kên" and of the "Chronicle" (see the preceding footnote), are meant to say "even when the peoples of the countries of the totality rebelled, he subdued them again".

²⁹⁰ So far as Šarrum-kên is concerned, this follows from the well-known compilation of copies of his and his sons' inscriptions which Poebel and Legrain found on the tablet CBS 13972 (published in part by Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts* [UM V], Philadelphia 1914, No. 34 and in part by Legrain, *Royal Inscriptions and Fragments from Nippur and Babylon* [UM XV], Philadelphia 1926, No. 41; latest transliterations and translations by Barton, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad*, New Haven 1929, pp. 100 ff.); see, for instance, ll. 4 f. of the inscription "E" and l. 6 of the inscription "H" both of which Poebel transliterated and translated on pp. 179 f. of his *Historical Texts* (UM IV, 1), Philadelphia 1914. As for Rimuš and Man-ištusu, we have, aside from the evidence furnished by CBS 13972, the testimony of their original texts; see, for instance, the vase inscriptions published by Hilprecht, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, I (BE I, 1), Philadelphia 1893, Nos. 5 ff. and the inscribed mace-head B. M., No. 91018 (CT XXI, pl. 1).

the "Era of the Moon-god". Since, as we have seen, Nabonidus says that it was Sîn who entrusted Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal with the "totality of the countries", we may further conclude that the right to style oneself *šarru kiššati* was regarded as an old privilege of kings who had proved their allegiance to the moon-god. In other words, when combined with other sources, VAT 8006 confronts us with the question as to the origin and implications of the title *šarru kiššati*, a question which, evidently, bears all the more upon the present discussion since Šumûa-damqa's grandson, who, as a rule²⁹¹, abstained from prefixing *šarru kiššati* to his title "king of Babylon", did use that epithet in the afore-cited cylinder inscription (V R 64 and duplicates) commemorating the reconstruction of the principal sanctuary of "Sîn who dwells in Ḥarrân".

Before attempting to answer this question, it might, however, be well to say a few words about an inscription which, in conjunction with other data, removes the last possible doubt that in speaking of the "Era of the Moon-god", the afore-cited passages of Sargon's "Display Inscription" actually allude to an epoch as early as, and even prior to, those rulers of the Dynasty of Akkad who assumed the title *šarru kiššatim*. We are referring to the inscription engraved upon Sargon's stela from Cyprus²⁹², part of which duplicates ll. 140-149 of the "Display Inscription" and, accordingly, also deals with the tribute sent to Sargon by the kings of Cyprus. This text replaces the words "since the distant days of the age of Nannaru" by "since the distant days of the seizing²⁹³ of Assyria [aforeti]me".²⁹⁴

²⁹¹ For an exception see below, p. 480.

²⁹² Latest edition by Ungnad, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, I, Leipzig 1907, No. 71. As for translations, we refer to Winckler, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 174 ff. and Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 100 ff., although their rendering of the words to be discussed presently is erroneous.

²⁹³ For the *qitillum* infinitive *šibittum* "seizing", "taking" see H. and J. Lewy, *op. cit.*, p. 51 with note 226.

²⁹⁴ See left side, ll. 32 f.: [*ul-tu*] *âmeš* *rûqûti* *meš* *ši-biî* *mât* *Aš-šu[r]* ³³[*i-na* *pa*]-*na*. It is to be noted that, following [*i-na* *pa*]-*na*, the Cyprus Stela replaces the words *i-na* *šarrâni* ^{meš} *ni* *abbê* ^{meš} *-ia* *ša* *mât* *Aš-šur* ^{KI} *u* *mât* *Kar* ^d *Du-ni-âš* *ma-nam-ma* offered by the "Display Inscription" (see above, p. 461, note 269) by *ina* *šarrâni* ^{meš} *ni* *abbê* ^{meš} *-ia* [*a-li-ku*] *maḥ-ri* *ma-am-man*.

Since the expression "the seizing of the country of Aššûr [aforeti]me²⁹⁵" is not followed by any specification naming a foreign conqueror or the like, it evidently relates to the occupation of Assyria by Sargon's ancestors and their people. In other words, the comparison of the "Display Inscription" with the Cyprus Stela reveals that Sargon — or the scholars who drafted his inscriptions — applied the term "Era of the Moon-god" to the period which saw the origins of the ruling house of Assyria. What the last kings of Assyria thought about the beginnings of their dynasty and state is learnt from Sargon's and Esarhaddon's records from which we quote some passages relating to the royal family and the city of its origin. In l. 113 of the afore-cited report on his eighth campaign, Sargon calls himself *zêr Bal-tîl^{ki}* "offspring²⁹⁶ of the city of Baltîl"; Esarhaddon speaks of himself as the "eternal descendant of Bêl-bani, son of Adasi"²⁹⁷ and characterizes Bêl-bani sometimes as "king of Assyria, precious progeny of the city of Baltîl, royal offspring²⁹⁸, scion²⁹⁹ of eternity"³⁰⁰ and at other times as "scion of eternity whose core³⁰¹

²⁹⁵ The restoration of [i-na pa]-na "[aforeti]me" is certain, in the first place because *ina pâna* belongs to the vocabulary of Sargon's inscriptions, and secondly because it suits perfectly with the gap, the space to be filled in the beginning of l. 33 being known from ll. 32 and 34 where the restorations [ša ul-tu] and [a-li-ku], respectively, are beyond doubt.

²⁹⁶ Lit., "seed".

²⁹⁷ *li-ip-li-pi da-ru-ú ša Bêl-ba-ni mâr A-da-si* (see, e. g., l. 28 of the tablet 81-6-7, 209 published by Meissner and Rost, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* III [1898], pp. 351 f.).

²⁹⁸ Lit., "seed of kingship".

²⁹⁹ That *ki-sit-tu* (thus, not *ki-šIT-tu*, as assumed by Poebel, *JNES* I [1942], p. 265, note 45) means "offshoot", "branch", "scion" follows from the passages quoted by Landsberger, *Die Serie ana iltišu*, Roma 1937, p. 149.

³⁰⁰ *šar mât Aš-šur^{KI} pîr-'i Bal-tîl^{ki} šu-qu-ru zêr šarrâtî^{ti} ki-sit-ti ša-a-ti* (thus, for instance, in l. x+17 of the fragment B. M. No. 38345, published by Sidney Smith in *CT XXXVII*, pl. 23, and ll. 28 f. of the afore-cited tablet 81, 6-7, 209; cf. Meissner, *Archiv für Orientforschung* III [1926], p. 13).

³⁰¹ As for *durgu* "core", see Bauer, *op. cit.*, II, p. 33, note 3. In view of Poebel's doubts as to the reading of *du-rug-šû*, it might be well to mention that the afore-quoted Ashurbanipal Prism TH 1929-10-12, 2 reads, in the cognate passage col. V, ll. 40 f., *ša du-ru-ug-šû Bal-tîl^{ki}*.

(was in) the city of Baltil"³⁰². In order to realize the full import of these passages, it must be remembered that *Bal-til^{ki}* — i. e., according to geographical explanatory lists such as VAT 10260³⁰³, a designation of the innermost, and hence oldest, part of the city of Aššûr — is defined, in ll. 12 f. of Sargon's so-called Charter of the City of Aššûr³⁰⁴, as *âl ki-di-ni šu-bat pa-li-e qu-du-um da-ad-me rubê^e bêli-šû* "the privileged city, seat of the government"³⁰⁵, precursor³⁰⁶ of the city³⁰⁷ of the (divine) prince,

³⁰² *ki-sit-ti ša-a-ti šâ du-rug-šû Bal-til^{ki}*; see, for instance, obv., l. x+32 of the tablet K. 221+2669, published by Meissner and Rost, *loc. cit.*, pp. 299 ff.

³⁰³ Published by Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, No. 183.

³⁰⁴ K. 1349, published by Winckler, *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten*, II, pl. 1; latest translation by Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 69 ff., whose rendering of ll. 12 f. is, however, inexact.

³⁰⁵ The fact that our passage defines *Bal-til^{ki}* as *šubat palê* "the seat of the government (or the dynasty)" leaves little doubt that the Assyrians regarded *Bal-til^{ki}* as a Sumerian name consisting of *bala* = *palû* (cf. Deimel, *Sumerisches Lexikon*, I, No. 9, 16) and *til* = *šubtu* (for *til* and *ti-la* = *ašâbu* see Deimel, *ibidem*, No. 69, 13 and Delitzsch, *Sumerisches Glossar*, Leipzig 1914, p. 157 sub I, *til*, *ti*). It is also to be noted that in K. 2801 (Meissner and Rost, *loc. cit.*, pp. 287 ff.), rev., ll. 23 f. *Bal-til^{ki}* is followed by the apposition *âl pa-li-e* "the city of government". This latter term is obviously the Assyrian equivalent of *Bal^{ki}* which alternates with *Bal-til^{ki}*, as may be seen from l. 18 of Ashurbanipal's inscription from the Ištâr temple at Nineveh (Thompson, *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* XX [1933], pl. XC ff. and pp. 80 ff.) as well as from l. 14 of Šamaš-šuma-ukin's bilingual inscription. Since, furthermore, the reading *til* of the second component of *Bal-til* is assured by the variant *Bal-ti-la^{ki}* (see below), and since, finally, there is so far no reason to reject as a folk-etymology the Assyrian interpretation of *Bal-til^{ki}* (or *âl Bal-til*; see rev., l. 28 of the Annals of Aššûr-dan II [Assur 4312^a, published by Weidner, *Archiv für Orientforschung* III (1926), pp. 154 f.]), we cannot agree with Poebel's statement (*loc. cit.*, p. 266) that "we are not yet in a position to establish beyond any doubt the correct reading of *BAL-BAD^{ki}*".

³⁰⁶ That *qudmu* means "precursor" follows from the well-known passage in the "Pavement Slab Inscription" of Adad-nirârî III (*I R* 35, No. 3), in which the latter describes, in ll. 24 ff., one of his ancestors as *šarru pa-ni a-lik maḥ-ri qu-ud-mu šarrâti^{ti} šâ^m Su-li-li* "a king of the past, a predecessor, a precursor of the reign of Sulîlî".

³⁰⁷ For the use of *dadmu* in the sense of "town" and, particularly, "large city", "capital" see Meissner, *Beiträge zum assyrischen Wörterbuch* I, Chicago 1931, pp. 35 ff.

its lord³⁰⁸". For only then it becomes clear that, according to Assyrian tradition, the "city and country of the god Aššûr" were originally occupied by a non-Assyrian population, and that Sargon and the Sargonids were said to be descendants of a family which had ruled after the period when the capital city was still called Baltil. This early period is certainly to be identified with the epoch preceding the rise of the Dynasty of Akkad, because the Old Akkadian administrative records from Gasur-Nuzi not only refer to the Assyrian capital as *A-šûr*^{KI}, but also indicate that its population included Semites³⁰⁹. On the other hand, the old metropolis figures as *Bal-ti-la*^{ki} in a passage (col. I, ll. x+17 ff.) in which Nabonidus' aforementioned stela inscription from Hillah speaks of Sennacherib as the king of *mât Su-bir*^{ki}³¹⁰. Hence it is also obvious that the name *Bal-ti*^{ki} belongs in the same category of extremely old geographical terms as the country name Subir itself which, as was recognized by Thureau-Dangin³¹¹, occurs as Sabar in the inscriptions of E-anna-tum of Lagaš³¹². Accordingly, it may well be assumed that the epoch prior to the "distant days of the seizing of Assyria [aforeti]me" is to be placed in the period preceding E-anna-tum, i. e., in the first quarter of the third and possibly in the fourth mil-

³⁰⁸ I. e., the god Aššûr; cf. Tallqvist, *Der Assyrische Gott*, Helsingforsiae 1932, p. 8.

³⁰⁹ For the details see Meek, *Excavations at Nuzi*, III, Cambridge 1935, p. XI and J. Lewy, *JAOS* LVIII (1938), p. 451.

³¹⁰ I. e., Subartu; see Ungnad, *Subartu*, Berlin und Leipzig 1936, p. 25 and *passim*.

³¹¹ *Syria* XII (1931), p. 265; as for the occurrence of *Su-bir*^{ki} in an apocryphal inscription of Lugal-anni-mundu of Adab, see Ungnad, *op. cit.*, pp. 36 f.

³¹² Perhaps it should be expressly stated that if, in a context dealing with the "king of Subir", Nabonidus' scribes had used, as a designation of the former's capital, a name of much later origin, they would have shown as poor a taste as a modern scholar who in describing Caesar's wars against the Gauls would speak of *Gallia* and, at the same time, replace *Lutetia* by the later name Paris. — Incidentally, how familiar the name Baltil was not only to the Assyrians but also to the Babylonians, may be seen from ll. 16 ff. of the Chronicle B. M., No. 21901 (see above, p. 412, note 40): much as Nabopolassar himself spoke of his war against "the Subarean" (cf. Ungnad, *op. cit.*, p. 53), this source uses *Bal-ti*^{ki} in the description of his siege of the old capital.

lennium. As a matter of fact, Sargon himself held that the state of Subartu and its capital Baltil existed many centuries before Šar-rum-kên of Akkad: in l. 45 of the aforementioned so-called Cylinder Inscription³¹³ and in identical passages of the "Display Inscription of Salon XIV"³¹⁴ and others, he refers to "350 ancient princes who before me³¹⁵ exercised the rule over Assyria and continuously led Enlil's subjects"³¹⁶, a remark which, to judge from the reference to Enlil's subjects, reflects the same tradition as the following lines³¹⁷ of the Esarhaddon prism VA 8411³¹⁸:
Bal-til^{ki} ma-ḥa-zu ri-eš-tu-ú [š]á ul-tu úmē^{me} [u]l-lu-ti it-ti amēl^l šābē^{meš}
^d*A-nim^d En-líl ki-din-nu-us-su-un šá-ak-na-at-ma ka-nak-ka-šú-nu*
^{ù-gá-e}³¹⁹ ^d*En-líl-lá a-na-ku^{md} Aš-šur-aḥa-iddina^{na} šar^{md} Aš-šur^{KI}*
^{nišē} *Bal-til^{ki} ki-i napīšti-ia a-qar-te a-ra-an-šú-nu-ti* "(As regards the people of) Baltil, the primeval³²⁰ metropolis [wh]ose privileged

³¹³ Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, II, pl. 43; latest translation by Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 60 ff.

³¹⁴ See above, p. 463, note 282.

³¹⁵ Lit., "apart from me"; cf. J. Lewy, *RA XXXV* (1938), p. 90.

³¹⁶ *3 me 50^{am} mal-ki la-bi-ru-te ša el-la-mu-u-a be-lu-ut^{md} Aš-šur^{KI} e-pu-šu-ma il-ta-nap-pa-ru ba-'u-lat^d En-líl*. Against Meissner (see below, note 324), the number 350 is, of course, not to be taken literally. Since 350 is the product of seven and fifty, and since each of the numerals 7 and 50 expresses the notion *kiššatu* "totality", "universe" (see H. and J. Lewy, *op. cit.*, pp. 16 and 46 f.), the words "350 ancient princes who before me exercised the rule over Assyria" have the meaning of "all my predecessors on the Assyrian throne".

³¹⁷ Col. b, ll. x+5 ff.

³¹⁸ Published by Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*, II, No. 126.

³¹⁹ The context, especially the *-ma* after *šaknat*, clearly shows that Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, II, p. 272 erred in supposing that l. x+14 begins with *ù* "and", followed by Sumerian *mā-e = anāku* "I". The key to the correct reading *ù-gá-e* is furnished by the Sumerian character of the following word ^d*En-líl-lá* which makes it evident that our passage is to be associated with obv., l. x+7 of the bilingual text 79-7-8, 290 (Hrozný, *MVAG VIII*, 5 [1903], pl. IX) and obv., l. 18 of its duplicate VAT 8884 (Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, I, Leipzig 1919, No. 18) where Sumerian *úg-gá* (variant *ug-ga*) = Akkadian *la-bi* (var. *lab-be*) is followed by ^d*En-líl-lá*; *ù-gá-e* is, of course, an Akkadian plural of Sumerian *ugga*, precisely as the well-known *igi-sá-e* (Sargon, 8th Campaign, l. 54; Sennacherib, Taylor Prism, col. II, l. 55, etc.) is an Akkadian plural formed by affixing Akkadian *-ē* to Sumerian *igi-sá*. See further below, p. 471, note 323.

³²⁰ For *rēštū* "primeval" see, for instance, *Enūma eliš*, Tablet I, l. 3.

status, since [f]ar-off days, was agreed upon with the warriors of Anum (and) Enlil³²¹ and (whose) lintel-emblem³²² (showed) Enlil's storm-monsters³²³, I, Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, I love the people of Baltil like my precious life."

To be sure, some students take it for granted that Sargon's and Esarhaddon's allusions to the extraordinary age of the Assyrian state and its royal house have no historical basis at all³²⁴. An unprejudiced survey of the sources shows, however, that they are based upon sound traditions. The afore-quoted references to "Enlil's subjects" or "Enlil's warriors", for instance, which obviously point to the early presence at Baltil of worshippers of the storm-god Enlil, are in perfect agreement with, or rather explain, the fact noted by Dossin³²⁵ that in the documents from Ma'eri the term *šu-ba-at* ^d*En-lil*^{KI} denotes the residence of the Old Assyrian king Samsî-Adad mâr Ilâ-kabkabu, the well-known older contemporary of Hammu-rapi. Similarly, they agree well with, and at the same time elucidate, a statement in VAT 8918³²⁶, rev., ll. x+20 ff. to the effect that the sanctu-

³²¹ That *šakânu itti X* means "to agree with X" and not "to establish along with X" (as assumed by Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, II, p. 272) may be seen from the well-known idiom *ṭubta u sulummâ itti aḫamiš šakânu*.

³²² The technical term *kanakku* is, to all appearances, a loanword derived from a Sumerian compound consisting of *ka* "door" and *na* "stone" and should therefore be rendered by "lintel", as was envisaged by Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, pp. 271 f. (s. v. *ḫêtu*) as early as 1896. Which kind of a lintel, or rather lintel-emblem, is alluded to in our passage is learnt, *inter alia*, from the impressive archaic relief-panel from the Nin-ḫursag temple at al-'Ubaid, for which Gadd, *History and Monuments of Ur*, pp. 50 ff. and pl. XIV may be consulted.

³²³ The Sumerian equivalent *ugga* of the Akkadian term *labbu* (see above, note 319), designating the mythological monster which, begotten by the wind-god Enlil himself, terrified mankind until it was defeated by Ninurta, means, *inter alia*, "storm" (cf. H. and J. Lewy, *op. cit.*, pp. 5 f.); hence we propose to render it by "storm-monster", and not by "lion".

³²⁴ See, e. g., the remark of Meissner, *Könige Babylonien und Assyriens*, p. 174.

³²⁵ *Apud* Thureau-Dangin, *RA* XXXIV (1937), p. 135 and in *Syria* XIX (1938), pp. 112 f.

³²⁶ Published by Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, No. 42 and paraphrased by Unger, *Der Alte Orient*, XXVII, 3 (1929), pp. 12 ff.

aries in the inner city of Aššûr (*Bal-til^{ki}*) comprised three temple towers known as *ziq-qur-rat* ^d*En-lil*, *ziq-qur-rat* ^d*A-nim* and *ziq-qur-rat* ^d*Adad*, but no tower dedicated to Aššûr³²⁷. Evidently, they also furnish a satisfactory explanation not only of the title *šangû šîru ša* ^d*Enlil* "exalted priest of Enlil" which figures among the numerous epithets of Adad-narârî I (c. 1304-1273)³²⁸ but also of the title *šakin* ^d*Enlil* "deputy of Enlil" which occurs for the first time among the titles of the great Samsî-Adad mâr Ilâ-kabkabu and re-appears for the last time among those of Sargon and Esarhaddon³²⁹. For in consideration of the circumstances in which elsewhere — for instance, in the South Babylonian city of Uruk — the supreme city god raised the status of the local king by conferring upon him a new and prouder title³³⁰, we may well infer that, in the early period not yet directly elucidated by contemporary inscriptions from Assyria, the local god Enlil of Baltil granted the dignity of a "deputy of Enlil" to those priest-kings of his city who through successful wars extended their dominion over some neighboring city states. In point of fact, the stone inscription from Aššûr No. 788+790+806³³¹ points in this direction by characterizing Tukultî-Ninurta I (c. 1242-1206) as "offspring³³² of rulers whose

³²⁷ Cf. Unger (*loc. cit.*, pp. 33 f. and in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, I, p. 189) who, in consideration of this conspicuous fact and of the size of the Enlil tower, and because the tower of Aššûr referred to, *inter alia*, in a foundation document, seems to have been identical with the *ziq-qur-rat* ^d*En-lil*, already came to the conclusion "dass der Kult des Enlil in ältester, sumerischer Zeit dem Kulte des Nationalgottes Aššûr vorangegangen ist."

³²⁸ See, for instance, *obv.*, l. 13 of the stone inscription 'B. M., No. 90978 (latest edition by Budge and King, *The Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, I, London 1902, pp. 4 ff.).

³²⁹ See, e. g., l. 1 of Sargon's brick inscription *I R 6*, No. VII (Winckler, *op. cit.*, I, p. 195; II, pl. 49, No. 11; Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, II, p. 113) and *obv.*, l. x+8 of the afore-cited Esarhaddon text *K. 221+2669*. A list of the Middle and Neo-Assyrian kings who, prior to Esarhaddon, styled themselves *šakin* (varr. *šakni*, *šaknu*) ^d*Enlil* is to be found in Tallqvist, *Der Assyrische Gott*, p. 11, note 4.

³³⁰ See below, p. 478.

³³¹ Published by Messerschmidt, *op. cit.*, No. 16; latest translation by Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, I, p. 52.

³³² Lit., "seed".

priesthood in the temple and leadership among the totality of the peoples Enlil caused to be great since (days of) old."³³³

In order to appreciate the historic value of the traditions reflected in the afore-quoted references to the "Era of the Moon-god" and "the distant days of Assyria's occupation afore-time", it is further to be kept in mind that Sargon and the Sargonids were acquainted not only with those half-legendary narratives about Šarrum-kên's and Narâm-Sîn's exploits familiar, at the latest since the Old Babylonian-Old Assyrian period, to virtually all peoples of the ancient Near East but also with authentic records of the Old Assyrian epoch³³⁴, and that the Assyrians developed a certain historical sense at least as early as that epoch. To which extent the Old Assyrians were interested in the past may perhaps best be demonstrated by quoting ll. 14 ff. of Samsî-Adad mâr Ilâ-kabkabu's building inscription from Nineveh³³⁵, the subject of which is the restoration of an Ištar temple erected at Nineveh by "Man-ištêšu son of Šarrum-kên, the king of Akkad": "the temple (over) which 7 periods³³⁶ passed from the end of the city of Akkad³³⁷ until my reign, until the seizure of the city of Nurrugu³³⁸ and (which temple) among the kings my predecessors no king (whichever) had

³³³ See *obv.*, ll. 11 ff.: *zêr be-lu-ti šá iš-tu ul-la-a šangût-su-nu i-na êkurri ù šá-pi-ru-su-nu i-na kiš-šat nišê^{meš} dEnlil ú-šar-bu-ú.*

³³⁴ This may be concluded, *inter alia*, from a Neo-Assyrian copy (K. 8805+10238+10888) of a building inscription of Samsî-Adad I, that was published by Johns, *AJSL* XVIII (1901-1902), p. 176; latest transliteration and translation by Meissner, *Altorientalische Bibliothek*, I, pp. 26 f., *sub* 4.

³³⁵ Published in facsimile, transliteration and translation by Thompson, *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* XIX (1932), pl. LXXXI ff. and pp. 105 ff.; cf. the duplicate published by Stephens, *Votive and Historical Texts from Babylonia and Assyria*, New Haven 1937, pl. XXIII f.

³³⁶ I. e., 7 pentacontads of years, or c. 350 years; see H. and J. Lewy, *op. cit.*, pp. 72 ff.

³³⁷ I. e., since the destruction of the city of Akkad; see *ibidem*, p. 72, note 309.

³³⁸ For the Mesopotamian city of Nurrugum see Dossin, *RA* XXXV (1938), p. 182, note 4 and Gadd, *Iraq* VII (1940), p. 43.

remade”³³⁹. The tenor of the passage makes it clear that, much like his predecessors Šarrum-kên and Narâm-Sîn of Aššûr³⁴⁰ whose names attest their familiarity with the Old Akkadian period and its history, Samsî-Adad regarded himself as a successor of the kings of Akkad; in addition we see that his scribes made a serious — and, to all appearances, successful³⁴¹ — effort to determine the time which separated him from the famous Dynasty of Akkad. The four titles added in ll. 1 ff. to Samsî-Adad’s name, viz. *dannum* “the powerful”, *šarru kiššatim*³⁴² “the king of the totality”, *šakin dEnlil* “the deputy of the god Enlil” and *iššakki dAššûr* “the priest of the god Aššûr”, are equally significant. The first and the second are titles previously borne by Old Akkadian kings³⁴³, the third is linked, as we have seen, to the extremely old pre-Assyrian city of Baltil, and the fourth springs, of course, from the early period when that city became the “city of the god Aššûr”.

Returning now to the question as to the origin and implications of Samsî-Adad’s second title³⁴⁴ (whose conspicuous occurrence in Nabonidus’ records concerning the reconstruction of the principal Sîn temple of Harrân was already mentioned), we note

³³⁹ *bi-tam ša iš-tu šu-lum A-ga-dè^{KI} a-di šar-ru-ti-ia a-di ša-ba-at Nu-ur-ru-gi^{KI} VII da-a-ru i-ti-qú-ma i-na šarri^{meš} a-li-ku-ut pa-ni-ia šarrum ma-an-na-ma la i-pu-šu(-ma)*.

³⁴⁰ As for Narâm-Sîn of Aššûr, whose son Erišu was dethroned by Samsî-Adad mâr Ilâ-kabkabu, see Poebel, *loc. cit.*, pp. 285 f.

³⁴¹ See H. and J. Lewy, *op. cit.*, pp. 73 ff.

³⁴² *lugal kiššî*; cf. Deimel, *Šumerisches Lexikon*, III, No. 425, 22.

³⁴³ It will be remembered that the title *da-núm* is a characteristic of the inscriptions of Narâm-Sîn and Šar-kali-šarri who, precisely as subsequently Samsî-Adad, placed it immediately after their names, whereas *šarru kiššatim* is a preferred title of Šarrum-kên, Rimuš and Man-ištusu (cf. above, p. 465, note 290). In this connection it might be well to call attention to the wording of Samsî-Adad’s brick inscriptions from Aššûr: *dŠamšî^{šî}.dAdad ba-ni bît dAššûr* (cf. Meissner, *loc. cit.*, pp. 26 f., sub 2); while without parallel among the earlier inscribed bricks from Aššûr, it corresponds to that of Narâm-Sîn’s bricks (see, e. g., Luckenbill, *Inscriptions from Adab*, Chicago 1930, No. 27: *dNa-ra-am-dSîn bani bît dIštar*).

³⁴⁴ In the stone slab inscription Assur 887 and duplicates (published by Messerschmidt, *op. cit.*, No. 2; latest transliteration and translation by Meissner, *loc. cit.*, pp. 22 ff.) it is his first title.

that, whereas most of Sargon's inscriptions spell it, as usual, *lugal kišī*³⁴⁵, *lugal šú*³⁴⁶ or, phonetically, *lugal kiš-šá-ti* (var. *kiš-šá-tim*)³⁴⁷, others offer *lugal kiši KUR*³⁴⁸, an interesting variant which has been rendered by *šar kiš-šat*, although such a form is hardly compatible with the rules of Assyrian grammar. Since *KUR* has the ideographic value *mātu* "land", and since K. 3939 (*CT* XXVII, pl. 1 ff.), a text which deals with omens derived from births of children with the heads of a lion, dog, pig, etc., links the rule over "the land" with the title *šarru kiššati* by explaining that "if a woman gives birth and the child has a serpent's head" "(this is) an omen of Gilgameš who ruled the land: there will be a king of the totality in the country"³⁴⁹, it would seem that *lugal kiši KUR* is to be read *šarru kiššat māti* "the king of the totality of the country". This conclusion is strongly supported by the Sumerian versions of some of Sargon's brick inscriptions³⁵⁰ in so far as *kiši* is there replaced by *ki-šár-ra*, i. e., according to col. I, l. 10 of the syllabary Rm. II, 40 (*CT* XIX, pl. 37), *kiš-šat ma-a-t[i]*³⁵¹. It is further in

³⁴⁵ Thus, for instance, in the first line of the so-called Bull Inscription, (Winckler, *op. cit.*, II, pl. 41) and in the first line of the Nimrūd Inscription (*ibidem*, I, pp. 168 ff. and II, pl. 48).

³⁴⁶ So, for instance, in the inscriptions published by Jacobsen *apud* Loud, *op. cit.*, pp. 129 ff., Nos. 2 ff.

³⁴⁷ So, for example, in the first lines of the inscriptions on the pavements of the gates of Dûr-Šarrukên (Winckler, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 136 ff., II, pl. 37 ff.).

³⁴⁸ Winckler, *op. cit.*, I, p. 190, No. 1 (cf. II, pl. 49, No. 1); Essad, *RA* XXII (1925), p. 87; Jacobsen *apud* Loud and Altman, *Khorsabad*, II, Chicago 1938, p. 104, No. 2. A duplicate of the afore-quoted Esarhaddon text 81-6-7, 209 has the same variant; see Stephens, *op. cit.*, p. 33. See also below, p. 480 with note 377.

³⁴⁹ See rev. (!), ll. 8 f.: *šumma sinništu tûlid-ma qaqqad šêri šakin amûtu*^d *Gilgameš šá mâta ibêlu šarru kiššati ina māti ibašši*^{si} and cf. the remarks of Weidner, *Mitteilungen der altorientalischen Gesellschaft* IV (1928-29), p. 229, who correctly inferred that the passage alludes to the rule over the whole of Babylonia.

³⁵⁰ See particularly l. 2 of the text Assur 1801 and duplicates (published by Messerschmidt, *op. cit.*, No. 38); cf. further Winckler, *op. cit.*, I, p. 193 and II, pl. 49, No. 6, l. 1.

³⁵¹ Cf. Meissner, *Beiträge zum assyrischen Wörterbuch*, I, Chicago 1931, p. 84, note 31. As for *KI* = *mātu* and *ŠĀR* = *kiššatu*, see Deimel, *Šumerisches*

line with the emphasis which Samsî-Adad mâr Ilâ-kabkabu laid on the fact that he ruled not merely over the city of Aššûr and the surrounding district but also over a larger geographical unit, namely "the land between Tigris and Euphrates"³⁵².

The wavering in Sargon's texts between *šarru kiššati* and the seemingly fuller *šarru kiššat mâti* has an exact counterpart in the earliest Sumerian historical records in that Me-silim, the over-lord of the three city states of Lagaš, Umma and Adab (and probably still others), calls himself *lugal kiši*³⁵³, i. e., according to the later Akkadian usage just exemplified, *šarru kiššatim*³⁵⁴, whereas En-temena of Lagaš, who lived a number of generations after him, gives him the title *lugal kiši-ki-gé*³⁵⁵, which would be *šarru kiššat mâtim*³⁵⁶. Thus we see that, in using besides the title *šarru kiššati* the similar *šarru kiššat mâti*³⁵⁷, Sargon's inscriptions perpetuated a custom of the earlier half of the third pre-Christian millennium. Further information is furnished by an exceedingly old seal an impression of which

Lexikon, III, Nos. 461,18 and 396,15, respectively. See further below, p. 476, note 357.

³⁵² See the aforementioned stone slab inscription Assur 887 and duplicates, col. I, ll. 5 f. and cf. the unpublished Ma'eri tablet quoted by Dossin, *Syria* XX (1939), p. 98.

³⁵³ So, for instance, in the inscription engraved upon his well-known mace-head from Lagaš (Heuzey, *RA* IV [1898], p. 109; latest transliteration and English translation by Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List*, Chicago 1939, p. 149) and in the text from Adab published by Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, No. 5 (Jacobsen, *op. cit.*, p. 149).

³⁵⁴ Cf. Langdon, *Excavations at Kish*, I, Paris 1924, p. 1.

³⁵⁵ See col. I, ll. 8 f. of En-temena's so-called Cones A and B (Barton, *op. cit.*, pp. 56 ff.; latest translation of this passage by Thureau-Dangin, *RA* XXXIV [1937], pp. 179 f., who, in agreement with Barton, Langdon, Jacobsen and others, renders *lugal kiši-ki-gé* by "roi de Kiš").

³⁵⁶ As for the grammatical form of the term *lugal kiši-ki-gé*, cf. the analogous formations quoted and discussed by Poebel, *Grundzüge der sumerischen Grammatik*, Rostock 1923, § 371.

³⁵⁷ It is easy to realize that the indiscriminate use of the two titles accounts for the fact that (in contradiction to the afore-quoted statement of the syllabary Rm. II, 40) col. I, l. 56 of a list of titles and professional names, which Meissner, *loc. cit.* (see above, p. 475, note 351), pp. 78 ff. reconstructed from several fragmentary vocabularies, disregards the first element of the Sumerian *ki-šár* so completely as to equate *lugal ki-šár-ra* with *šar-ru kiš-šá-ti*.

is preserved on a jar-sealing found at Ur³⁵⁸. The seal names "[Me]s-anni-padda, the king of the totality of the country"³⁵⁹, thus showing that, some centuries before Šarrum-kên, the founder of the so-called First Dynasty of Ur assumed a similar title as Šarrum-kên and afterwards the rulers of Assyria and Nabonidus. Since, on the other hand, the seal does not mention Mes-anni-padda's title "king of Ur" (referred to in the so-called Sumerian king list and indirectly attested by the famous inscription of his son A-anni-padda which was found at al-'Ubaid), we also see that he had more or less the same appreciation of a title which characterized him as suzerain of other princes as had Šarrum-kên and his sons³⁶⁰ — not to mention the later kings of Babylonia and Assyria who preferred the epithet *šarru kiššati* so much to their other titles as frequently to omit in their inscriptions any reference to the fact that they were, first and foremost, kings of the respective city states of Babylon and Aššûr³⁶¹.

³⁵⁸ For a description of the seal impression, which, *inter alia*, shows the moon represented by a crescent, see Legrain *apud* Woolley, *Ur Excavations*, II, p. 352 and the literature quoted in the next footnote.

³⁵⁹ [Me]s-anni-pâd-da lugal kiši-ki; see Burrows *apud* Woolley, *The Antiquaries Journal* X (1930), p. 342 and pl. XLIX (No. 1) and in Woolley's *Ur Excavations*, II, pp. 312 f. and pl. 191 and 207, *sub* U. 13607.

³⁶⁰ In order to illustrate how Šarrum-kên continued on the same line as earlier rulers, it might be well to recall in this connection an observation of Gadd (*apud* Burrows in Woolley's *Ur Excavations*, II, p. 318) viz. that, to all appearances, the names of two of Šarrum-kên's descendants were chosen according to an onomatological principle by which two rulers of the First Dynasty of Ur, and possibly also two of those earlier kings of Ur whose graves were found in the so-called Royal Cemetery, had been guided in the choice of their names.

³⁶¹ Babylonian kings who called themselves — or were called — *šarru kiššati* were, for instance, the Kassites Burnaburiaš II (?) [see Langdon, *RA* XVI (1919), p. 74, No. 13], Kurigalzu (II) mâr Kadašman-Ḥarbe (see B. M., No. 108982, published by Gadd, *CT* 36, pl. 6 f.), Kurigalzu (III) mâr Burnaburiaš (II) [see Nies and Keiser, *Historical, Religious and Economic Texts and Antiquities*, New Haven 1920, No. 15 and cf. Boissier, *RA* XXIX (1932), p. 95] and Marduk-apla-iddina (B. M., No. 90850; latest edition in facsimile, transliteration and translation by King, *Babylonian Boundary-Stones*, London 1912, pl. XXXI ff. and pp. 25 ff.). See also Hilprecht, *Assyriaca*, I (1894), p. 92, note 3 and particularly Langdon, *loc. cit.*, p. 71, note 4, who

In the early epoch between Mes-anni-padda and Šarrum-kên, the rulers of Uruk, when extending their domination beyond the limits of this city state, received from the god of their city a title similar to that of a "king of the totality of the country", viz. the title *lugal kalamma* "king of the land (of Southern Babylonia)"³⁶². In consideration of this fact, Mes-anni-padda's seal inscription obviously confronts us with two closely inter-related questions: (1) Was Ur regarded as the capital of the Babylonian territory defined as "the totality of the country"? and (2) was it Šin who, as the great divine patron of Ur, conferred the dignity of the "king of the totality of the country" upon those kings of Ur whose realm included the whole of Babylonia?

Since obv., ll. 26 ff. of the afore-quoted³⁶³ bilingual prayer from Ur (IV R 9), which, no doubt, conforms with the doctrines of the "Era of the Moon-god"³⁶⁴, invoke Šin as "the merciful and forgiving father who holds the life of all of the land in his hand" and "the builder of the country who chooses for kingship (and) bestows the scepter", it would seem that both

noted that some Kassite texts do not offer the usual spellings *lugal kiši*, *šarru kiš-ša-ti*, etc., but *lugal ki-šár-ra*, i. e., as we have seen, *šarru kiššat mâtî*; of later kings of Babylon who styled themselves *šarru kiššati* we mention Nebuchadrezzar I (B. M., No. 90858 [King, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXXIII ff. and pp. 31 ff.]; cf. further the inscribed dagger referred to by Contenau, *RA XXVIII* [1931], p. 107) and Marduk-nadin-aḫḫê (see, *inter alia*, the texts published by Contenau, *loc. cit.*, pp. 105 f. and Weidner, *Archiv für Orientalforschung VIII* [1932-33], pp. 258 f., No. 6d); see also Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, I, Leipzig 1893-97, pp. 228 f. As for the first Middle Assyrian rulers who assumed the same title, viz. Aššûr-uballiṭ I, Adad-narârî I, Šalmaneser I and Tukulti-Ninurta I, see the references listed by Forrer, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, I, p. 272.

³⁶² See Poebel, *Historical Texts* (UM IV, 1), Philadelphia 1914, pp. 153 and 229, with whose further conclusions in regard to Šarrum-kên's titles we do, however, not agree.

³⁶³ See above, p. 447.

³⁶⁴ It will be remembered that the afore-cited passage (obv., ll. 20 f.; see above, p. 447) in which this precious text describes Šin as a young bull agrees perfectly with a young bull's figure from a royal grave belonging to a period prior to Mes-anni-padda.

questions are to be answered in the affirmative; for it is self-evident that — at least originally — the divine lord of Ur invested as rulers of the city and the land he had created only princes residing at the place which, being the seat of his sanctuary, was *ipso facto* the capital of the country of his creation. This conclusion is not invalidated by the fact that, in the passage which speaks of "the life of all the land" our text uses a term other than the Sumerian *kiši-ki* and *ki-šár-ra* and the Akkadian *kiššat mâti*. For a section of the undoubtedly old collection of astrological forecasts which is contained in the tablet K. 270³⁶⁵ clearly implies that Ur was the capital city of the "king of the totality of the country". The passage explains that, in case an eclipse occurs in certain circumstances, "a decision to the king of the totality of the country is given: they³⁶⁶ commanded the ruin of Ur, the destruction³⁶⁷ of its walls, a day of devastation of the city and its plains"³⁶⁸ — an explanation of a celestial phenomenon which, of course, would be without meaning unless the fate of Ur was considered the special concern of the "*lugal ki-šár-ra*". Moreover, many centuries after Sîn's holy city definitely ceased to be the residence of independent princes, the title *šarru kiššat mâti* and the related epithet *šarru kiššati* play so conspicuous a rôle in brick inscriptions from Ur as to suggest that even then it was thought to be the attribute which befitted the suzerain of the old metropolis more than any other epithet. Sîn-balâtsu-iqbi, for instance, a hereditary governor of

³⁶⁵ Published in *III R*, pl. 60 f. and republished by Craig, *Astrological-Astronomical Texts*, Leipzig 1899, pl. 20 ff.; the bearing of K. 270 and cognate texts upon the problem here under discussion was first recognized by Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, I, pp. 96 and 223.

³⁶⁶ I. e., "the gods".

³⁶⁷ Lit., "the causing of being destroyed".

³⁶⁸ See obv., col. II, ll. 83 f.: *ana šarri kiššat mâti (lugal ki-šár-ra) purussû nadinⁱⁿ šahluqli Uri^{KI} šu-uq-qur dârânimeš^{meš}-šû iq-bu um ha-rab âli u na-me-e-šû*. A different rendering of these lines was proposed by Ungnad, *op. cit.*, p. 89. The passages recently discussed by Jacobsen, *JNES* II (1943), pp. 171 f. favor, however, the interpretation first proposed by Winckler, *loc. cit.*, p. 223 and accepted above in the text; for they express the belief that the moon-god himself would not decree the destruction of his own city.

Ur and devoted worshipper of the moon-god³⁶⁹, who, at the time of Ashurbanipal, restored several sanctuaries of the old city, refers to his overlord as *lugal ki-šár-ra*, without adding any further of the latter's numerous titles³⁷⁰. Turning to the following century, we notice in the first place that, with the aforementioned highly significant exception of the cylinder inscription commemorating the reconstruction of the principal Šin sanctuary of Harrân³⁷¹, the brick inscription from Ur³⁷² is Nabonidus' only record in which his title *šar Bâbili* is preceded by *šarru kiššati*³⁷³, and secondly that, so far as his inscribed bricks³⁷⁴ from the same center of the moon-cult are concerned, Cyrus followed the same tradition as his predecessor: on these bricks he figures merely as "the king of the totality³⁷⁵, the king of Aššan", whereas in the well-known cylinder inscription from Babylon³⁷⁶ he styles himself "the king of the totality of the country³⁷⁷, the great king, the powerful king, the king of Babylon, the king of Sumer and the Akkadians, the king of the four regions (of the earth)". On the other hand, it cannot be overlooked that *šarru kiššat mâti* is too modest a title as adequately to characterize the rank of kings who, like Šarrum-kên and his descendants (and subsequently Sargon and the Sargonids), regarded themselves as rulers over the whole civilized world. For this reason, and since none of those kosmokrators resided at Ur, it would seem that, although, in its Sumerian

³⁶⁹ Much as Nabonidus called Šin "the king of the gods" or "the king of the gods, (even) the god of the gods" (see above, p. 440, note 169), Šin-balâtsu-iqbi invoked him as *lugal dEn-lil-e-ne* "the king of the Enlils (i. e., of the supreme gods)"; see l. 3 of the text U. 2674, published by Gadd and Legrain, *Ur Excavations, Texts*, I, London and Philadelphia 1928, No. 169.

³⁷⁰ See ll. 2 f. of the Sumerian inscription U. 6341 (Gadd and Legrain, *op. cit.*, No. 168).

³⁷¹ See above, p. 466.

³⁷² Gadd and Legrain, *op. cit.*, No. 189; cf. the remarks of the editors, *ibidem*, p. 58.

³⁷³ *lugal šár*.

³⁷⁴ Gadd and Legrain, *op. cit.*, No. 194.

³⁷⁵ *lugal šár*.

³⁷⁶ Published in *VR*, pl. 35; latest transliteration and translation by Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, Leipzig 1911, pp. 2 ff.

³⁷⁷ *šarru kiššat mâti*; cf. above, p. 475.

form, as old as Me-silim, the title *šarru kiššati* was younger than the title *šarru kiššat mâti*, the Sumerian original of which we traced back to Mes-anni-padda of Ur. In other words, we come to the conclusion that the attribute *šarru kiššati*, while taking up the idea expressed by the older epithet, reflects the development from a state comprising only Babylonia into a world empire. If this was so, it is only natural that the two titles were confused in subsequent periods, all the more so since kings less powerful than the Dynasty of Akkad were certainly not desirous of resuming the use of an epithet that corresponded to the reduced size of their state.

Summing up the results of the preceding rapid survey of some sources relating to the history of the principal center of the moon-cult of Babylonia, we may draw the following conclusions: (1) At the very beginning of recorded Babylonian history — and very probably even as early as the preceding, virtually prehistoric, epoch of the Royal Cemetery — the princes of Ur were repeatedly capable of extending their power far beyond the immediate neighborhood of their city state. (2) As often as this was the case, the moon-god of their capital conferred upon them the title “king of the totality of the country”. (3) When Ur’s hegemony over the city states of Babylonia had passed to other cities, this title was transformed so as to be applicable to rulers of world empires such as Šarrum-kên of Akkad³⁷⁸. (4) Even as late as the Neo-Babylonian period, it was commonly known that the proud title “king of the totality” was developed from an attribute of the kings of Ur which Sin conferred upon them as rulers of “all the land”.

If, with these facts in mind, we now remember (1) that Samsî-Adad mâr Ilâ-kabkabu, i. e. according to our present knowledge, the oldest Assyrian “king of the totality”, states to have ruled over the “country between Tigris and Euphrates”³⁷⁹, (2) that the first Middle Assyrian holders of the same title were

³⁷⁸ As for the conspicuous fact that in Šarrum-kên’s inscriptions *šarru kiššatim* is preceded by *MAŠKIM.GÍ dIštar* (whence Poebel, *op. cit.*, pp. 153 and 229 took it for granted that *lugal kiši* means “king of Kiš”), see below, p. 489, note 420.

³⁷⁹ See above, p. 476.

in the possession of Ḫarrân³⁸⁰, but — with the only exception of Tukultî-Ninurta I — not of Ur, (3) that in the late period when Sargon and the Sargonids emphasized their devotion to the moon-god of Ḫarrân, Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal had themselves crowned at Ḫarrân³⁸¹, and (4) that, according to Nabonidus, these two rulers, whose empire embraced several geographic units, were given by Sîn the “kingdom of the totality of the countries” (not “the country”!)³⁸², we realize that, in a remote period and in circumstances still to be elucidated by excavations at Ḫarrân, the western center of the moon-cult was the capital of a city state whose rulers, when dominating the whole of Mesopotamia, received from “Sîn who dwells in Ḫarrân” the dignity which the moon-god of Ur, on his part, conferred upon conquerors of Babylonia. In other words, we come to the conclusion that in the first centuries of the third millennium, and probably in even earlier times, each of the cities of Ur and Ḫarrân was not only a center of moon-worship but also the capital of a “kingdom of the totality of the land”³⁸³. This rise, at the very beginnings of Mesopotamian and Babylonian history, of two states with basically the same religious and political institutions recalls, of course, the well-known fact that the corresponding period of Egyptian history is characterized by the co-existence of two kingdoms of “Followers of Horus”, strikingly resembling each other not only as to the cult of Horus but, *inter alia*, also as to the special features of

³⁸⁰ This was keenly felt by Winckler who repeatedly (see, for instance, his afore-quoted *Altorientalische Forschungen*, I, pp. 83 ff., 140 ff., 225 ff., 379 ff.) tried to prove that the title *šarru kiššatî* originated in Mesopotamia, and especially in Ḫarrân, but eventually (*MVAG* XVIII, 4 [1913], p. 73) concluded that it pertained to the city of Kiš.

³⁸¹ See above, pp. 456 ff.

³⁸² See above, pp. 417 f.

³⁸³ There can hardly be any doubt as to Ḫarrân's existence in that early epoch. In Sargon's afore-cited statements concerning its historic claims upon exemption from taxes, transit duties, etc. (see above, p. 454, note 222), it is placed upon the same level as the pre-Assyrian city of Baltil. Moreover, the analysis of the geographic names of Syria shows that Semites, and particularly West Semitic worshippers of the moon, the sun and the other planetary deities, lived in the western regions of the Fertile Crescent as early as the first half of the third millennium (see *Hebrew Union College Annual* XVIII [1944], pp. 454 ff.).

their capital cities which were, much like Ur, situated close to the outer border of each of the two states³⁸⁴. It goes almost without saying that in this and the analogous cases of Oriental and European history, such pronounced sameness of more or less adjacent states is due to the immigration of ethnical groups of common origin. It is also manifest that, so far as the two kingdoms of "the totality of the country" are concerned, those populations were worshippers of the moon-god. In consideration of the important rôle which, for obvious reasons, the moon plays in the life of desert tribes, and since in later days the cult of the moon was, as we have seen, wide-spread among the Semitic tribes of the Syro-Arabian desert, it is hardly too daring further to assume that those moon-worshippers were Semites who moved from Arabia to the Fertile Crescent where they were more or less assimilated by various other peoples.

The darkness which, owing to the complete lack of contemporary sources from Mesopotamia, surrounds the early history of the western "kingdom of the totality of the country" is elucidated by K. 702³⁸⁵, a tablet which contains quotations from the aforementioned old collection of astrological forecasts. Ll. 2 ff. of this text read as follows: *šumma ina* ^{arab}*adâri ûm 14^{kam}* *atalâ maššarti šimetân* ^d*Sîn iškun-ma purussû-šû a-na šarri kiššat mâti (lugal ki-šâr-ra) Uru^{KI} û Amurru^{KI} i-nam-dîn* "If on the 14th day of the month of Adâru an eclipse of the moon takes place³⁸⁶ (at the time of) the evening watch, his³⁸⁷ decision (is) for the king of the totality of the country; he will give (him) Ur and Amurru"³⁸⁸. The historical situation reflected in these lines is fairly clear: The king of the western, or Mesopotamian

³⁸⁴ Cf. Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I, 2³, Stuttgart und Berlin 1913, pp. 110 ff.

³⁸⁵ III R 59, No. 5. A now somewhat antiquated transliteration and translation of the whole text is to be found in Thompson, *The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon*, II, London 1900, p. 103, sub 272 B and p. LXXXIX, sub 272 c.

³⁸⁶ Lit., "if the moon-god sets an eclipse on the 14th of Adâru".

³⁸⁷ I. e., the moon-god's.

³⁸⁸ Our transliteration and translation of these lines are virtually the same as those proposed by Winckler, *op. cit.*, I, p. 223 and Messerschmidt, *op. cit.* (see above, p. 450, note 205), p. 9, note. Ungnad, *op. cit.*, p. 90 translates as

"kingdom of the totality of the country" prepared campaigns by which he hoped to conquer the capital of the Eastern, or Babylonian, "king of the totality" as well as Amurru, and Sin granted the fulfilment of his hopes. Thus we see that one of those old traditions on which the Assyrians and Babylonians based their astrological forecasts told of the achievements of one or several ancient kings of Ḫarrân who, with the blessing of their god, extended their rule over the whole of Babylonia and Amurru, i. e., Syria and Palestine with Tadmar-Palmyra³⁸⁹, Adummatu-Dûmat al-Ğandal³⁹⁰, Têmâ-Taimâ³⁹¹ and, possibly, Dêdân-el-'Ulâ³⁹². We also learn that, according to that tradition, it depended upon Sin whether or not the unification of those countries within one single empire could be accomplished. In other words, K. 702 points to the existence of an ancient doctrine which regarded the moon-god as the supreme lord and owner not only of the countries of Ḫarrân and Ur but also of the vast territories described by the geographic term Amurru. In view of the afore-discussed data from which it follows that the moon-cult of Ur and Ḫarrân was basically the same as that of the desert regions from Tadmar-Palmyra to Mount Sinai, this doctrine is certainly to be considered historically well founded. It is also easy to realize that the Aramaeans of Mesopotamia and Northern Syria whose ancestors had come, as we have seen³⁹³, from the desert regions of southern Amurru and who continued to recognize Sîn as the supreme deity³⁹⁴ were not only disposed

if the text had not *ù Amurru*^{KI} but *ù šar Amurri*^{KI}. Owing to this *lapsus calami*, he comes to an obviously untenable interpretation of the historical background of this omen.

³⁸⁹ As for the fact that Tadmar belonged to the country of Amurru, see above, p. 432, note 144.

³⁹⁰ That Adummatu was situated within Amurru follows from col. I, ll. 16 f. of the Nabonidus-Cyrus Chronicle; cf. above, p. 438.

³⁹¹ That Têmâ was part of Amurru is learned from col. II, l. x+23 of the "Verse Account": *âl Te-ma-' qî-rib A-mur-ri-i*.

³⁹² For evidence pointing to the possibility that the Babylonians regarded Dêdân as a place within Amurru see Poebel, *JNES* I, p. 257.

³⁹³ Cf. above, pp. 421 ff.

³⁹⁴ That many Aramaeans of the western part of the Fertile Crescent considered the "Lord of Ḫarrân" the highest of all gods even before Sargon gave

to accept such a doctrine but were also its most fervent adherents.

According to another doctrine recognized by Šarrum-kên as well as by the Middle and Neo-Assyrian rulers, a king who annexed territories regarded as the special domain of a certain deity had the duty of paying homage to that particular deity³⁹⁵. Hence the conclusion suggests itself that the pronounced turn toward the cult of the moon-god, in which we recognized a characteristic feature of Late Assyrian state religion³⁹⁶, was an immediate consequence of the conquest of parts of Southern Syria, Palestine and the Syro-Arabian desert which the Assyrians began during the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III. This inference is strongly supported by the concluding lines of the passage cited above from K. 2701a³⁹⁷; for there we learn directly that the priest who anointed Esarhaddon at Harrân in the "temple of cedar-wood" prophesied success of the king's imminent campaign against the "countries there". It is further corroborated by the fact that one of Tiglath-Pileser's sons, who served as grand vizier during the reign of his brother Sargon³⁹⁸, was named *Šîn-aḫa-ušur* "O Šin, protect the brother!"; for as was shown elsewhere³⁹⁹, it was more or less usual that successful invaders of foreign countries believed to be owned by a particular god chose for their

him the second place in the official pantheon of Assyria, follows from one of the reliefs found at Sincirli (Sachau, *Sitzungsberichte der Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* 1895, pp. 119 ff.; Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der semitischen Epigraphik*, I, p. 444, No. 4, II, pl. XXIV, No. 2) and especially from rev., col. IV, ll. 1 ff. of the treaty between Aššûr-nirârî V of Assyria and the aforementioned מַחְעָל בֶּר עַרְסַמֶּךְ (Rm. 120+274+K. 15272; latest edition in facsimile, transliteration and translation by Weidner, *Archiv für Orientforschung* VIII [1932-33], pp. 17 ff.).

³⁹⁵ See J. Lewy, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* CX (1934), pp. 59 ff. and cf. further ll. 91 f. of the afore-cited Adad-narârî text VAT 8288 (see above, p. 421, note 91) and col. II, l. 87 of the "Monolith Inscription" of Shalmaneser III (*III R* 7 f.; Peiser *apud* Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, I, Berlin 1889, pp. 151 ff.; Luckenbill, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 211 ff.).

³⁹⁶ See above, pp. 453 ff.

³⁹⁷ See pp. 457 ff.

³⁹⁸ See the inscription published by Jacobsen *apud* Loud and Altman, *op. cit.*, p. 104, No. 2.

³⁹⁹ See J. Lewy, *loc. cit.*, pp. 62 f.

sons names expressing gratitude to, and recognition of, that god.

Whereas Tiglath-Pileser's cult of the moon-god seems to have been limited to this gesture, his successors went, as we have demonstrated⁴⁰⁰, much further in proclaiming their devotion to Sîn. Letting aside the possibility that Esarhaddon's and Ashurbanipal's religious course was influenced by the queen mother Naqi'a or other West Semitic princesses who, much as subsequently Šumûa-damqa, may have seen in Sîn the supreme god, this development may be explained by the Assyrian belief that events and political situations of the past would recur if it so pleased the deity concerned. For people who were imbued with that conviction and who were also acquainted with the tradition according to which, "in the distant days of the Era of the Moon-god", the *šarru kiššat mâti* of Ḫarrân ruled over Mesopotamia, Babylonia and Amurru may well have hoped for a return of that age, provided that they succeeded in satisfying Sîn by their worship. In actual fact, the new religious policy amounted, of course, to the official recognition of beliefs cherished by an increasingly influential part of the West Semitic population of Mesopotamia but by far less dear to the genuine Assyrians themselves.

As regards Nabonidus whose empire also embraced, in addition to Babylonia and Mesopotamia, parts of Amurru⁴⁰¹, we are now in a position to realize that he, to whom Ḫarrânian traditions were particularly dear, regarded the re-introduction of the institutions of the "Era of the Moon-god" as the surest way of securing Sîn's favor and with it the stability of the empire. By preparing the reconstruction of Eḫulḫul, as soon as he ascended the throne, and by completing it within a short time, he made it possible to "perform the forgotten rites of Sîn, Ningal, Nusku (and) Sadarnunna"⁴⁰², i. e., as we may now conclude, to be

⁴⁰⁰ See above, pp. 453 ff.

⁴⁰¹ It will be remembered that, according to Berossos, fr. 49 (*apud* Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, I, 19, § 133), Nebuchadrezzar conquered, in addition to Syria and Palestine, parts of Arabia, and that, according to Nabonidus, Gaza belonged in 554/3 to the Neo-Babylonian empire.

⁴⁰² See above, p. 417.

anointed and crowned *šarru kiššati*, before he went to Têma in order to serve Sîn in a particularly holy place situated in that part of Amurru whence ancestors of his had come to Harrân. As for the revival of the religious customs of the Golden Age in which the moon-god was generally recognized as the supreme lord of Amurru, Mesopotamia and Babylonia, he evidently believed that it could be accomplished by living as much as possible in accordance with the principles by which Šarrum-kên had been guided; for as in his opinion 3200 years separated his own reign from that of Narâm-Sîn⁴⁰³, he must have been convinced that Šarrum-kên, the *šarru kiššati* par excellence⁴⁰⁴, had lived within that age and had been a devout and exemplary worshipper of the moon-god. Hence he initiated the reactionary religious course traceable in his inscriptions⁴⁰⁵, made his daughter a Sîn priestess at Ur⁴⁰⁶ and built the splendid new residence at Têma mentioned in the "Verse Account"⁴⁰⁷. Since the worshippers of the moon-god were numerous in all his lands, particularly among the Western Semites settled both in the Western and Eastern part of the empire⁴⁰⁸, we may well assume that he could reasonably expect to be supported in his policy by a considerable fraction of his subjects⁴⁰⁹.

How the genuine Babylonians must have thought about a ruler who, while proclaiming to be "Nebuchadrezzar's and Neriglissar's envoy"⁴¹⁰, built a new palace far away from Baby-

⁴⁰³ See *V R* 64, col. II, ll. 57 f. and duplicates; as for the latter, cf. the note of Ungnad, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, I, Leipzig 1907, p. VIII, sub 53.

⁴⁰⁴ See above, pp. 464 f.

⁴⁰⁵ Cf. above, pp. 450 f.

⁴⁰⁶ See above, p. 441.

⁴⁰⁷ See above, p. 464.

⁴⁰⁸ As was intimated above, pp. 427 f., West Semitic personal names containing the theophoric element *Ilûrî* occur in Neo-Babylonian texts from Nêrab, Nippur and Uruk.

⁴⁰⁹ Judging from Berossos and col. V of the stela from Hîllah, it does, however, not seem that these elements were represented among the conspirators who brought Nabonidus into power. But see also Schwenzner, *Klio* XVIII (1922), pp. 57 f.

⁴¹⁰ See Stela from Hîllah, col. V, ll. x+14 ff.: *šá^{md} Nabû-ku-dûr-ri-ušur ù^{md} Nêrgal-šarra-ušur šarrânî^{mes} a-lik maḥ-ri-ia na-aš-ḫa-ar-šu-nu dan-nu a-na-ku.*

lon, can be learned, without consulting the "Verse Account" or Cyrus' aforementioned "Cylinder Inscription", from two interrelated passages of Nebuchadrezzar's so-called East India House Inscription⁴¹¹. There the great king had stated⁴¹²: "Because I⁴¹³ do not like a royal throne for me⁴¹⁴ in another holy city, I did not build for me a lordly building in any city⁴¹⁵"; and in a concluding prayer to Marduk he had expressed himself as follows: "Among all cities, I do not embellish⁴¹⁶ any holy city more than thy city of Babylon"⁴¹⁷. Moreover, the "Chronicle concerning Šarrum-kên and Narâm-Sîn"⁴¹⁸ and the "chronicle" Assur 13955 gv⁴¹⁹ show that, in basing his religious policy upon Harrânian and Assyrian traditions concerning Šarrum-kên, the "kings of the totality", the "Era of the Moon-god" and the like, Nabonidus rejected Babylonian doctrines. According to the former source, Šarrum-kên had risen to power not when Sîn was supreme god, but "during the rule of Ištar"⁴²⁰; the latter

⁴¹¹ Published *I R* 53 ff.; Langdon, *op. cit.*, pp. 120 ff., No. 15.

⁴¹² See col. VIII, ll. 19 ff.: *áš-šum ni-me-du šar-ru-ti-ia i-na mahâzi ša-nim-ma la i-ra-am-mu libbî i-na ka-al da-ad-mi ul ab-na-a aṭ-ma-nu be-lu-ti*.

⁴¹³ Lit., "my heart".

⁴¹⁴ Lit., "an armchair of my kingship".

⁴¹⁵ Lit., "in the entirety of the cities".

⁴¹⁶ Lit., "I do not cause to be bright"; cf. the cognate passage quoted above, p. 464, note 284.

⁴¹⁷ See col. IX, ll. 54 ff.: *c-li mahâzi-ka Bâb-ili^{KI} i-na ka-la da-ad-mi ul ú-ša-ṣa mahâza^{KI}*.

⁴¹⁸ B. M., No. 26472 (King, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 3 ff.).

⁴¹⁹ See above, p. 465, note 287. Since two Neo-Babylonian duplicates (evidently coming from two different places) are known (see Güterbock, *loc. cit.*, p. 50), it is a fair assumption that this "chronicle" was popular with the Babylonians, and that they regarded it as authoritative.

⁴²⁰ See l. 1: *^mŠarrum-kên šar A-ga-de^{KI} ina palê ^dIš-tar i-lam(-ma)* "Šarrum-kên, king of Akkad, rose during the rule of Ištar (and . . .)". This statement is historically sound in so far as Šarrum-kên and, a few generations before him, E-anna-tum of Lagaš held their respective titles *šarru kišsatim* and *lugal kiši-ki* by the grace of Ištar-Inanna. To begin with the evidence concerning E-anna-tum, he expressly states: "Inanna . . . gave to E-anna-tum . . . , in addition to the priest-kingship of Lagaš, the kingship of the totality of the country" (Stone Inscription A, col. V, ll. 23 ff.; cf. Thureau-Dangin, *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek*, I, Leipzig 1907, pp. 22 f., whose rendering of *nam-lugal-kiši-ki* by "das Königtum von Kiš" is, however, hardly correct

maintained that it was Marduk who presented Šarrum-kên with the "kingdom of the four quarters of the world"⁴²¹ and Ku-Ba'u of Kiš and Šulgi of Ur with the "kingdom of the totality of the countries". As Marduk and the city of Babylon played no important rôle in the earliest periods of Babylonian history, these teachings of Assur 13955 gv were, of course, without historical foundation, but it is obvious that in such circumstances the conflict between the Babylonians and Nabonidus was inescapable.

since it leads to two improbable conclusions, viz. (1) that E-anna-tum actually ascended the throne of Kiš, and (2) that he mentioned this fact before recording — in this order — that he subjugated Elam and Subartu, on the one hand, and Kiš, Akšak and Ma'eri on the other). In consideration of this reference to Inanna, it is hardly too daring to assume that the epithet *MAŠKIM.GÍ* ^dIštar "Ištar's permanent commissioner", inserted in Šarrum-kên's afore-mentioned inscription "H" (see p. 465, note 290 and cf. p. 481, note 378) between the titles *šar A-ga-dè*^{KI} and *šarru kiššatim* (*lugal kiši*), relates to Ištar (of Akkad?) as the divine protectress thanks to whose favor Šarrum-kên became *šarru kiššatim*. This assumption is in line not only with the "Legend of Šarrum-kên", according to which Ištar loved Šarrum-kên and hence made him king (cf. Güterbock, *loc. cit.*, p. 63), but also with the fact that one of Šarrum-kên's successors — Narâm-Sîn or Šar-kali-šarri? — styled himself *da-núm šar A-ga-dè*^{KI} *ù ki-ib-ra-tim ar-ba-im mu-ut* ^dIštar *An-nu-ni-tim* (AO 5474, obv., col. II, ll. x + 1 ff.; see Thureau-Dangin, *RA* IX [1912], pp. 34 f.). Thus it seems indeed that the Old Akkadian kings, while faithful worshippers of Sîn (cf. above, p. 462), laid so much stress upon their devotion to Ištar as to justify a statement to the effect that their epoch was an "Age of Ištar". (As for texts speaking of a "*palû* of Enlil" and "*palû* of Nêrgal", see Jacobsen, *JNES* II [1943], p. 170, note 67.)

⁴²¹ While correct from the geographical point of view, this statement is inexact because not Šarrum-kên but Narâm-Sîn was the first Old Akkadian ruler who assumed the title *šarru kibrâtim arba'im*.

PSALMS 8 AND 19A

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FROM a relatively early period in biblical scholarship Psalms 8 and 19A have been closely linked in interpretation. Both psalms seem to deal with a common theme, the majesty of God as revealed in the various phenomena of nature. Both psalms seem to have a direct literary contact with the biblical creation story, particularly as recorded in Gen. 1.1-2.4. Briggs, Bertholet and Bittenwieser regard both psalms as the products of the same age, and Bittenwieser goes even so far as to set them down as the work of the same group of writers, the disciples of the pre-exilic prophets. Careful examination, however, discloses a divergence in the backgrounds of the two psalms, not very far-reaching it is true, yet sufficient in extent and significance to warrant a restudy and reinterpretation of both.

I

PSALM 8

Psalm 8 is regarded as very old by Olshausen and as of Davidic authorship by Delitzsch. Gunkel and Bittenwieser assign it to the pre-exilic period, Bittenwieser specifically to the late pre-exilic period. Briggs and Bertholet consider it a composition of the Persian period. Duhm and Baethgen hold it to be a late piece of writing. König contents himself with maintaining that it is older than Gen. 1. Barnes contends that it is directly dependent upon the Babylonian creation story.

The chief difficulty in the interpretation of the Psalm is found in vv. 2b and 3. In 2b the crux lies in the two words, אֲשֶׁר־תִּהְיֶה. As they stand they are absolutely untranslatable. For תִּהְיֶה *G* and *V* seem to have read קָחַן. *Σ*, *Jer.* and *S* read קָחַתָּ. *Tar.*

too read *נְתַתָּה*. Of the modern commentators Hupfeld, Delitzsch, Baethgen and Oesterley read *נְתַתָּה* with Tar. Olshausen emended *נְתַתָּה* to *נְתַתָּה*. Cheyne read *נְתַתָּה* with *G* and *V*. Briggs omitted *אֲשֶׁר* and retained *תְּתַתָּה*, interpreting it as an imperative, addressed to the Deity, "O, set Thy majesty", etc. Ehrlich would emend *נְתַתָּה* to *תְּתַתָּה*. Grimme, Schlögl and Gunkel join *אֲשֶׁר-תְּתַתָּה* as one word and change it to *אֲדָרְתְּכֶנּוּ*. Duhm goes even farther in emendation and for *אֲשֶׁר-תְּתַתָּה* reads *אֲשֶׁר-תְּתַתָּה*. Battenwieser regards *נְתַתָּה* as an unusual infinitive form of *נָתַן*. König retains the consonantal text but vocalizes *תְּתַתָּה*, and cites Jud. 5.11 to support his reading. Staerk and Bertholet likewise retain the consonantal text but vocalize *תְּתַתָּה*. This last reading, which has the additional merit of obviating any change of the traditional consonantal text, has much to commend it.¹

¹ Perhaps in Ex. 32.18 *עֲנוּת* should be emended to *תְּנוּת*. From the earliest times the threefold repetition of *עֲנוּת* in the v. has troubled translators and commentators, and especially the third occurrence, traditionally vocalized *עֲנוּת*. *G* read all three *עֲנוּת* and also interpolated *יִין* after the third, so that it, too, might have an object, like the first two. *A* also read all three words *עֲנוּת*. *S* read the first two words as participles, *עֲנוּת*, *עֲנוּת*, but the third he read *עֲנוּת*, as in *MT*, but interpreted it as from *עָנָה*, "to maltreat; to humiliate." *V* likewise read all three words *עֲנוּת*. *S* read or interpreted the third *עֲנוּת* as if it were *עֲנוּת*, "sins." *Targ.*, too, apparently read the third occurrence as *עֲנוּת* and interpreted it as "those who laugh or jeer." Manifestly not one of the ancient versions could make anything out of the traditional vocalization, *עֲנוּת*, of *MT*, although all of them appreciated that the context required a meaning for the third *עֲנוּת* which had to do in some way with chanting or singing.

Actually the narrative implies that, unlike Joshua, Moses recognized immediately the true nature and import of the sounds coming from the camp. Joshua had suggested that the tumult was the sound of battle. But to this Moses replied, "No, it is not the sound of battle, neither of victory nor defeat; rather it is the sound of divine worship or praise; and, of course, by inference, it must be of a deity other than Yahweh." This keen surmise of Moses was confirmed completely upon their arrival at the camp. The emendation of *עֲנוּת* to *תְּנוּת* would provide just this meaning, implicit in the context, without the necessity of conjuring up out of nothing an object for the verb, as *G* proposes. This emendation is simple, small in compass and has much to commend it. It may even be argued that the peculiar vocalization of *עֲנוּת* as a *pi'el*, in contradistinction to the vocalization of the first two occurrences as infinitives *qal*, suggests that in the mind of the Massoretes the word was somehow linked in meaning with *תְּנוּת*.

Against this emendation of *עֲנוּת* to *תְּנוּת* it might be objected that Isa. 27.2

In both Judg. 5.11 and 11.40 the verb *תָּהָה*, seems to mean, "to memorialize (by singing, recitation, ritual or the like); to praise; to celebrate." In Judg. 5.11 the object of *יָתַן* is *צִדְקוֹת יְהוָה*, "the righteous acts of Yahweh", an abstract concept which conforms closely to God's majesty here. In Judg. 11.40 the expression is *לְתִנּוֹת לַבַּת־יִפְתָּח*, "to perform commemorative ceremonies for the daughter of Jephthah." These commemorative ceremonies, so the natural implication is, consisted, in part at least, in the recital, in chant or song, of the heroic act of Jephthah's daughter. Apparently the object of the verb in the *pi'el* designated regularly the deed or quality in the person memorialized, while the person himself was associated with the act or ritual by 'ל'. Accordingly, reading *תָּהָה* here, with Staerk and Bertholet, we get the meaning of the clause, "Thou, whose majesty is recited or praised (in song) above the heavens." The thought is complete and perfect. Its full implication will be determined later.

The extent to which v. 3 has baffled translators and commentators is evidenced by the wide range in translation and interpretation. No two translations and no two interpretations agree. Each is distinguished only by the unique, complex and patently forced character of its argument. Each is plainly an expression of desperation in its attempt to bring some meaning into the v. and to establish some contact with the thought of the remainder of the Ps. For *להשבית* V and Jer. seem to have read *להשבית*. For *עַל* S either read *הלהתך* or thus paraphrased the word. Obviously, the difficulty inherent in the v. is not the result of textual corruption. The v. must have had its present form from the earliest times. The difficulty lies rather in the precise meaning of the v.,

has *עָנִי־לָהּ*, with the obvious meaning, "sing of it," and that Num. 21.17 has *עָנִי־לָהּ* with the same meaning. Perhaps the latter passage should also be vocalized *עָנִי*, for certainly the use of the *qal* here is surprising. But even with these two seemingly supporting instances it is doubtful whether *עָנָה* actually ever had the meaning, "to sing of; to praise by singing or chanting." It should be noted also that in both Num. 21.17 and Isa. 27.2 the object thus praised in song is linked to the verb by the preposition, 'ל', precisely as is the procedure with *לְתִנּוֹת* in Judg. 11.40. It seems therefore not at all far-fetched or improper to emend in both Num. 21.17 and Isa. 27.2 to *תָּהָה*. So also in all likelihood *לְעָנֹת* in the superscription to Ps. 88.1 should be emended to *לְתִנּוֹת*.

or of the separate parts thereof, and in its thought-relation to the remainder of the poem. Just what the specific meaning of עַז as the object of יִסְרוּ can be is not clear, while equally unclear is how this, whatever it may mean, can be established out of the mouths of little children and sucklings. The implication is that the innocent and naively truthful words of these tiny prattlers is further proof of the existence, power and majesty of the one, universal God; but against this it must be urged that suckling babes do not speak, and that the only use which they do make of their mouths would hardly attest the might and glory of the Deity. Nor would it help matters much to omit וַיִּנְקִים, as Bickell, Gunkel and Oesterley would do, chiefly for metrical reasons. Actually this portion of the v. is untranslatable and unintelligible.

The remainder of the v. is more readily translated, but is not one whit more intelligible, either in itself or in its thought-connection with the first half of the v. As Ps. 74.4 indicates,² the enemies of Yahweh were foreigners, especially those foreign nations, the immediate neighbors of Judah, who, in 486-5 B.C. conquered and devastated Jerusalem and destroyed the Temple.³ And, as Ps. 44.17 establishes, אֹיֵב וּמִתְנַקֵּם is another designation for these same nations. Certainly in the light of the use of this composite term in Ps. 44.17, there is no justification whatever for here emending וּמִתְנַקֵּם to וּמִתְקוֹמֵם, as Duhm, Staerk, Kittel, Gunkel and Oesterley would. Still less is it clear how, by establishing עַז, "strength," out of the mouths of prattling children and sucklings God could do aught to influence or affect His enemies, the foreign nations, or to put an end to "the enemy and the self-avenger." Certainly Buttenwieser's interpretation of לַמֶּעַן as an infinitive of עָנָה, "to answer", is a procedure of sheer desperation. There is no need to cite other proposed textual emendations or to list the many fanciful interpretations of the v. It is almost self-apparent that it defies every possibility of

² Cf. also I Sam. 30.26; Ps. 83.3.

³ The theme with which Ps. 74; 79; 83 and many other biblical passages deal graphically. The evidence for this far-reaching conclusion I hope to present in due time.

translation or interpretation.⁴ And this consideration, combined with the fact that in its present form the v. rejects all possible metrical arrangement, and with the even more cogent fact that the v. seems to disturb the obvious immediate thought-connection between vv. 2 and 4, suggests forcibly that the entire v. is a gloss, and that it may therefore be disregarded in the interpretation of the Ps. as a unit.

In v. 9 it may be well, with Cheyne, to interpolate כל before עבר, since the context seems to require this thought, even though there is nothing in any of the ancient versions to support it. Otherwise the text of the entire Ps. seems to be in excellent order.⁵ The text may accordingly be arranged thus:

3/3	יהוה אֲדִנִּינוּ / מה־אֲדִיר שֶׁמֶךְ בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ	■
4/4	אֲשֶׁר תִּנֶּה הוֹדֵךְ עַל־הַשָּׁמַיִם / - - - -	
4/4	כִּי־אֲרָאָה שְׁמִיךְ מַעֲשֵׂה מַצְבַּעְתֶּיךָ / יָרַח וְכּוֹכָבִים אֲשֶׁר כּוֹנְנָה	4
3/3	מֶה אָנוּשׁ כִּי־תוֹכְרֵנוּ / וּבֶן־אָדָם כִּי־תַפְקֵנוּ	■
3/3	וְתַחֲסֶרְהוּ מַעַט מֵאֱלֹהִים / וְכַבֹּד וְהָדָר תַּעֲטֶרְהוּ	6
3/3	תִּמְשִׁלֵּהוּ בַּמַּעֲשֵׂי יָדֶיךָ / כָּל שֶׁתָּה תַּחֲתִירְגִּלֵּיוֹ	7
3/3	צָנָה וְאֵלֶפִים כָּלֶם / וְגַם בַּהֲמוֹת שָׂדֵי	■
4/4	צִפּוֹר שָׁמַיִם וְדָגֵי הַיָּם / < כָּל > עֹבֵר אַרְצוֹת יָמִים	9
3/3	יהוה אֲדִנִּינוּ / מה־אֲדִיר שֶׁמֶךְ בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ	10

At the very beginning of the poem we are confronted with the difficult problem of the proper metrical arrangement of the present v. 2. It is possible perhaps to regard יהוה אֲדִנִּינוּ, the address to the Deity,⁶ as standing outside the meter. The re-

⁴ It may well be that only the first half of the v. was in itself the original gloss, and that להִשְׁבִּית אוֹיֵב וּמַתְנַקֵּם and לַמַּעַן צוֹרֵרֶיךָ are later additions of conventional and, in this connection, almost meaningless phrases.

⁵ Not only is there no need to omit שְׁמִיךְ in v. 4a as a gloss, as Duhm and Briggs would, but metrically the word is indispensable. Neither is there any justification for, following Ehrlich, changing להִשְׁבִּית to להִשְׁכִּית, nor, with Jerome, emending יָמִים in v. 9 to מִיָּמִים, as Baethgen, Staerk, Gunkel and Oesterley would. On the contrary, we shall see that יָמִים is used here with a specific and appropriate meaning which מִיָּמִים would not have.

⁶ It should be observed that יהוה, both here and in Neh. 10.30, the only other passage in the entire Bible in which יהוה אֲדִנִּינוּ occurs, must still have

mainder of the v. would then provide a metrically perfect 4/4⁷ arrangement:

מה אדיר שמך בכל־הארץ / אשר תָּנָה הוֹדךְ עַל־הַשָּׁמַיִם

Two considerations, however, suggest that this arrangement is not justifiable, and probably not even possible. The first is that certainly in v. 10, where v. 2a is repeated, the words, יהוה אֲדִינִי, stand within the meter; and we may hardly regard them as standing within the meter on one occasion and outside the meter upon the other occasion. The second consideration which prompts the rejection of this arrangement is that the transition from v. 2a to 2b is somewhat abrupt. It is by no means impossible that the antecedent of אֲשֶׁר is to be found in the suffix of שְׁמִיךְ, or rather in its antecedent, יהוה; but unquestionably this would be not a little awkward and inelegant. This very consideration has, in part, led Duhm and others to conclude that a textual corruption rests in אֲשֶׁר as well as in תָּנָה. It seems much more probable therefore that between 2a and 2b a four-beat stichos has been lost. In this lost stichos, however it may have read, undoubtedly a specific reference to the Deity in the second person, singular was made, and this was in all likelihood the immediate antecedent of אֲשֶׁר. Accordingly our rearrangement of the text above.

been pronounced *Yahweh*, and not yet '*Adonai*'; for the combination in pronunciation, '*Adonai* '*Adonenu*', would undoubtedly have been too banal and unpleasant to have been employed by a poet of the capacity of the author of this magnificent poem. It follows therefore that this Ps. must have been composed earlier than the inauguration of the custom of pronouncing יהוה '*Adonai*'; or, perhaps better, as we shall see, in view of the relatively late date of this Ps., the practice of thus pronouncing the divine name must have been inaugurated even later than this Ps. Obviously, too, in this composite term, יהוה is used no longer as the proper name of the national God of Israel, *Yahweh*, but rather with the connotation, "God", i. e. the one, universal Deity. Even without additional evidence, this one significant fact would suffice to establish conclusively that this Ps. must be later than Deutero-Isaiah, and must therefore, at the very earliest, be post-exilic; cf. Blank, "Studies in Deutero-Isaiah," *HUCA*, XV (1940), 1-46; Morgenstern, "Deutero-Isaiah's Terminology for 'Universal God,'" *JBL*, LXII (1943), 269-280.

⁷ Or perhaps, and even better, a 3-3 arrangement, thus:

מה־אדיר שמך בכל־הארץ / אשר־תָּנָה הוֹדךְ עַל־הַשָּׁמַיִם

The precise meaning of v. 2b becomes apparent from comparison with Ps. 148.13. There, too, just as here, God's majesty, which extends over both earth and heaven, is praised in ritual word and song. There those who praise it are mortal beings; but here not at all improbably, as the general thought of the poem suggests, it is the "heavenly host," צבא השמים, the angels, מלאכים, or divine attendants, העמדים,⁸ who render this homage. Not at all improbably the lost stichos made some specific reference to them. Certainly just this meaning is implicit in the reading, קנה. Close parallels to this thought may be found in Isa. 6.3⁹ and Job 38.7. The latter passage is particularly illuminating. The joyous chanting of the morning-stars and the shouting of the "sons of God", i. e., the heavenly host,¹⁰ was one of the acts attendant upon creation, as the context clearly implies. The further implication of the entire passage is that the calling into being of these heavenly creatures was one of the acts of creation, perhaps even the very first act, precisely as Jub. 2.2 and 18 likewise state, and that one of the major functions of these divine beings was to sing praises of God's majesty and power.

And inasmuch as the wide-spread tradition was that creation reached its climax upon the New Year's Day,¹¹ it follows that the implication of Job 38.7 is that it was upon the New Year's Day that these heavenly beings chanted the praises of the Lord of the universe. Likewise the chanting of the seraphim in the Temple, heard by Isaiah, was an integral part of the ritual of the New Year's Day.¹² It is therefore an altogether reasonable assumption that Ps. 8.2b likewise refers specifically to the praise of God's universe-filling majesty by the heavenly choir upon the New Year's Day, and also that some suggestion thereof

⁸ Cf. Zech. 3.7 and Morgenstern, "The Mythological Background of Ps. 82," *HUCA*, XIV (1939), 51.

⁹ Where, it should be noted, the burden of the seraphs' chant is precisely the same as here, viz. that God's glory or majesty fills the entire world, i. e., as here and in Ps. 148.13, is even above the heavens.

¹⁰ Cf. "The Mythological Background of Psalm 82", *op. cit.*, 52-59.

¹¹ Cf. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, V, 107, note 97.

¹² Cf. "The Mythological Background of Psalm 82", *op. cit.*, 40-59.

stood in the lost stichos which immediately preceded v. 2b. A further inference from all this is that Ps. 8 was in origin a hymn sung or chanted in praise of the Deity upon the New Year's Day. The direct references to the creation in the subsequent vv. strongly support this conclusion.

The mention of the heavens in v. 2b leads by a simple and natural thought-transition to v. 4, "When I behold Thy heavens, the work of Thy fingers, moon and stars which Thou hast fashioned."¹³ This consideration of the beauty and majesty of the heavens and of the moon and stars within them, and with it of the transcendent greatness and exaltation of the God who made them, prompts the Psalmist in sincere humility to ask, "What is man, that Thou art mindful of him; even mortal man, that Thou, who art eternal, givest consideration unto him?" Both terms, *אנוש* and *בן־אדם*, are deliberately and wisely chosen by the Psalmist. For, as König has pointed out, the etymological implication of *אנוש*¹⁴ is that man is a weak creature, of limited, finite power, the direct antithesis of God, the infinite One, who by His power has created the universe. Correspondingly, the term, *בן־אדם*, emphasizes the transitoriness of man, that he is a finite, mortal creature,¹⁵ again contrasted directly with God, the eternal and infinite One.

¹³ For this connotation of *כוננחה* cf. Deut. 33.6. However, it is by no means impossible that *כוננחה* here has the closely related, but none the less the distinct and specific, meaning, "Thou hast set in place" (i. e. upon a *מכון*, a "foundation" or "base") in the heavens. The reference would then be to Gen. 1.17 and Jub. 2.8, which tell that God, by a distinct, physical, creative act, set the heavenly bodies in their assigned places in the heavens, rather than to Gen. 1.14-15, which records that the heavenly bodies found their places in the heavens through no physical act of God, but entirely as the result of the divine decree or fiat. The full import of this, at first thought, finely drawn, distinction will be made clear shortly.

¹⁴ From *אנש*, "to be weak;" cf. Isa. 51.12; Ps. 90.3; 103.15; 144.3-4; Job 10.5.

¹⁵ Cf. Isa. 51.12; Ps. 90.3; 103.15; 144.4; 146.3 f.; Job 25.6. As suggested by König, something of the idea of "son of earth" (*האדמה*) is here inherent in the term, *בן־אדם*; cf. Gen. 2.7; 3.19. In view of the emphasis laid in the creation narrative of Gen. 2.5 ff. upon the assigning of names to the different creatures as the final act of the creative process (cf. vv. 19, 23), it is reasonable to suppose that in Gen. 2.7, after the account of the creation of man, a statement

Yet immediately the Psalmist finds reassurance in the thought that God has created man to be but little inferior to the angels, those subordinate heavenly beings who chant God's praises, and that, too, especially upon this New Year's Day, and who are therefore at this very moment present in the mind of the Psalmist and of those who sing his New Year's Day hymn. And even as these heavenly creatures have dominion over all the super-earthly phenomena and forces of nature,¹⁶ so man, for his part in the divine plan, has dominion over all the creatures of the earth.¹⁷ In truth man is therefore, in the divine order of the universe, but little lower than the heavenly beings and has been crowned by God with glory and dignity. But this glory and dignity of man but emphasize all the more the supremacy and almost incomprehensible transcendence of God. This is the major theme of this magnificent psalm.¹⁸ The relatively exalted

stood originally telling of the giving of the name, Adam. This statement may well have read: ויקרא אלהים אדם כי־מך־אדם יצרו; cf. Gunkel, *Commentary*, to this passage.

¹⁶ So Jub. 2.2.

¹⁷ It is noteworthy that in v. 7 the plu., מעשי ידיך, is used, while in v. 4 the sing., מעשה אצבעותיך, occurs. This is not at all accidental nor yet merely stylistic. Jub. 2.15, 23 tell that there were twenty-two separate divine acts or works in the creative process, twenty-two יהוה ידי מעשי. Of these, according to vv. 2-3, the heavens were merely one מעשה אצבעות יהוה in a literal sense. But according to vv. 11-14 the fishes and other sea-creatures, the birds, the "animals of the earth" (corresponding almost literally to the בהמות שדי of v. 4 here) and cattle constituted four separate creative works, four יהוה ידי מעשי, precisely as v. 7 here states. Once again the full implication of this passage becomes clear only when correlated with the record of creation in Jub. 2. Actually the statement of v. 7b is in itself an exaggeration, for certainly God did not place all of creation, all of the twenty-two separate and distinct categories of creation, under man's dominion. Therefore vv. 8-9 very properly proceed immediately to define by limitation the precise import of כל in v. 7b, viz. all told five of the twenty-two categories, certainly no inconsiderable number, and quite sufficient to establish man's authority and dignity beyond any challenge.

¹⁸ This consideration tends to support the arrangement of v. 2 proposed above. For it is quite clear that v. 2a states the theme of the Ps. in precisely the same manner as Ps. 23.1 states the theme of that Ps. (cf. Morgenstern, "Psalm 23", scheduled to appear in *JBL*, LXV [1946]). In fact the statement of the theme in v. 2a has all the effect of a *quod est demonstrandum*, while the

position of man in the universe according to the divine plan, is only a secondary theme.

V. 8 records man's dominion not only over the domestic animals (8a) but also over the wild animals, "the beasts of the field" (8b). Obviously וְגַם here has the extraordinary force of "and even", and therefore quite properly, even though a conjunction, has a metrical beat. Similarly v. 9aβb deals with, not one, but two classes of sea-denizens.¹⁹ Certainly עֵבֶר is not in apposition with דְּוֵי הַיָּם, for in such case the plural of the participle would probably be required. By interpolating כָּל before עֵבֶר, as suggested above, the full meaning of v. 9b is clearly established.²⁰ The דְּוֵי הַיָּם of 9aβ are the fish with fins and scales, those which, according to the prescriptions of Lev. 11.9-12; Deut. 14.9-10, may be eaten. These correspond, more or less closely, to the domestic animals of v. 8a. V. 9b deals, not so much with the sea-monsters, the תַּוִּיִּם of Gen. 1.21, the Leviathan and other similar fabulous sea-creatures, as Briggs and König maintain, for over these it could hardly be said that man has dominion, but with all the denizens of the sea other than those with fins and scales, of which Lev. 11.10-12 speaks so graphically. It is noteworthy that Jub. 2.11 speaks of "everything that moves in the waters"²¹ in addition to the sea-monsters and the fish. We are beginning to see that there is a definite relationship between the accounts of creation in Jub. 2 and Ps. 8. Accordingly in the detailed listing of the three classes of sea-creatures in Jub. 2.11 we may find a strong confirmation both of this interpretation of Ps. 8.9aβb and also of the proposed interpolation of כָּל before עֵבֶר. It should be noted too that יָמִים, as used here, is not at all a synonym of הַיָּם in v. 9a, and therefore there is no need to emend it, with Jerome, to יָמִים.²² Rather יָמִים is used here with a connotation larger even than that of הַיָּם, to designate

repetition of the very same words in v. 10 at the end of the Ps. has, in turn, the cogent and artistic effect of a *quod est demonstratum*.

¹⁹ I. e. two distinct יְדֵי יְהוָה; cf. above, note 17.

²⁰ If כָּל be not interpolated, then it would be necessary to at least emend עֵבֶר וְגַם; cf. וְדְוֵי הַיָּם and וְאֵלֶּפִים in v. 8.

²¹ And so apparently had before it as its pattern כָּל-עֵבֶר, just as here.

²² And this, too, despite the reading of Jub. 2.11.

all the waters under the heavens, precisely as defined in Gen. 1.10, the Ocean in other words.²³

So much then for the immediate meaning of the Ps.

However, one very important matter still remains to be considered, viz. the relationship of this Ps. to the creation story in Gen. 1.1-2.4. Scholars have usually commented upon this and freely acknowledge that such relationship exists, and that, too, in close degree. But the precise nature, extent and import of this relationship have never been determined.

In a study entitled "The Sources of the Creation-Story—Genesis 1:1-2:4"²⁴ I showed that the creation story, regularly assigned to P, and usually held by biblical scholars to consist of one single literary stratum, is actually a composite piece of writing, consisting of two main strata. The major stratum of the narrative, which is also the older in literary form, tells of the creation of the universe by the word of God alone, by divine fiat, and entirely without physical action or procedure on the part of the Deity. I have accordingly designated this as the "fiat" version of the creation story. It may be more convenient to refer to it henceforth as "Creation A."

But it is very significant that quite a good many vv. within the narrative represent the Deity as bringing things into being, not by the mere utterance of His divine word, but by actual physical labor, by "making" them, as the term is. Coupled with this is the realization of the fact that within Creation A, the fiat narrative, the Sabbath motif, which represents God as resting or desisting upon the seventh day from the work which He had performed upon the first six days, would have no meaning whatever. Only in the second version of the Creation story, that which represents God as working and making things with His hands, as it were, i. e. in carrying out the creative process through physical labor, with the natural implication that He wearied Himself in so doing,²⁵ has the Sabbath motif any significance

²³ Cf. also Deut. 33.19; Ezek. 27.4, 25, 26, 27; 28.2, 8; Jon. 2.4; Ps. 24.2; 46.3 and *passim*.

²⁴ Published in *AJSL*, XXXVI (1920), 169-212; cf. also M. Lambert, "A Study of the First Chapter of Genesis," *HUCA*, I (1924), 3-12.

²⁵ Cf. Ex. 31.17b, which tells, in obvious dependence upon Creation B,

whatever. I have accordingly labeled this second version the "Sabbath" version. Henceforth it will be convenient to refer to it as "Creation B."²⁶

I pointed out likewise that the enumeration of the days of the creative process, the six days of God's labor and the seventh day of abstention from labor and rest can have no import whatever and no place in Creation A, but that they have a rich import and an indispensable place in Creation B. For their obvious purpose is to say that even as God labored at His work of creation for six days and then desisted from His labor and rested upon the seventh day, just so man, the supreme creature of God's universe, who has dominion over the earth and all its creatures, should labor for six days and then, like God, should desist from labor and rest upon the seventh day, the day which God Himself sanctified.

A second implication is that the sanctity of the seventh day is observed by man's resting upon it, even as God rested. A third implication seems to be that this very procedure of desisting from work and resting upon this seventh day is not only a proper observance of the sanctity of this day, but is also in itself an act of homage and worship of God, and even the supreme homage and worship, that which God demands above all else.

And a final implication seems to be that, inasmuch as God instituted the Sabbath as a day of rest as the crowning act of creation, and immediately following the creation of man, but before the human race had begun to propagate itself and to develop into different nations and peoples, it was God's intention that the Sabbath be kept by all peoples, and not merely by Israel alone, that its observance be the basic and universal act

that the Deity "made the heaven and the earth for six days, but upon the seventh day He abstained (or "rested") and refreshed Himself." The obvious implication is, of course, that He had wearied Himself with the physical labor of creation during these six days.

²⁶ To Creation A I have assigned Gen. 1.3, 4b, 5a, 6, 7b, 8a, 9, 10a, 11a α b, 14a α , 15b, 20a α , 22ab α , 24a α b, 26a α , 28a; 2.1, plus certain clauses and phrases which, quite naturally, were lost in the editorial process. Creation B consisted of all the remaining portions of 1.1-2.4 minus certain minor editorial insertions. It is obvious that Creation B, and not Creation A, constitutes the major part of the creation narrative in its present form.

of worship of Him, the one universal God, by all men, all equally His creatures. The unqualifiedly universalistic background and import of Creation B are unmistakable.

I indicated still further that Creation A, having no count and limitation of days, told of the creation by divine fiat in eight, or perhaps even in ten, successive steps. But Creation B, under compulsion to contain the entire creative process in six days, found it necessary to assign two acts of creation to each of two days, the third and the sixth, while, more normally, assigning only one act of creation to each of the remaining four days. It is evident from this that Creation B was not an independent narrative and piece of writing in itself, originally quite distinct from, and perhaps even older than, Creation A and then integrated with Creation A by an editorial process, but that rather Creation B was secondary to Creation A, a reinterpretation and expansion of it, and this too with a definite and well-conceived purpose, viz. to establish the sanctity of the Sabbath and the manner and imperativeness of its observance.

But even more than this; since Creation B is obviously secondary to Creation A, and since Creation A is recognized as the work of Priestly writers, and therefore definitely as later than Ezra,²⁷ and since it is likewise firmly established, by a wealth of evidence, that Sabbath observance was an institution in Israel much older than this, it follows that Creation B did not seek to inaugurate the observance of the Sabbath, but only to give to it a new import, or at least to support it in an import which, if not actually new, then had not yet been formally approved and accepted in the official and authoritative circles of the established Judaism of the fifth century B.C. This new import here given to the Sabbath and to the manner of its observance must have been that of its universalistic character, that it was intended by God to be observed not by Jews alone, but by all mankind, and likewise that its basic, and perhaps only essential, observance consisted merely in complete abstention from work and resting, in imitation of the procedure of God Himself at creation. Neither sacrifice nor any other cult-act in the Temple was necessary for

²⁷ More specifically, as hardly earlier than 400 B.C.

proper Sabbath observance in a manner to satisfy the Deity and to fulfill His command, imposed by Him upon all mankind already at creation. This contrasts specifically with the program of Sabbath worship by particular sacrifices within the Temple, as recorded in Lev. 23.38; Num. 28.9-10; Ezek. 45.17; 46.3-5; I Chron. 23.31; II Chron. 2.3; 8.13; 31.3. It accords fully with the principle of Sabbath observance recorded in Ex. 16.22-27; 20.11; 31.17b. Likewise in its implication that the Sabbath was to be observed, not merely by Israel, but also by all mankind, it has some affinities with Isa. 56.6b,²⁸ and perhaps also, in its implication that abstention from labor was the only essential act of Sabbath worship, with Isa. 58.13 f., a very late passage.

This concept of the Sabbath as an institution intended by God for universal observance, and with its essential observance consisting, not in sacrifice nor Temple ritual, but only, or at least primarily, in abstention from work in imitation of the Deity's own procedure, can scarcely have been of priestly origin and can scarcely have enjoyed complete priestly approval. It seems to be animated by the spirit of the synagogue rather than of the Temple. Likewise its basic universalism voices a principle of Judaism far removed from the narrow nationalism and particularism of Ezra and his priestly followers. Immediately it raises the question: Who might its authors have been?

This question we cannot answer with certainty at the present stage of biblical scholarship. However, it is altogether probable that an adequate answer may be forthcoming in time, when we shall have learned more about religious developments in Judaism in the fourth and third centuries B.C.

But this much is perfectly clear, that Ps. 8 was produced in the same circle as Creation B. All its contacts are with this secondary version of the creation story. In the entire psalm there is not the slightest reference to or hint at the theory or tradition of Creation A, creation by divine fiat. The heavens are the work of the fingers of God; the moon and stars He Himself has formed. All the creatures of earth are His handiwork. Even man himself He has fashioned, to be but little inferior to

²⁸ Undoubtedly a late interpolation into the original text.

the heavenly beings, with whom, according to Gen. 1.26, He took counsel concerning the creation of man, and in whose image, as well as in that of God Himself, man was created. And to man He has given dominion over all other creatures of earth. In Ps. 8 it is the entire universe, which God has, not called into being by His divine word, but fashioned by His own labor with His hands, which attests to His supreme power and glory. The relationship of Ps. 8 to Creation B is unmistakable.

It may be argued, however, that even while this relationship cannot be denied, none the less it is possible that the Creation B narrative had been current in Israel long before it was committed to its present written form, in dependence upon Creation A, and that the relationship of Ps. 8 may be with the popular tradition basic to Creation B rather than to Creation B in its present literary form. It must be granted that this theory is possible, even though the relationship to Creation B in its present literary form seems very close and the agreement of Ps. 8 with it to be perfect.

However, it must be borne in mind that Ps. 8 has close affinities, not only with Creation B, but also, as we have already indicated, with the version of the creation narrative recorded in Jub. 2. And certainly Jub. 2 is dependent, not upon any oral tradition, but directly upon Creation B in its literary form.²⁹ Moreover, the relationship of Ps. 8 to Jub. 2 seems not to be merely through Creation B, in that both Ps. 8 and Jub. 2 have direct contacts with Creation B, but rather that Ps. 8 had itself direct contacts with Jub. 2, as, for example, as pointed out above, in the comparison of the dignity of man, the ruler of all earthly creatures with that of the heavenly beings, who have dominion over all the forces and phenomena of nature, likewise in the motive of the chanting of God's praise by these heavenly beings,³⁰ and also in the number of God's creative acts and the resultant categories of His creatures.

²⁹ Even though it departs from the latter in what seems to be one of its major implications, viz. that the Sabbath was intended by God to be observed by all men, and represents Sabbath observance as restricted to Israel alone (v. 31).

³⁰ Jub. 2.3 records that already at the close of the first day of creation the angels lauded God for His creative works upon that day.

This direct contact of Ps. 8 with Jub. 2 suggests that Ps. 8 cannot have been composed at too early a date, for the ideas which found such vivid expression in it were still current in active and dynamic form at the time of the composition of Jub. 2. This, in turn, suggests that the relationship of Ps. 8 is with Creation B in its present literary form, and not with the tradition which may have been antecedent to this. All this evidence points unmistakably to the conclusion that Ps. 8 must have been composed at a relatively late date, probably at some time within the fourth century B.C., and not impossibly even early within the third century B.C.³¹

II

PSALM 19A

Of modern commentators apparently only Cheyne and Ehrlich regard the whole of Ps. 19 as a literary unit. All other scholars seem to agree that vv. 2-7 and 8-15 originally constituted two completely independent poems, which in some indeterminate

³¹ Further evidence of a relatively late date for this Ps. may be found in the fact that v. 1 certainly records a late, conventional expression of the doctrine of "for His name's sake" (cf. Morgenstern, "Psalm 48", *HUCA*, XVI [1941], 26-38). That this expression of this doctrine is relatively late is indicated by the far-reaching departure of the thought here voiced from the doctrine in its original form and with its original purpose. Here, apparently, the universality of God and His world-dominion are established and generally admitted throughout the universe, whereas in the doctrine in its original form these were still to be proved. Moreover, in the original form of the doctrine it was God's restoration of Judah to its native land and His discipline of the hostile nations which were to establish this truth, while here it is the concept of God as the sole creator of the majestic universe which is to furnish this proof.

Cheyne has very properly correlated the thought of v. 5 with Ps. 144.3 and Job 7.17. Ps. 144.3-4 is certainly not an integral part of that Ps., but an interpolation. Not only has it no thought-connection with the remainder of the Ps. but it also interrupts the natural sequence of thought from v. 2 to v. 5. The passage has manifest affinities in thought and language with Eccles. and certainly cannot be earlier than the Greek period. Job 7.17 as well as Ps. 8.5 are in all probability somewhat older; but they can scarcely be much older.

Both of these considerations corroborate our assigning Ps. 8 to some time in the fourth century B.C.

way came to be united in the Psalter as a single poem. The two poems have absolutely nothing in common in thought-content and little, if anything, in form. That they were originally two separate and totally unrelated poems can not be gainsaid. For convenience we may speak of them as Psalm 19A and Psalm 19B. In this present study our interest is only in Ps. 19A.

The text is in almost perfect order. Only four textual emendations, each of quite minor range, are necessary. In v. 5a for קום we should probably read with Capellus, followed by Duhm, Briggs and Oesterley, קולם. For יבקצה in the same v. we should probably follow Budde, Gunkel and Oesterley in reading ולקצה. For יצא in v. 6a, the marked parallelism with ישיש prompts us to read, again with Budde, Gunkel and Oesterley, יצא.³² And finally in v. 6b it seems well to read, with G and S, for ארחו, ארחו.³³

The first question to be considered is whether, with these few, minor textual emendations, vv. 2-7 constitute an original literary unit. Olshausen, Bickell, Wellhausen, Duhm, Baethgen and Briggs regard v. 4 as a gloss which contradicts directly the thought of v. 3. Bertholet regards only 4b as a gloss. Otherwise all commentators hold, without any qualification, that Ps. 19A is a literary unit, the work of one single author. Duhm and Bertholet hold that something, probably only a single stichos, has been lost before v. 5b, something which would, of course, offer a proper parallelism to the thought of that stichos. Strangely enough, Kittel holds that the lost stichos followed, rather than preceded, v. 5b.

That v. 5b does not follow smoothly and logically upon 5a cannot be denied. And, as the text stands now, there is no proper

³² The imperfect of continuous or frequentative action.

³³ The following proposed emendations do not commend themselves:

- 4 For דבר מבלי, דברים בלי (Ehrlich)
- 5 " קיאם, קום (Gunkel)
- " שם, שם (Ewald, Graetz, Duhm, Gunkel)
- " בתהום, בהם (Duhm, Kittel)
- בים (Graetz, Staerk, Kittel, Gunkel, Oesterley)
- כמו (Perles)
- 7 " ער, ער (G, Jerome, Olshausen, Bertholet, Budde, Gunkel, Oesterley)

antecedent for the pronominal suffix of **בהם** in v. 5b. With the present text the antecedents, justifying the third plural pronominal suffix, would be **יום** and **לילה**; but this, of course, would be meaningless. Unless we assume, with Duhm and Bertholet, that a stichos has been lost before 5b, a stichos which contained some word or thought which would function properly as the antecedent of the suffix of **בהם**, we have no alternative but to regard **השמים** and **הרקיע** of v. 2 as the real antecedents.³⁴ And even with the assumption of the loss of such a stichos, none the less the antecedent of the suffix of **בהם** must have been some word or words corresponding to **השמים** and **הרקיע**; for, as we shall see, the tent of the sun, in which, so the implication is, he passes the night, and from which he emerges at dawn like a bridegroom, was conceived as located in the heavens at the far eastern horizon.

But granting this, and the evidence still to be adduced will establish this incontestably, then it follows with almost complete certainty that not merely v. 4, but the whole of vv. 3-5a must be an intrusion here. Careful examination confirms this conclusion. V. 2 affirms that the heavens declare the glory of 'El³⁵ and the firmament tells of his handiwork. There is here no necessary implication of actual speech, of words uttered vocally by the heavens and the firmament. The v. seems to say no more than that the majesty and beauty of the heavens, the firmament with the orbs of light suspended in it,³⁶ attest to or give expression of the glory of 'El and of the character of His creative handiwork. On the other hand, in v. 3 it is no longer heaven and firmament which are the speakers, but day and night. One day speaks to the next day and one night makes revelation to its succeeding

³⁴ It was largely because of this seeming difficulty in finding a proper antecedent, suitably placed in reasonable proximity to **בהם**, that the three different emendations of the word listed in note 33 were proposed. But, as we shall soon see, not only is no emendation of **בהם** necessary or justifiable, but all three of these emendations misunderstand and misinterpret the real import of the passage and assume something, viz. the nightly return of the sun through the subterranean ocean from the place of his setting in the west to the place of his rising in the east, for which there is no basis whatever.

³⁵ For "El" rather than "God" see below, p. 515.

³⁶ Gen. I 14-18.

night; in other words, v. 3 declares that there is an uninterrupted and endless process of speech and revelation.

Careful examination reveals, moreover, that not only does v. 4 not necessarily contradict v. 3, as the above-cited scholars have maintained, but also that there is a definite unity of both thought and language in vv. 3b-5. **אמר** is repeated in v. 4 after its initial occurrence in v. 3; and if our emendation of **קום** in v. 5a be correct, then **קול**, too, occurs twice, in both vv. 4 and 5a. The **דברים** of v. 4 is paralleled by **מליהם** of v. 5a.

Various scholars have called attention to the Aramaisms in Ps. 19A, and from this have inferred that the Ps. must have been composed at a relatively late date, and certainly within the post-exilic period. But it is significant that, without a single exception, these Aramaisms³⁷ occur only in vv. 3-5a.

Who was the first scholar to suggest that in these vv. we have a reference to the myth of the music of the spheres, an idea which became integral in Pythagorean philosophy, I have not been able to ascertain. This hypothesis was definitely rejected by Delitzsch, on the ground that there is no evidence whatever that this idea was ever current in Semitic thought and literature. In this he has been followed by Kittel, König and Buttenwieser. Gunkel, on the other hand, following Boll,³⁸ affirms strongly that this myth of the music of the spheres is definitely referred to here. This myth told of the heavenly spheres chanting God's praises unendingly and throughout the entire universe, but in sounds of such shrill sweetness that their tones were imperceptible to human ear. Precisely this is the thought expressed here, without omission of a single essential detail. True, here it is not the heavenly spheres, but rather day and night, which voice God's praises; but the distinction is very slight. And in this connection it is impossible not to compare the singing of the morning-stars together in praise of God's creative power.³⁹ We may well follow Gunkel in assuming that the myth of the music of the spheres is definitely recorded in

³⁷ Actually only two, **יחוד** and **מליהם**.

³⁸ *Aus der Offenbarung Johannis*, 19.

³⁹ Job. 38.7, see above, p. 497.

vv. 3-5a. But with this assumption, it follows of necessity that vv. 3-5a have no essential connection with the remainder of Ps. 19A, vv. 2, 5b-7, that they constitute an interpolation into the original poem, made, as the Aramaisms indicate, at a relatively late date.

These vv. may be arranged as three distichs thus:

4/4	יום ליום יביע אמר / ולילה ללילה יחזה דעת
4/3	אין אמר ואין דברים / בלי נשמע ⁴⁰ קולם
3/3	בכל-הארץ יצא קולם / ולקצה חבל מליהם

Day gusheth forth⁴¹ speech unto day
 And night discloseth knowledge unto night.
 No speech, no words,
 Unheard their voice;
 Throughout the world goeth forth their sound,
 Even unto the ends of the universe their words.

With vv. 3-5a thus removed, the interpretation of the remainder of Ps. 19A is simplified greatly. The approach to this task must be from v. 7. The full meaning of this v. becomes clear only when it is compared with I Enoch 72. That chapter gives a detailed account of the course of the sun during the entire year. It tells of six gates at the eastern edge of heaven through each of which the sun comes forth during successive months. It journeys in its chariot, driven by the wind, across the heaven from east to west during the day, until it reaches the edge of heaven, the horizon, in the far west. There it turns in its course and journeys back to its daily starting-point by way of the north, i. e. manifestly, along the circumference of the heaven,⁴² the horizon. Precisely this is what v. 7a here records:

⁴⁰ Vocalize נשמע, as a participle. בלי prefixed to a participle has the meaning of the English prefix, "un-"; cf. II Sam. 1.21; Hos. 7.8; therefore בלי-נשמע, "unheard."

⁴¹ From נבע, "to gush or bubble forth" as a fountain or stream; cf. Prov. 18.4; Eccles. 12.6; Isa. 35.7; 49.10.

⁴² חנו השמים, I Enoch 72.4; 73.2; 78.5; cf. the biblical חנו הארץ, Isa. 40.22; Prov. 8.27, and especially Job 22.14, which tells that 'El walks or journeys on the חנו הארץ. Precisely the same picture is unfolded in I Esdras 4.34: "Swift is the sun in (its) course, because it turns about in the circle of heaven and runs back again to its place in one day." Here we have the four significant

At the (one) end of the heavens is his (place of) going
forth,⁴³
And his turning about⁴⁴ is above⁴⁵ their (other)
end.⁴⁶

Moreover, v. 6 here speaks of the sun's course, אָרְחוֹ, precisely as do I Enoch 73.33, 34 and I Esdras 4.34, and even of the sun "running" his course, as does I Enoch 73.37. The close thought-relationship of vv. 6b-7 with I Enoch 73 and I Esdras 4.34 is unmistakable. This, in turn, makes clear the full import of vv. 5b-7.

motifs, the swiftness of the sun (cf. v. 6 here), its course (אָרְחוֹ here), its turning about (תְּקִיפָתוֹ here) along the חוּג הַשָּׁמַיִם, and its hastening back to its daily starting point. That I Esdras 4.34 is dependent upon Ps. 19.6-7 is, as Delitzsch has suggested, almost self-evident.

⁴³ That מוֹצֵאוֹ means "the place of his going forth" rather than "the act of his going forth" is certain. Obviously therefore מִקְצֵה הַשָּׁמַיִם must be translated "at the edge of the heavens" rather than "from the edge." True, the thought, "at the edge" is usually expressed by בְּקֵצָה; but that מִקְצֵה, especially when, as here, associated with a word implying motion, and particularly the precise spot where that motion originates, may also be translated "at the edge" is evidenced by Num. 34.3; Josh. 15.1, 2, 5; 18.15; Isa. 5.26; 13.5; 42.10; Ps. 61.3 (where the meaning is certainly not "From the edge of the world I call unto Thee", but rather "Unto Thee even at the edge of the world I call." The implication can hardly be that it is the Psalmist who is at the edge of the world.)

⁴⁴ Significantly neither בָּאוֹ, "his setting", nor מְבוֹאוֹ, "the place of his setting," but rather תְּקִיפָתוֹ, "his turning about," i. e. to return along the horizon to the place of sunrise.

⁴⁵ This is clearly the thought here. Therefore it is best to retain עַל here and not emend to עַד (see above, note 33). The passage says that the precise spot where the sun turns about in order to begin his journey back to the starting-point of his daily course is above the western edge of the heavens, the place where the heavens actually end.

⁴⁶ This identity of thought here with the account of the course of the sun in I Enoch 73, and especially the use of the term, תְּקִיפָה here, literally "the turning about," a complete synonym of תְּשׁוּבָה, from שׁוּב, the terms used in the original of I Enoch 73.11, 13, 15, 21, 23, 25, 29, 31, 35 and also in I Esdras 4.34, is a cogent reason for retaining בָּהֶם in v. 5b and not emending it to some term meaning "ocean." (see above, note 33). Moreover, it takes considerable straining of the imagination, even in connection with mythology, to picture a tent for the sun located in the ocean beneath the waters; a cave, perhaps, but a tent, never.

Vv. 5b-6 tell that the sun has a tent at the far eastern edge of the heavens, in which, impliedly, he passes the night after his return along the northern horizon from running his course during the day. From this he comes forth the next morning in all his strength and beauty, like a bridegroom; and like a mighty warrior, swift of foot,⁴⁷ he rejoices to run his daily course. חפה is used here patently as a synonym of אהל immediately preceding. It is true that in Joel 2.16 חפה does designate the marriage-tent, but in Isa. 4.5 it seems to connote no more than an ordinary tent as a covering or protection, and such may well be its use here. There is accordingly no necessity to assume here, as does Gunkel, a latent myth of the marriage of the sun,⁴⁸ and this, too, even despite the term, חתן, here. כחתן is used here in precisely the same manner as כנביר, as the *tertia comparationis* of a simile; like a swift-footed warrior the sun rejoices to run his course, and, in quite the same manner, the sun, beautiful like a bridegroom, comes forth from his tent. It is not impossible that the mythical element which Gunkel has posited may be implicit here; but it is by no means necessary or certain.

Finally, it should be noted that the almost invariable translation of וּמִחֲמֹו in v. 7, "from his heat," beginning with all the ancient versions and continued by all commentators except König, cannot reflect the actual meaning of the passage. König translates the word "vor seinem Lichtstrahl", without, however, justifying this rendering otherwise than by some rather far-fetched dialectic. But it should be noted that in biblical literature⁴⁹ and also in Sir. 43.2 the חמה is always a source of light, never of heat; therefore here "from his light."⁵⁰ As Briggs, in commenting upon the passage, has remarked quite appropriately,

⁴⁷ As we have seen, I Esdras 4.34 likewise makes mention of the swiftness of the sun.

⁴⁸ Gunkel cites the Akkadian mythological element, of the goddess, Aya, as the wife of Shamash.

⁴⁹ Isa. 24.23; 30.26 (bis); Job 30.28; Cant. 6.10.

⁵⁰ With this interpretation of חֲמֹו cf. the name of the ruler of Beirut cited from the Amarna literature by Lewy ("The Old West Semitic Sun God Ḥammu," *HUCA*, XVIII [1944], 435), *Am-mu-ni-ra* (variant, *Ḥa-mu-ni-ri*), "Ammu is the light."

to be hidden from the light of the sun rather than from his heat is a much more natural concept.

We may accordingly reconstruct what seems now, after the removal of vv. 3-5a, to be the nucleus of Ps. 19A thus:

4/4	הַשָּׁמַיִם מְסַפְּרִים כְּבוֹד אֱלֹ / וּמַעֲשֵׂה יָדָיו מְגִיד הַרְקִיעַ	■
4/4	לְשִׁמְשׁ שֶׁם אֱהֵל בָּהֶם / - - - - - ^{5x}	5b
4/4	וְהוּא כִּתְחַן יֵצֵא מִחִפְתּוֹ / יֵשִׁישׁ כְּנוֹבֵר לְרוֹץ אֲרָחוֹ	6
3/3/3	מִקְצֵה הַשָּׁמַיִם מוֹצֵאוֹ / וְחִקּוּפּוֹ עַל-קִצּוֹתָם ⁵² / וְאֵין נֹסֵתֵר מִחִמָּתּוֹ	7

The heavens recount the glory of 'El,
And the work of His hands the firmament relates.

-----,
For the sun has he set a tent in them.
And he, like a bridegroom, cometh forth from his tent,
Rejoices, like a warrior, to run his course.
At the end of the heavens is the place of his coming
forth,
And his turning about is above their (other)
end,
And naught is hid from his light.

The fact that v. 7 is a tristich, rather than a distich, probably indicates that it was the end of the original poem, or, if not this, then at least the end of a definite section thereof.⁵³

⁵¹ With the omission of vv. 3-5a as an interpolation, the suggestion of Duhm and Bertholet that a stichos has been lost before v. 5b becomes doubly probable; for, as is clear from the above textual arrangement, it is essential to the distich of which 5b is the second stichos. On the one hand, it must have contained a specific reference to הַשָּׁמַיִם, the proper antecedent of the pronominal suffix in בָּהֶם, and, on the other hand, it must have offered a fitting thought-parallelism to 5b. In all likelihood, too, it consisted of four beats, thus constituting a 4-3 distich, although it is by no means impossible that it may have consisted of only three beats, with a resultant 3/3 distich. More than this cannot be determined about it.

⁵² עַל-קִצּוֹתָם must, of course, be read as two beats.

⁵³ In my projected commentary upon the reconstructed text of the address of Amos (*Amos Studies, II*) I will show that a tristich was a favorite metrical device for ending a section or paragraph, which presented a single, well unified thought. The climactic effect of such a tristich is quickly felt. The uniformity of the three preceding distichs here points definitely to unity of thought and authorship.

But here the question arises, whether even this short poem, consisting of only four vv., is itself a unit. The question cannot be answered with certainty, because of the complete lack of decisive evidence. In fact what evidence there is suffices only to justify the question, but not at all to dispose of it.

It is self-evident that the theme of vv. 2 and 5b, plus the missing stichos immediately preceding, is the praise of the power of 'El as manifested by the creation and operation of the heavens and of the sun within it. On the other hand, the theme of vv. 6-7 is the daily course of the sun. Moreover, it can scarcely be denied that the transition of thought from v. 5b to vv. 6-7, is implemented awkwardly and, from a literary standpoint, quite inelegantly, by וְהוּא. Actually the word seems to have all the earmarks of editorial handiwork. This is the sum total of the evidence suggesting a possible fusion of two originally distinct sources. And, as has been said, it is not decisive; for the true implication of vv. 6-7 may well be that the regular, unflinching procedure of the sun upon his daily, unswerving course is as much a manifestation of the power and majesty of 'El as are the heavens themselves. The question must be allowed to rest here. Fortunately its solution is not vital to the understanding of the Ps.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ There is no need nor compelling reason for regarding vv. 6-7 as a fragment of an ancient hymn to the sun, as Briggs, Staerk, Kittel and Gunkel suggest. Of course this is not at all impossible. But all in all there seems no more justification for this hypothesis than there would be for the parallel hypothesis that vv. 2 and 5b are, in turn, a fragment of an ancient hymn to the heavens. Moreover, the very close relationship of vv. 6-7 to I Enoch 72 must not be lost sight of; and certainly I Enoch 72 is anything but a hymn to the sun.

It might be added that Duhm's conjecture, that this poem is but a fragment of an original poem of considerable length, dealing with the manifestation of 'El's power and glory in the various phenomena of nature, and that the section of the poem immediately following this dealt with the moon, particularly in its role as a wanderer, is not without a certain measure of reasonableness. Actually, however, it represents no more than how Duhm would have continued a poem which he felt to be incomplete, had he been the author.

That the little poem does seem to be only a fragment of a longer and

It is noteworthy that the name, Yahweh, does not occur a single time in this poem. Rather, the heavens and the sun are here represented as the creation of 'El. That in biblical literature 'El was, by a syncretistic process, identified with Yahweh is, of course, well established. But that he was in the earliest stages of Semitic religious evolution a deity quite distinct from Yahweh and having his own divine personality and functions is equally certain.⁵⁵ Inasmuch as there is in this entire poem not the slightest intimation of Yahweh, it is impossible not to infer that at first this poem, or at least its source or pattern, was entirely non-Yahwistic, and dealt only with 'El as the supreme world-deity. And granting this, the next natural inference is that the poem was ultimately of non-Israelite origin. This conclusion, coupled with the figure of 'El and the role played by him, suggests, in turn, a Phoenician source for the poem; and back of this may well lie North-Semitic, and perhaps more specifically, Ugaritic antecedents.⁵⁶

Certainly the entire poem, both vv. 2 plus 5b and vv. 6-7, is decidedly mythological in character.⁵⁷ The mythological note and spirit run through its every part, and, as has been indicated, find positive expression even in the interpolated section,

fuller poem cannot be gainsaid, for apparently, despite the closing tristich, it breaks off rather abruptly without by any means exhausting the potentialities of its theme.

⁵⁵ Cf. Morgenstern, "The Divine Triad in Biblical Mythology," *JBL*, LXIV (1945), 15-37.

⁵⁶ It is noteworthy in this connection that in Sanchuniaton 'El does not play the role of the divine creator of the universe. In Ugaritic mythological literature, however, 'El plays a much more varied and complex role, in which creative functions are by no means foreign to him.

⁵⁷ Note that in vv. 6-7 and even in 5b also the sun is represented, in characteristic mythological manner, as a personalized being and perhaps, in the non-Israelite antecedent of this poem, even as a deity subordinate to 'El, who has his tent, in which he passes the night, who comes forth from there at dawn like a bridegroom, and like a warrior runs his course, impliedly of his own volition and through his own power. Contrast with this the distinctly non-mythological picture in I Enoch 72, where the sun, though still in his chariot, is driven by the wind and is guided on his course, apparently by an angel, and operates quite impersonally and mechanically in obedience to God's established natural law.

vv. 3-5a. In this respect Ps. 19A differs fundamentally from Ps. 8, in which the mythological element is almost totally lacking.⁵⁸

The contacts of Ps. 19A with the creation tradition are much more limited than those of Ps. 8. Here merely the fact that the universe is the work of the hands of 'El is reminiscent of the creation story in Gen. 1; and it is manifest, too, that its contact is with Creation B rather than Creation A. The tent of the sun in the heavens is likewise the work of 'El, but, of course, to this there is no parallel whatever in Gen. 1. What few elements there are of the creation narrative in Ps. 19A suggest that we have here a reflection of the Creation B narrative in a relatively early stage of its development, and considerably earlier than the actual composition of the Creation B stratum of Gen. 1, and therefore likewise considerably earlier than Ps. 8.⁵⁹

There is absolutely nothing in Ps. 19A to indicate pre-exilic composition.⁶⁰ Rather the specific mention of 'El as the creator-god and the various other mythological elements suggest composition in the early post-exilic period, in the period, 516-485 B.C.,⁶¹ when the first proselyte movement was current in Judaism, and proselytes from the north, from Phoenicia and the district of Mt. Hermon in particular, were bringing with them many elements of North Semitic religion and mythology and thereby were greatly enriching Jewish culture, literature and religion by various elements of North Semitic religion and mythology.

⁵⁸ The only thing in Ps. 8 which even borders upon mythology is the reference to the heavenly beings who sing God's praise and to whom man is but little inferior. But even they seemingly have no power nor function other than as the personal attendants of the Deity.

⁵⁹ Altogether contrary to the opinion of Briggs, Bertholet and Buttenwieser.

⁶⁰ As Kittel, Barnes, Buttenwieser and Oesterley date it.

⁶¹ This is in general agreement with Briggs and Bertholet, who assign the Ps. to the Babylonian-Persian period. It refutes the dating of Kittel and Barnes, who ascribed the Ps. to a very early period, even to the age of David and Solomon, and likewise the dating of Baethgen, who held the Ps. to be later than Job, and that of Duhm who regarded the Ps. as later than and dependent upon Gen. 1, and so assigned it to a relatively late date.

III

THE CREATION MOTIF IN THE PSALMS

That the creation story is referred to in many of the Psalms is, of course, well known. This matter was treated authoritatively by Gunkel over a half century ago.⁶² He reached the conclusion, perfectly natural in his day, that the biblical creation narrative in practically all its essential elements, and particularly those of mythological character, was directly dependent upon the then only comparatively recently discovered Babylonian creation myth. These conclusions he reproduced in his well-known commentary on Genesis.⁶³ But Gunkel regarded the creation narrative in Gen. 1.1–2.4 as a literary unit, and failed completely to sense and to distinguish between the two important strata, Creation A and B. During the last twenty years, too, much of ancient North Semitic mythology has become known through the deciphering of the Ras Shamra literature and through the interpretation of Sanchuniathon by various scholars, particularly Eissfeldt.⁶⁴ It is therefore timely to consider, in connection with this exposition of Ps. 8 and 19A the relation of the numerous references to the basic biblical creation narrative in the Psalms and in other closely related writings, and especially whether their relationship is to Creation A or Creation B, and what may be the significance of this.

It is surprising, and in fact almost startling, to discover that in only two passages of the entire Book of Psalms is there any discernible reference to Creation A. Ps. 33.6–9 reads:

By the word of God were the heavens made,
And by the breath of His mouth all their host.
He collecteth the waters of the sea like a (water)-bag;⁶⁵
He putteth⁶⁶ the deeps in store-houses.

⁶² *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit*, 1894.

⁶³ In the Nowack *Hand-Kommentar* series.

⁶⁴ "Ras Shamra und Sanchunjathon", *Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte des Altertums*, IV (1934).

⁶⁵ Reading with all the ancient versions, כִּנְדָר for כִּנְדָר of MT.

⁶⁶ The use of the two participles, כִּנְדָר and נִתָּן, may perhaps point to a relatively late date for this Ps.

Let all the earth fear God;
 Let all the inhabitants of the world stand in awe
 of Him;
 For He spoke, and it came to be,
 He gave command, and it existed.⁶⁷

And Ps. 148.5-6, a passage which really seems to change the form and disturb the thought-sequence of that Ps., and may therefore well be a marginal gloss which eventually crept into the text, reads:

Let them praise the name of God,
 For He⁶⁸ commanded, and they were created;
 And He caused them to exist⁶⁷ forever and ever;
 A statute He set which may not be transgressed.

In these two passages the reference to Creation A, creation by "fiat", is unmistakable.

But outside of these two passages, both obviously directly dependent upon, and so of composition later than, the older stratum of Gen. 1.1-2.4, all references in the Psalms to the creation narrative are without exception to Creation B. Most of these passages⁶⁹ merely picture God as the Creator of the entire universe and of its constituent parts. This creation process is described by the verbs עשה, יצר, יסד, ברא, or some comparable verb. Invariably God is described as performing physical action of some kind in discharging the creative act.

Ps. 136.2-9 reads as follows:⁷⁰

Give praise to the God of gods;
 Give praise to the Lord of lords;

⁶⁷ For עמד, "to stand; to exist", cf. Ps. 148.6 and Ex. 21.21, and Morgenstern, "The Book of the Covenant, II," *HUCA*, VII (1930), 52 f.

⁶⁸ Or perhaps, since הוּא seems to be an emphatic word, in synonymous parallelism with יהוה of the preceding stichos, "The Eternal One"; cf. Morgenstern, "Deutero-Isaiah's Terminology for 'Universal God'," *JBL*, LXII (1943), 269-280.

⁶⁹ Ps. 89.12; 95.5; 100.3; 102.26; 104.1-9, 24-26b; 115.15; 121.2; 124.8; 134.3; 143.5; 146.6a.

⁷⁰ With the omission of the refrain, כִּי לְעוֹלָם חֲסֵדוֹ, as the second half of each v.

To Him who created marvelous things⁷¹ by Himself;
 To Him who made the heavens by a plan,⁷²
 To Him who spread out the earth upon the waters;
 To Him who made the great orbs,
 The sun for dominion by day,
 The moon⁷³ for dominion⁷⁴ by night.

The passage seems to be directly dependent upon the Creation B stratum of Gen. 1.1-2.4,⁷⁵ although in vv. 4-6 the Psalmist seems to have dealt rather freely with his source. The significant thing here is the statement of v. 4 that God created these marvelous works by Himself, without the association of any other deity with Him in this process.⁷⁶ This statement, coupled with that of vv. 2-3, that "He is the God of gods and the Lord of Lords", that, in other words, He is the supreme, divine being, is of more than passing significance. It seems to have a polemic import, as if it were refuting the claim that there might be other gods besides Him or to be compared to Him, by pointing to the creation of the wonderful universe and emphasizing that He created it by plan or supreme intelligence alone and unaided. It is, of course, the well known cosmological proof of the existence of God.

This argument finds repetition in Ps. 96.3-10ab:⁷⁷

Recount His glory among the nations,
 His marvelous works among the peoples.
 For great is God and to be praised exceedingly,
 To be feared is He beyond all divine beings.
 For all the gods of the peoples are nothings,
 But God made the heavens.
 Majesty and splendor are before Him,
 Strength and beauty are in His sanctuary.

⁷¹ Omitting נדלות as superfluous, to meet the requirements of the meter.

⁷² בתבונה, literally, "with understanding, intelligence."

⁷³ Omitting וכוכבים as superfluous, to meet the requirements of the meter; note, too, the suspicious fact, that וכוכבים lacks the article while both השמש and הירח have it.

⁷⁴ For לממשלות read the singular, לממשלת, as in v. 8. The plural, לממשלות, was probably the result of the interpolation of וכוכבים.

⁷⁵ And in particular vv. 7-9 upon Gen. 1.16.

⁷⁶ G reads לברו again in v. 7, and thus reaffirms this thought.

⁷⁷ Repeated in I Chron. 16.24-33 with numerous minor textual variations.

Ascribe to God, O ye families of peoples,
 Ascribe to God glory and strength;
 Ascribe to God the glory of His name,
 Bring a sacrifice and come unto His courts;
 Prostrate yourselves before God in His holy courts;⁷⁸
 Supplicate Him⁷⁹ all the earth.
 Proclaim among the nations, God is King;
 Yea, He hath established the world that it shall not
 be moved.

Here the statement that God, and, by implication, He alone, made the heavens, is linked with the thought that all the gods of the nations have no reality, are non-existent figments of the imagination, and that therefore He alone is the one existent and universal God.⁸⁰

But this thought is very close to, and even identical with, that of Deutero-Isaiah. He too affirms repeatedly that God is the sole divine being, that besides Him there is no god at all, that He can be likened to naught and compared to naught, that the gods of the nations are non-existent nothings.⁸¹ The ultimate and unequivocal proof of this is that He is the sole creator of the universe. Accordingly the prophet declares:⁸²

I, God, am the maker of everything,
 The spreader out of heaven by Myself,
 Stamper out of the earth, with none with Me.

Here, too, the fact that God created the universe alone and unaided is the ultimate and unchallengable proof that He is the sole God of the universe. The dependence of the thought of Ps. 96.3-10ab upon the teaching of the great, anonymous prophet of the exile is beyond all question.

The realization of this dependence makes clear the full import of this psalm passage. Actually it is a summons to all the nations

⁷⁸ Read for בַּהֲדָרָת, with *G* and *S*, בַּחֲצֵרוֹת, and for קִדְשׁוֹ, קִדְשׁוֹ.

⁷⁹ Read, with Ehrlich, חִילוֹ מִפְּנֵי for חִלוֹ פְּנֵי.

⁸⁰ Cf. also Ps. 95.1-7a; 97; 100; 115; 148, in all of which the assertion of the supremacy of God over all deities and even the absolute denial of their existence are linked with a very marked proselyting appeal.

⁸¹ Cf. especially 44.8-20; also 40.17-26; 42.5, 17; 45.12, 18-23; 48.12 f.

⁸² 44.24b.

of the earth to abjure their national gods, which are mere nothings, to acknowledge the universal being, power and dominion of the one, existent God, and to come up to Jerusalem, to His Temple, there to bring a sacrifice unto Him and to prostrate themselves before Him and supplicate His favor. Manifestly it is a call to proselytism to Judaism. Manifestly, too, the representation of God as the creator of the universe is here, just as it is in Deutero-Isaiah, something more, much more, than a mere paean of praise of God. It is the culminating proof of His universal divinity and His basic claim upon the homage of all the nations and peoples of the earth and the compelling reason for their accepting Judaism and becoming actual and positive worshippers of God.

Deutero-Isaiah himself did not stress the ritual aspect of the relation of the nations to God, the offering of sacrifice and the worship in the Temple at Jerusalem. His challenge to the nations was to live the life which God had meant that all His creatures should live and which they were to learn from Israel's testimony as the witness of God and from its labor as His servant. But the proof of the sole existence of this one, universal God was just as vital to the prophet and his task as it was to the later proselyters and their program. He, too, told of God's creative activity, not merely in order to sing God's praises, but rather with the very practical purpose of convincing the nations by the cosmological argument that He alone was the true, universal God.

It is clear therefore that Deutero-Isaiah did not invent the various traditions which he employed in his argument. These traditions he found ready to hand. What was novel with him was the way in which he marshalled them and the use he made of them. It follows, too, that he must have drawn this material from older sources; and it is becoming increasingly clear that these older sources must have been in large measure not merely his own prophetic antecedents and also earlier Israelite literature and lore. In addition to all these he must have drawn heavily, either directly or by very close mediation, from earlier North Semitic mythology and folk-lore. He went further than did the authors of some of the Psalms in suppressing certain elements

seemingly not compatible with Judaism as he understood and proclaimed it, the names of the deities of the North Semitic pantheon, for example, 'El, 'Elyon, and probably also Shaddai.⁸³ But in the main his procedure was much the same as that of the Psalmists who followed him by a generation or two.

The method of these Psalmists in dealing with elements of ancient Semitic mythology, mostly, no doubt, derived from North-Semitic sources, and especially with various motifs of what must have been the ancient creation myth, are well illustrated by Ps. 89.11-13⁸⁴ and Ps. 104.1-9, 29-30.⁸⁵ Into this it is not necessary to go in detail.

Returning to Psalms 8 and 19A, we are now better able to evaluate the elements of the creation narrative present in each. As has been noted, in Ps. 19A the mythological aspect of the elements of the creation narrative is readily apparent. It seems fairly certain that these few vv. constitute only a fragment of what must have been originally a poem of considerably greater length. This conclusion is suggested not only by the fact that v. 7 seems to be too abrupt an ending of the poem, but also because the recital of these elements of the creation myth leads to no specific conclusion or serves no particular purpose, such as proving the sole existence of the one universal God; and from what we have learned it seems that many of the psalms in which the creation motif plays a role, served just such a purpose. There is, however, no reason because of this to qualify our conclusion that the Ps. must have been the product of the period of proselytism, 516-485 B.C. There the matter must rest.

On the other hand, as has been said, the mythological note in Ps. 8 is merely an echo. The mythological background is clear, but the mythology itself is well nigh outgrown. The theme of the Ps. is almost as much man as God, the dignity of man in relation to the majesty of God and His world-order. Clearly

⁸³ Cf. Morgenstern, "The Divine Triad in Biblical Mythology," *JBL*, LXIV (1945), 15-37.

⁸⁴ Cf. Isa. 51.9 f.; Job 9.13; 26.12.

⁸⁵ With the folkloristic motif underlying vv. 29-30 cf. Morgenstern, "The Bones of the Paschal Lamb," *JAOS*, XXXVI (1916), 146-153.

when this Ps. was composed the age of proselytism and of an actively radiating mythology in Judaism was long past. There is no polemic nor conversionist note in this Ps. In this consideration, too, we may find confirmation of our conclusion that Ps. 8 is the product, at the very earliest, of the fourth century B.C.

חֲסֵדֵי יְרִיצוֹן אֲשֶׁד נִחְלִי עֲדוֹנִי רַחֲמֵי יִפְיֹצוּן מֵעֵינֵי עַנְיִי וּלְהַשְׁקוֹת עַצְמִי עַנְיִי
עֵינֵי עֵינֵי יִרְדָּה מַיִם (איכה א, טז)

45 גִּשְׁמֵי בִּרְכָה יִצְמִיחוּ כָּל עֵץ יִבֹּשׁ וַיִּנְיֹחוּ בִּרְכָה בְּבֵית עַמִּי
וַיִּפְרִיחוּ מִרִּיחַ מַיִם (איוב יד, טו)

יִנְוִבוּן בְּשִׁיבָה הַמוֹנִי יִשׁוּבוּן לְמַחֲזֵא אַרְמוֹנִי שְׁתוּלִים בְּבֵית אֲדוֹנִי
כָּעֵץ שְׁתוּל עַל מַיִם (יחזקאל יט, י)

וְשָׁבוּ וְשִׁחְרוּ בֶן אֲמוֹנִיָּה	לְחַלּוֹת וּלְשַׁחַר פָּנֶיהָ	קוֹם קָרָא אֶל אֱלֹהֶיהָ
הַמוֹצִיא לָהּ מִים (דברים ח, טו)		
וְזָכְרוּ יָמֵי נַעֲרִיתָם	מִנָּה לֹא מִנְעַת מִפִּיהֶם	וְלָחֶם מִשָּׁמַיִם נִתְּנָה לָהֶם
לְרַעְבָּם וּמִים (ירמיהו ט, טו)		
לָהֶם לְבָדֶם נִתְּנָה	אֶרֶץ חֲמֹדָה לְמָנָה	מְקוֹם נֹרַע וְתֹאנָה
וְגִפְסוֹ וְרִמּוֹן וּמִים (במדבר כ, ה)		
הַמּוֹן מַעִיד וְרַחֲמִיָּה	גַּם עֲתָה יִתְאַפְּקוּ לְעַמָּה	הַנִּקְרָאִים בְּשִׁמָּה
וְהוֹצֵאתָ לָהֶם מִים (שם, שם, ח)		
אֲדֹנֵי מִשְׁמִים תִּשְׁקִיף	וְגִשְׁם נְדָבוֹת תִּנְיִף	וְהַעֲוֹלָם בְּטוֹבָה תַּעֲדִיף
וְגַם יֵצֶק בּוֹ מִים (יחזקאל כד, ג)		
בְּמִטְרוֹת עֹז וְעֲצָמָה	רִוְהָ הָאֶרֶץ הַנִּשְׁמָה	וְצִמַּח הָאֲדָמָה
צִמָּא הַשִּׁקְהוּ מִים (משלי כה, כא)		
בְּכַרְמִים יִרְעַע וִירְוֹן	יַעֲלוּ שְׂדֵי וְכָל עֵץ רֵעֵנָן	כִּי שָׁכַן עָלָיו הָעֵנָן
וְנָתַן עָלָיו מִים (במדבר יט, יז)		
רַב נִשָּׂא עֲמָה חֲמִתָּהּ	מִיַּחַל עֲתוֹת פְּדוּתָהּ	הַשִּׁיבָהּ אֶתָּה אֶל בֵּיתָהּ
וַיֹּאכֵל לָחֶם וַיִּשְׁתֶּ מִים (מ"א יג, יח)		
עַמִּי נִחְמוּ אִם עֲוֹנוֹכֶם	נִתְּנוּ בְּכַרְזֵל שְׁמִיכֶם	אֲשֶׁר לֹא קָדְמוּ אֶתְכֶם
בְּלָחֶם וּבְמִים (דברים כג, ה)		
בְּשָׂרוֹ עַל שַׁעַר בַּת רַבִּים	הַשָּׁמַיִם יִתְּנוּ רַבִּיבִים	יָזְלוּ שְׁחָקִים גַּם עֲבִים
נִטְפּוּ מִים (שופטים ה, ד)		
לְהוֹשִׁיבְכֶם בְּנוֹה שְׁאָנָן	מִתְעַרָּה בְּאֶזְרַח רֵעֵנָן	אֲנֹכִי בָּא בְּעֵב הָעֵנָן
וַיִּצְאוּ מִמֶּנּוּ מִים (שם טו, יט)		
נִחַלַת שְׂדֵה וְכָרֶם אֲרָהָ	כְּמִי מַעֲזָן וּבוֹר לְמִקְוֶה	וְעַל הָעֲבִים אֲצִנָּה
לְקִרְאָתָהּ צִמָּא הַתִּי מִים (ישעיהו כא, יד)		

19 נושבו ושחרו – כלומר ה.עמים' ה.רבים' שבטור 18. רמז לדרישת הנוצרים בספרד מאת היהודים שיתפללו על הגשמים בימי בצורת, ראה מבוא ובהערה 16a. [ויותר נראה, בקשו את החזון וש'צ או את המשורר שיחבר תפלה על עצירת הגשם כמו להלן בשיר ל"ח שורה 25.
35 מכאן הקב"ה עונה לכנסת ישראל. עונכם–בעונכם.

לט

מסתגב על המים.

סימן: אני שלמה.

אֲדוֹנִי אֲדוֹנִי שׁוֹכֵן עַרְץ נוֹתֵן מָטָר עַל פְּנֵי אֶרֶץ לְגִדֵּר פָּרִץ
וְשׁוֹלֵחַ מַיִם (אִיּוֹב ה', י)

גִּפְשׁ עֲמָה תִשָּׁנַע עִם עֲנִי וְגֹזַע רִפָּה יָדַיִם וְיֹגַע
וְעִנְיָ בְּלִי מַיִם (תהלים סג, ג)

יִצְעַק וַיִּסְלַד בְּחִילוֹ אֵלֶיךָ בְּצָרְתָּהּ לוֹ יִשְׁמִיעַ בְּמָרוֹם קוֹלוֹ
אֲדוֹנִי עַל הַמַּיִם (שם כט, ג)

שָׁב לִפְנֶיךָ בְּכָל לִבְבוֹ מוֹדָה וּמִבְחִין בְּמַחֲשָׁבוֹ כִּי בְּצִוּן עָקְבוֹ
יִגְרַע וְטָפִי מַיִם (אִיּוֹב לו', כז)

לִזְאת יִתְפַּלֵּל וַיַּעֲתִיר וַעֲתָ חֲטָאֵיו יִזְכִּיר קוֹל שְׁאוֹן מַעִיר
בְּשִׁאוֹן מַיִם (ישעיהו יז, יב)

מִתְנַפֵּל לְאֵל דַּעוֹת מִקְדָּם פּוֹעֵל יְשׁוּעוֹת וְעִנְיָו כָּלוּ בְּדַמְעוֹת
יִצְאוֹת לְשֹׂאֵב מַיִם (שמואל א' ט, יא)

הִלְכוּ עַמִּים רַבִּים לְחֶקֶר אַחֵר כָּל מוֹצֵא וּמְקוֹר וַיִּצְאוּ לְחֶפֶר
אֶת בְּאֵרוֹת הַמַּיִם (בראשית כו, יח)

וַיְהִי בְּהִיּוֹתָם כּוֹאֲבִים צָמָאִים גַּם רַעֲבִים בָּאוּ עַל גִּבִּים
לֹא מָצְאוּ מַיִם (ירמיהו יד, ג)

וַיִּנְעֲדוּ עַל דְּבָרֵי הַבְּצֻרוֹת לְחַצֵּב לָהֶם בּוֹרוֹת לְבַקֵּעַ יְאוּרִים בְּצוּרוֹת
בְּרַחֲבוֹת פְּלִגֵּי מַיִם (משלי ה, טז)

לט.

9 מעיר=מעורר.

13 עמים רבים, כלומר כל קהל עדת ישראל, והביטוי 'עמים' במובן בני הקהלה הוא רגיל בפיוט הדתי העתיק. שהכיוון הוא לישראל יוצא ברור מהמשך הבתים: ויהי בהיותם כואבים (שורה 16), ויועדו (17), וישבו ושחרו (19), וזכרו ימי נעוריהם מנך לא מנעת מפיהם (21), להם לבדם נתנה ארץ חמדה (23), וכל זה מוסב, לעמים רבים.

מַצְמִיחַ דְּשָׂאִים	יִפְלִיא פְּלֵאִים	מַעֲלֶה נְשִׂאִים
יֵשֵׁב רוּחוֹ	וּמִכֶּסֶם מְנוּחוֹ	יִשְׁגִּיב בְּכֹחוֹ
רוּחַ צָפוֹן תְּחֹלֵל גִּשְׁם. (משלי כה, כג)		
לַעֲבֹד אֲדָמָתוֹ	תְּשׁוּאוֹת סִכְתּוֹ	הַשּׁוֹלֵחַ אֲמָרְתוֹ
וְלִשְׁלֹג יֵאֱמָר	לְהִכִּין לְאָרֶץ מָטָר	וּבְרִיתוֹ שֹׁמֵר
הוּא אָרֶץ וְגִשְׁם. (איוב לו, ו)		
נִפְשׁוֹת נִאֲנָחוֹת	עַל מִי מְנוּחוֹת	הַשְּׂבִיעַ בְּצִחְצִחוֹת
וְהִיתָה הָרְנוּחָה	בְּהוֹצִיא הָאָרֶץ צִמְחָה	וְתַעֲלֶנָּה בְּשִׁמְחָה
בְּאֲשֶׁר יֵרֵד הַגִּשְׁם. (ישעיהו נה, י)		
הִנֵּה נִשְׂאֲתִי פָּנֶיךָ	עֲנֵה לִבִּי אֲמוּנֶיךָ	בְּגִשְׁמִי בְּרִכַּת רְצוֹנֶךָ
הַשָּׂמִים הִתְקַדְּרוּ עֲבִים	לְהַשְׁקִיט מִכְאוּבִים	לְהַשְׂבִּיעַ רַעֲבִים
וְרוּחַ יְהִי גִשְׁם. (מ"א יח, מה)		
יַעֲרֹף בְּמָטָר לִקְחִי	וְאֵמַר אֲבֹד נִצְחִי	הַעֵת אֲרִיד בְּשִׁיחִי
אֲכַל וְשָׂתָה כִּי	קוֹל מֵאֵת מְלָכֵי	לְשִׁמְעַע מִמְּעוֹף חֲשָׁבִי
קוֹל הַמּוֹן הַגִּשְׁם. (שם, יח, מא)		
עוֹד לָכֶם תִּקְוֶמָה	וְהָאָרֶץ הַנִּשְׁמָה	אֵל תִּירָאִי אֲדָמָה,
וְאַרְבּוֹת הַשָּׂמִים נִפְתָּחוּ	גָּאוּ הַמַּיִם מִי שָׁחוּ	מִפְרָשֵׁי עֵב נִמְתָּחוּ
וַיְהִי הַגִּשְׁם. (בראשית ז, יב)		
לְשׁוֹכֵן מְעוֹנֶךָ	וְהִכֵּן רַעֲיוֹנֶךָ	בֶּן יֶקִיר שְׂא עֵינֶיךָ
לְחֻמָּה וּמִימֶיךָ	וְלֹא יִמְנַע מִמֶּךָ	כִּי הוּא יָרוּם לְרַחֲמֶךָ
וְלֹא יַעֲצֹרְכָה הַגִּשְׁם. (מ"א יח, מד)		
אֲכָלוּ וְשָׂתוּ מִמֶּתְקִים	הַנֶּאֱנָחִים וְהַנֶּאֱנָקִים,	רַנְּנוּ צִדִּיקִים,
וְלָכֵן יִחַדְּהָ לְחַנּוּכָם	לְפָנֵי אֱלֹהֵיכֶם	כִּי בָּאָה צִעֲקַתְכֶם
וַיִּוָּרֵד לָכֶם גִּשְׁם. (יואל ב, כג)		

19 איוב לו, כט: אף אם יבין מפרשי עב תשאות סכתו.
 25 לבן אמוניך, כלומר לחון ושליח ציבור ותפקיד זה אולי מילא המשורר בעצמו בבית הכנסת של ר' בנבנשת קבלרייה בטרקוסטה.

לח אחרת על הגשם.

סימן: אני שלמה.

אֲדֹנִי אֵלֶיךָ אֶקְרָא בְּרוּחַ וְשִׁבְרָה לַעֲתוֹת בְּצָרָה
כִּי אֶרְצֶךָ שָׁחַת עֲמֻדָּה וְנִחַת בַּעֲבוּר הָאֲדָמָה חֲתָה
כִּי לֹא הָיָה גֶשֶׁם. (ירמיהו יד, ד)

נִפְשִׁי נִאֲנָחָה בְּיוֹם צָרָה וְתוֹכָחָה וְקָרָאוּ לָהּ נִדְחָה
בְּהַעֲצֹר הָעֵבִים לְכוֹרֵמִים וּלְיוֹגֵבִים וַיִּמְעָטוּ רִבִּיבִים
וַיִּפְלֹא הַגֶּשֶׁם. (בראשית ח, ב)

5

יִחְרַד לִבִּי וּבִרְבוֹת מְכָאוֹכִי מִצַּעַק אָבִי אָבִי
וַיִּהְיוּ כָּל רַעֲיוֹנֵי וַיֵּאמְרוּ בְּאָזְנִי וַיֵּרָא נָא אֶת אֲדֹנִי
הַגּוֹתֵן גֶּשֶׁם. (ירמיהו ה, כד)

שָׁבוּ שׁוֹכְבִים בְּהֵיוֹתָם כּוֹאֲבִים עֲדִידָה יוֹשֵׁב כְּרוֹבִים
וְלִבָּם בְּקִרְבָּם יֵאָלֶה שָׁבַע רָגֹז וּמָלֵא, לְסִנְיָה יַעֲלֶה
וַיָּבֵא הַגֶּשֶׁם. (הושע ו, ג)

10

לְקוֹל תַּתּוֹ אֱלֹהֵי מִמְּכוֹן שִׁבְתּוֹ מִטֶּר בַּעֲתוֹ
יִכְרִיו הַחַזִּיזִים סוּדוֹת וְרִזִּים כִּי אֲדֹנִי עֹשֶׂה חַזִּיזִים
וּמִטֶּר גֶּשֶׁם. (זכריה י, א)

15

לח.

הפיוט בנוי על ידי קטעי פסוקים בכל טור וטור.

11 ולבם יאלה=קונן (ולשון אלי כבתולה יואל א, ח) - מלא ושבע רוגז - יעלה לפניך את תפלתם.

14 יכירו החזיזים, אולי רמז לחכמי האסטרונוגיה שבזמנו של המשורר. בקשר עם הריפריין של החרוז ניכר שהמשורר מתכוון לזכריה שם, א-ב ושם הנביא אומר, שאלו מה' מטר ... עושה חזיזים ... כי התרפים דברו און והקוסמים חזו שקר ... המשורר אומר שאפילו החזיזים והקוסמים מכירים ומודים שה' נותן מטר גשם. ובשיר חול משלו (דיואן, עמוד 108 סימן ק"ג), "לאחד מן המשכילים חשק להשתדל ללמוד עשיית המראות מן החוכית הידועה" (החזיזים?) הוא אומר בסוף:

ואל תעש כמעשה צעצועים אמור על מעלל עולל מהולל
וולתם חשוב מראות נעים. ראה נא גם רצה מראות אלהים

לו

תחנה.

סימן: שלמה.

על שאלת המטר.

אֲדֹנִי שְׁמַעַה תְּפִלָּתִי
יוֹשֵׁב הַכְּרוֹבִים

אֵל תִּתְרַשׁ לְדַמְעָתִי
גֹתֵן לֶחֶם לְרַעֲבִים

לֶלְחָמִי לֶלֶחֶם בֵּיתִי
הַמְכִין לְאַרְצֵי מִטָּר.

(תהלים קמז, ח)

לְשַׁחַר פָּגִיף
הַכִּינֹתִי רַעֲיוֹנִי

בְּאֵתִי לְפָגִיף
וְכָל מַעֲרִי

וְלַהֲשִׁיב חֲרוֹגָה
לְקִרְוֹא לְאֲדֹנִי וַיִּתֵּן קִלּוֹת וּמִטָּר.
(ש"א יב, יז)

⁵ מְלוֹצִיא מְזֻרֹת
רֵם וְנִשָּׂא

וְאֹזֵר יְקָרוֹת
שְׁמִים בְּסָה

וְגֹשֶׁם מְטָרוֹת
פּוֹעֵל וְעֹשֶׂה בְּרָקִים לְמִטָּר.
(תהלים קלח, ז)

הַחַיָּה לֵב נִדְכָּאִים
לְבָבָם אֶל בָּפִים

יִהְיוּ אֵף נִכְאָים
אֶל אֵל בְּשָׁמִים

וְתִשׁוּרָה נוֹשָׁאִים
מִבְּקָשִׁים מִים וְגֹשֶׁם מִטָּר.
(איוב לו, ו)

הַשְּׁקִיפָה מִמַּעֲוִיָּה
¹⁰ יַחֲיוּ מִיּוֹמִים

וְנַחַה בְּגִי אֲמוּנִיָּה
יִרְעִיפוּ שְׁמִים

בְּעֶמּוֹד עֲנִיָּה
נִטְפִי מִים יִזְקוּ מִטָּר. (שם לו, כז)

מִהֵר הַשְּׁמִיעַ מִמְרוֹמָה
לְחַיּוֹת וְרַע וְרַעְתּוֹ

קוֹל אוֹמֵר לַעֲמָה
וְנִטַּע נִטְעָתוֹ

שְׁמִיָּה יִרְעִיפוּ מִיָּמֶיךָ
וְהוֹרֵדְתִּי הַגֶּשֶׁם בְּעֵתוֹ וְאֶתְנֶה מִטָּר.
(מ"א יח, א)

תִּבֵּל וַיּוֹשְׁבֵי בָהּ
עֲמָה בְּנַחַת וְשׁוֹבָה

יִרְנוּ בְּרִבּוֹת הַטּוֹבָה
כִּי תוֹרֵם אֶת הַדֶּרֶךְ הַטּוֹבָה

וְעוֹד יִגְוִבוּן בְּשִׁיבָה
אֲשֶׁר יִלְכוּ בָהּ וְנִתְתָּה מִטָּר.
(שם ח, לח)

לו.

1 משלי כו, כו: ללחמך ללחם ביתך.

לו

פזמון.

סימן: שלמה.

(י' חנועות)

לנועם אל בשמים.

שְׁעָה שְׁוֹעַת מְצַעַק מְמַצּוּלוֹת יְגוֹנִים שׁוֹפֵף לֶךְ שֵׁיחַ חֵן וְחַנּוּנִים
 לְרוֹת צִמְאוֹנִים בְּעַתּוֹת רַעְבוֹנִים לְהַצְמִיחַ זְרָעִים וְנִטְעֵי נַעֲמִים
 מֵאֲתֶה מְנַהֵיג מְצִנָּה עַל עֲנָנִים יֵהִי לַחֲמוֹ נֶטֶן וּמִימֵי נֶאֱמָנִים. (ישעיהו לג, טז)

ידי

לְקוֹל תִּתֶּהּ הַמּוֹן מִים בְּשָׁמִים וְחִמְלָתָהּ תִּכְסֶּה אוֹר עַל פָּפִים
 יוֹדֶה עָרֵב וּבָקָר וְצִהָרִים זְקֵנִים עִם נְעָרִים וְיוֹנָקֵי שָׁדִים
 הַיּוֹתֶה לְדוֹרְשֶׁיהָ בְּלֵב וּשְׁפָתֶיהָ מְקוֹם נִהְרִים יְאֲרִים רַחֲבֵי יָדַיִם. (שם, שם, כא)

מקום

מִטֵּר גֶּשֶׁם נְדָבוֹת יְגִיף מִמְרוֹמֵי אֵל, מְחִיָּה יְקוּמֵי וּמִשִּׁיב לֵב עֲגוּמֵי,
 וַיַּעֲלֶה מִתְהוֹמֵי אֵל גְּבִהֵי שָׁמָיִם בֶּן, עֲשֻׁקוֹ קָמֵי שְׁדוּתָיו וּכְרָמֵי,
 יִצּוֹ אֶתוֹ, בְּרַחֲמָיו, בְּרָכָה בְּאַסְמֵי כְּמוֹצֵא מִים אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִכְזְבוּ מִימָיו. (שם נח, יא)

כמוצא

הַנּוֹתֵן מִטֵּר וְשׁוֹלֵחַ מִים וְאֵם יִסְתִּיר פָּנִים יַעֲצֹר בְּמִים
 וַעֲתָ רָצוֹן הוֹפְכֵי הַצּוֹר אֲגַם מִים יִשְׁמַע דָּל יִגַּע וְעִיף בְּלֵי מִים
 הַשִּׁיבֵהוּ לְאֶרֶץ נִחְלֵי מִים מְהֵרָה קֵל וְיֹאכֵל לֶחֶם וַיִּשֶׁת מִים. (מ"א יג, יח)

מהרה

צֹאן אוֹבְדוֹת עֲמָה בְּרַחֲמֶיהָ תִּבְקָשֶׁם וְזֶה דוֹר דּוֹרְשֶׁיהָ בָּרַב חֲסִדָּהּ דְּרָשֶׁם
 וְנָדִים מִמְעוֹנָהּ בְּיַד תִּחְקָה תִּגְרָשֶׁם וְשֵׁב מוֹדֶה וְעוֹזֵב אֲשֶׁר חָטָא וְאֲשֶׁם
 סִלַּח מַעֲלוֹ וְתֵן לוֹ בְּבִיתָהּ יָד וְשֵׁם וּבְאֻזְנֵי יִשְׁמַע קוֹל הַמּוֹן הַגֶּשֶׁם. (שם יח, מא)

ובאזניו.

55 עַת יָגִירוּ עָלַי עֲנִים
בְּמִזְל דְּגִים יֵשִׁים גְּלוּזִים
אֵיחָל אֶל עוֹשֶׂה חַיִּים
כְּדָגִים שְׁנֵאֲחִיזִים (קהלת ט, יב)
הָעַם יוֹדְעֵי תְרוּעָה
הָעַם יוֹדְעֵי תְרוּעָה
יִשְׁאַבֵּן מִים בְּנֶפֶשׁ שְׂבָעָה
מִמַּעֲיָנִי הִישׁוּעָה (ישעיהו יב, ג)

ככתוב ושאבתם מים בששון וכו' ונאמ' כי אם שם אדיר ה' לנו מקום נהרים
יאורים רחבי ידיים בל תלך בו אני שיט וצי אדיר לא יעברנו. ונאמ' הוא
מרומים ישכון מצודות סלעים משגבו לחמו נתן מימיו נאמנים.

לד

מגן לגשם.

סימן: שלמה.

שֶׁאֱלוֹ לֹאֲדָנִי מָטָר, הֵמוֹנִי אֲמוֹנִים, לְהִנִּיף עֲנָנִים מְשִׁמֵּי מְעוֹנִים
יְהִי שְׁחָקִים מִימִי נֶאֱמָנִים אֶפְיָקִי מְגִנִּים. (איוב מא, ז)

ברוך אתה יי מגן אברהם
אתה גבור.

לה

מחיה.

סימן: שלמה.

שׁוֹחֵר לֵאֵל מֶלֶךְ הַגּוֹיִם לְעֶרֶךְ שְׁלֹחַן לֶאֱכֹל עֲנִיִּים
יְהִי הִנִּיחוּ לִפְנֵי רְצוֹנִים וְנָתַן עָלָיו מִים חַיִּים. (במדבר יט, יז)

ונאמן.

לד-לה.

שני החרוזים האלה הם מעין, פתיחות' לפזמונים הבאים. - להניף עננים - כמו בשורה 7 בשיר
הבא, גשם נדבות יניף, תהלים סח, י. - עניים=לעניים. - לערוך שלחן. בהקבלה לכתוב המובא
בשורה 12 בשיר הבא ויאכל לחם, ובראש שיר לו ללחמי לחם ביתי.

אֹיִב וְלֶחֶם וְלֶחֶם וְרֵב רֵב
לְשֹׁלַח בּוֹ בְּמִזְל עֶקֶב
בְּחֶמְתָּךְ תִּסֹּר בְּעֶקֶב
נָחַשׁ שָׁרָף וְעֶקֶב. (דברים ח, טו)

פְּדוּת תִּשְׁלַח וְהִנָּחָה
מִטֵּר גֶּשֶׁם לְרוּחַ אֶרֶץ מְלָחָה
בְּמִרְחֶשֶׁן לְשׁוֹכְנֵי צִחִיקָה
וְהוֹלִידָה וְהִצְמִיחָה (ישעיהו נה, י)

40 ככתוב כאשר ירד הגשם והשלג מן השמים ושמה לא ישוב כי אם הרוה
את הארץ והולידה והצמיחה ונתן זרע. (שם)

יָהּ לְפָדוּת עַם קְרוֹבוֹ
בְּמִזְל קָשֶׁת לְהַכְאִיבוֹ
לְמֹל יְרִיבוֹ יַעֲרֹךְ קָרְבוֹ
בְּחִצִּים וּבְקָשֶׁת יָבֵא. (שם ז, כד)

אֲמַץ גּוֹדֵד לְלֶחֶם אִיוֹ
בְּכֶסֶלֹ לְהַשִּׁיב צָבִי עֲדִיו
וְשָׁנָה בְּגָדִי כְּלָאוֹ וְשָׁבִיו
וְעֵץ הַשֵּׁדָה יִתֵּן פִּרְיוֹ (ויקרא כו, ד)

יִזְנֶה שׁוֹבֵי לְמְנוּחוֹתֶיךָ
בְּמִזְל גְּדִי צָאִי לְעִשְׂבֵי שְׂדוֹתֶיךָ
וְקָרְאת יְשׁוּעָה חוֹמוֹתֶיךָ
וְרָעִי אֶת גְּדִיתֶיךָ (שה"ש א, ח)

רָצִי בַת גְּדִיב גְּבוּכָה
בְּטַבַּת אַעֲלָה לָךְ אֲרוּכָה
בּוֹכָה בְּקִצָּה תַעֲלֵת הַבְּרָכָה
הַגֶּשֶׁם בָּעֵתוֹ גֶּשְׁמֵי בְּרָכָה (יחזקאל לד, כו)

ככתוב ונתתי אותם וסביבות גבעתי ברכה והורדתי הגשם בעתו גשמי
ברכה יהיו. (שם)

הָיָה יְהִיָּה אֲדֹנָי בְּכֶסֶלִי
בְּמִזְל דְּלִי יִדְעוּ הַיּוֹתָם בְּחֶדְלִי
וַיִּבְשׁוּ מִסִּיגֵי גְבוּלִי
כְּמֵר מְדִלִי (ישעיהו מ, טו)

חִזֹּק שׁוֹכֵב בֵּין שְׁפָתַיִם
בְּשֶׁבֶט יִתֵּיךְ מִיּוֹמַיִם
נֶאֱחָז בְּשֶׁבֶרֶן מְתֵנִים
פֶּלֶג אֱלֹהִים מְלֵא מַיִם (תהלים סה, י)

ככתוב פקדת הארץ ותשוקה רבת תעשרנה פלג אלהים מלא מים תכין
דגם כי כן תכונה. (שם)

50-51 ישראל מקוה לנאולה, שונאיו שנרשעהו ובאו נחלתו (חבלי) יטולטלו משם והיו כלא היו =
כמר מדלי. [בחדלי=בחדל=בארץ, עפ"י ישעיהו לח, יב: יושבי חדל].

הַמֶּזֶן שֶׁבִּטִּי יֵה בְּצִלּוֹ תִשְׁכְּנוּ
וְעַל מֵי מְנוּחוֹת תִּתְחַנּוּ
בְּמִזֵּל סֶרֶטָן וְמִירוֹת תַּעֲנוּ
וְשֶׁרֶט לְנֶפֶשׁ לֹא תִתְּנוּ. (ויקרא יט, כח)

בְּחִמְלָתוֹ יוֹשִׁיב גּוֹלִים
בְּיָמֵי מוֹעֲדִים בְּאֵהָלִים
בְּתַמּוֹ יִשְׁלַח לְהַצְמִיחַ יְבוּלִים
מִצִּינִים בְּנִחְלִים (תהלים קד, י)

30 ככתוב המשלח מעינים בנחלים בין הרים יהלכון. (שם)

נְחֵה נַעֲצֵב וְנָצַב מִשְׁמִים
בְּאֶשֶׁד נִחְלֵי גְבוּרוֹת שְׁמִים
בְּמִזֵּל אֶרֶיָּה לְהוֹשִׁיעוּ בְּרַחֲמִים
מִפִּי אֶרֶיָּה וּמִקִּרְוֵי רַמִּים. (שם כב, כב)

לְמִתְיַחַת מִפְּרֶשׁ כְּפִים
לְכִסּוֹת אוֹר עַל כְּפִים
בְּחֻדָּשׁ אֵב בְּשָׂרָהּ יוֹשֵׁב שְׁמִים
כִּי נִבְקְעוּ בְּמִדְבַּר מַיִם. (ישעיהו לה, ו)

25 ככתוב אז ידלג כאיל פסח ותרון לשון אלם כי נבקעו במדבר מים
ונחלים בערבה. (שם)

לְשֹׁמֵשׁ יָרֵחַ יַעֲמְדוּ וְבוּלָה
לְפָקֵד אֶרֶץ וְיִבוּלָה
בְּמִזֵּל בְּתוּלָה יַעֲטוּ מַעֲטָה תְּהִלָּה
גַּם בְּחֹרֶג גַּם בְּתוּלָה. (דברים לב, כה)

לְהוֹצִיא מִפֶּחַ יוֹקָשִׁי
רֶכֶב יִשְׂרָאֵל גַּם פָּרָשָׁיו
בְּאֶלּוּל יִגְדִּיל דּוֹר דּוֹרָשָׁיו
וְעַל יוֹבֵל יִשְׁלַח שָׂרָשָׁיו (ירמיהו יז, ח)

30 ככתוב והיה כעץ שתול על מים ועל יובל ישלח שרשיו והיה עלהו רענן
ובשנת בצורת לא ידאג ולא ימיש מעשות פרי. (שם)

מָרוֹם לְעַם לֵךְ פּוֹחֵד
בְּמִזֵּל מֵאוֹנִים בְּקֶהְלוֹ תַחַד
וְאֵז קוֹל רִנָּה גּוֹי אֶחָד
בְּמֵאוֹנִים יִשְׂאוּ יָחַד. (איוב ו, ב)

דְּבִרַת שְׁבוּעוֹת חֲקוֹת וְרָעִים
תִּשְׁמָר לָנוּ תָמִים דְּרָעִים
בְּחֶשְׁרֵי לְהַשְׁרִישׁ נִטְעִים
אֵל הַכְּבוֹד הָרָעִים (תהלים כט, ג)

35 ככתוב קול יי על המים אל הכבוד הרעים יי על מים רבים. (שם)

21 שמים, ביטוי בלתי מחזור ואולי זה קיצור פיוטי להכרח המשקל במקום, 'אשמים' לפי עזרא י, ט. 'ואני מציע לקרוא: אימים. המשורר מרמו לבמדבר כ, טו: ואשר הנחלים אשר נטה לשבת ער, ואת הפסוק הזה הוא מקשר עם דברים כ, י: האמים לפנים ישבו בה (ב.ע.ר.)'.

לג

סדר הגשם.

סימן: אני שלמה בן משלם דאפיאירה.

אֵל אֱלֹהֵי הַצְבָּאוֹת	לְהִרְאוֹת לְעַמֶּךָ נִפְלְאוֹת
בְּמִזְל טְלָה תִצְוֶה לְהִשְׁאוֹת	בְּמוֹת טְלָאוֹת. (יחזקאל טז, טז)
נִטָּה יָד עֲזָרְתָּהּ כְּמֵרָאשׁ	לְמַלֵּט גִּלְכָּד בְּפֶחַ יְקֻשׁ
בְּנִסְכָּן תּוֹרִיד לְעַם לָהּ דּוֹרֶשׁ	נֶשֶׁם מוֹרָה וּמִלְקוֹשׁ (יואל ב, ד)

⁵ ככתוב ובני ציון גילו ושמחו ביי אלהיכם כי נתן לכם את המורה לצדקה
יורד לכם גשם מורה ומלקוש בראשון. (שם)

יְהִי יִסְלַח עֲוֹן וְאִשְׁמָה	וְיִזְרִיד מְטָרוֹת עַוְוָצָמָה
בְּמִזְל שׁוֹר יִרְעוּ בְּעֶשְׂבֵי אֶדְמָה	שׁוֹר אוֹ שֶׁה וְכָל בְּהֶמָּה. (שמות כב, ט)
שׁוֹחֲרֵיו בְּלֶכֶב שָׁלֵם	תְּנוּבוֹת שְׂדֵי יֶאֱכִילֵם
בְּאֵיר יִנְשָׂאֵם וַיִּנְשָׂאֵם	וְעַל מְבוּעֵי מַיִם יִנְהָלֵם (ישעיהו מט, י)

¹⁰ ככתוב לא ירעבו ולא יצמאו ולא יכם שרב ושמש מרחמם ינהגם ועל מבועי
מים ינהלם. (שם)

לְהוֹצִיא בַת יִפֶּת עֲלָמוֹת	מִמֶּאֱפִלְיָה תִלְבַּשׁ נְקָמוֹת
בְּמִזְל תְּאוֹמִים תּוֹבֵל לְרַקְמוֹת	שְׂפָלָם מִתְאַיִמוֹת. (שה"ש ד, ב)
לְמַעֲוִי יֵאֱמָץ וְרוּעוֹת	דָּל מוֹרִיד נִגְדוֹ דְּמַעוֹת
בְּסִינן יִפְתַּח לְמַעַז יְשׁוּעוֹת	עַל שְׂפִיִּים נִהְרוֹת וּבִתּוֹךְ בְּקָעוֹת (ישעיהו מא, יח)

¹⁵ ככתוב אפתח על שפיים נהרות ובתוך בקעות מעינות אשים מדבר לאגם מים. (שם)

לג.

[סדר הגשם=תפלת הגשם לשמיני עצרת. כדאי לציין שבמבנהו דומה הוא ל.סדר הגשם' של הקליר:
'פתח ארץ לישע'. שניהם מוסדים על י"ב המלות, ושני בתים בעלי ד' טורים מקדשים לכל מול ומול.]
בשנים עשרה המלות המשורר משתמש גם באחד משירי החול שלו. ראה דינאן, עמוד 41-42.
² מול טלה בחדש ניסן; להשאות=להרוס; במוט טלואות, רמו למלכות הרשעה.
³⁻⁴ עזרתך כמראש, רמו ליציאת מצרים. [להשאות, להרוס מלכות אדום, כאמרם: בניסן
נאלו ובניסן עתידין להנאל].
¹⁴ בסינן, על ידי קבלת התורה הובטחה נאולתם לפי תהלים כח, ח: ה' עז למו ומעוז ישועות
משחו.

יָעִיר נְהִי כָּל קִשָּׁה	יֹמֶךָ וְלֹא יִחָשֶׁה	בְּנִפּוּל בְּשִׁפְךָ דָּשָׁר	נִיךְ דִּשְׁנִיךְ
אוֹלָם תְּנִי מוֹעֲצוֹת	שָׁכַל מְקוֹם מִשְׁבָּצוֹת	זָהָב עָלֶי מַחְלָצוֹת	בּוֹר רַעֲיוֹנֶיךָ
אֶרְחֶךָ תִּזְכִּי בְּבֹר	כִּפְךָ, וּמַעַן וּבּוֹר	שָׁכַלְךָ, וְכֵם דִּי שָׁבֵר	אֶת צִמְאֻנֶיךָ.
55 בָּאֵי בְּחֶשֶׁךְ, שָׁבִי	דּוּמָם וְהִתְעַצְבִּי,	אוֹלֵי מַעוֹף הַשָּׁבִי	יֵאִיר אֲשׁוּנֶיךָ
יִקְחִי לְצִירְךָ צָרִי,	רָגַז וְאֵף תִּבְחָרִי,	אוֹלֵי יָקֵד הַחָרִי	לְשָׁקִט חֲרוֹנֶיךָ
כִּפֹּר לְפִשְׁעֶךָ, פָּרִי	עַץ אוֹן וְגֵן אָרִי,	אוֹלֵי יִסְרִיחַ מָרִי	לְבָב יְגוֹנֶךָ.
מִלֵּב כְּזָבִים הִגִּי	וְנֹאמֹם אֲמוּנִים הִגִּי	אוֹלֵי יִהוּ מִמֶּנִּי	נִתְּךָ מְגִינֶיךָ
מְבוֹר כְּסִילוֹת צָאֵי	וּלְפֹעֲלֶךָ תִּקְרָאֵי	אֶלְיוֹ לְבָדוֹ שְׂאֵי	קוֹל תַּחְנוּנֶיךָ.
אוֹלֵי יָצוּ בְּדָרוֹר	לְעוֹף לְמַהֵר דָּרוֹר	שָׁבִיךָ, וְכֹס מִמָּרוֹר	לְשָׁקֶה לְמוֹנֶיךָ
אֶת אוֹיְבֶךָ יִגְאֹשׁ	בְּעַמֵּל אֲנֹשׁ גַּם עָנוֹשׁ	וּלְמַעַנֵּי יִחַלֵּשׁ	צָבָאוֹת וְדוֹנֶיךָ
עַל צוֹרֵרִים יִגְאֹף	הָאוֹמְרִים תַּחְנוּף	צִיּוֹן, וְיִפְרֹשׁ כִּנְף	חֶסֶד לְבִנֶיךָ.
יִשְׁמַע לְקוֹל קוֹרְאִים	מִבֵּית שָׁבִי נִחְבָּאִים,	יִשְׁמֹר אֲמוּנִים וְאִם	פֶּסֶס אֲמוּנֶיךָ.
יַעֲלֶה לְלֵב נִחְלָה	רְפָאוֹת, וְלֵב יֵאֲלֶה	יִשְׁיֵשׁ, בְּהִפְכוֹ אֵלֵי	גִּיל עֲצָבוֹנֶיךָ.
65 עַל דָּאֲבֶךָ לְעוֹ	קָמִים, וְהִתְעַנּוּ	צָרִים, וְעוֹד יִדְאֹגוּ	בְּרָבוֹת שְׁשׁוֹנֶיךָ
עוֹד יִקְרוּ אוֹיְבִים	עֵינֵי גָדוֹד אוֹרְבִים,	כִּי תִתְּנִי אוֹיְבִים	טָרֶף לְשִׁנֶּיךָ
דוֹדִים אֲשֶׁר נִחְלוּ	מִמַּחֲלֶךָ יִצְחָלוּ,	וְלַהֵר דְּבִיר יַעֲלוּ	בְּכִנְף רִנֶּיךָ
יִבְזוּ אֲשֶׁר בָּזוּ	הוֹנָה, וְכֶף יַעֲלוּ	לְעַד וְלֹא יִרְגְּזוּ	מִשָּׁד סֹאנֶיךָ
יַעֲלֶה לְבֵית אֵל לְכִי	וְשִׁמוּ לְבַד בְּרָכִי	תָּמִיד, וְלוֹ תִבְרָכִי	כִּי הוּא אֲדִינֶךָ
70 גִּילִי מְאֹד נִחְדִי,	רַעִיָה, וְאֵל תִּפְחָדִי	כִּי עוֹד כָּאֵז תַּעֲדִי	אֶת שְׁהֲרֹנֶיךָ
מִהֵר יְגוֹנִים רָדִי	וּדְבֹשׁ נְגִינוֹת רָדִי	וּבְצוֹרְרֶיךָ רָדִי	וּבְשִׁאֲנֶיךָ
לֹא עוֹד בְּמֶר תִּצְעֲקִי	חִזְקִי וְהִתְאַפְּקִי	שׁוּבִי כְּקֶדֶם לְקֶךָ	נִיךְ וְכִנֶּיךָ
לֹא עוֹד אֲסִירִי שָׁבִי,	יֵאמְרוּ לִיַּעֲלֵת צָבִי:	אֵיכָה עֲטָרַת צָבִי	עָדוֹ עֲדִנֶיךָ.

■ דשניך=אפר; דשניך=דשנים ורעננים.

55 מעוף=חשך, ישעיהו ח, כב.

56 וקחי, נ"ב: קחת; ישקט – היסורים ימקו את עונותיך.

57 ארי, לשון אריתי מור לי, שה"ש ה, א.

58 הגי-הני, הראשון לשון גירוש והוצאה, לפי ישעיהו כו, ח; והשני לשון דיבור; מנתך=מחלתך.

60 מוניך, לשון והאכלתי את מוניך.

61 יאנש, נ"ב: יענוש.

64 ולב יאלה ישיש, נ"ב: ולב טלה (ז) ישים.

63 אמונים=האמונים עלי חולע.

66 עוד יקרו אויבים, נ"ב: עוד יקרו עורבים.

67 ממחלך, נ"ב: ממחלתך «גד המסקל».

71 רדי, לשון יירדה; רדי, לשון לקיחה; רדי לשון שלטון.

73 עדייך, ונ"ב: נדייך.

הִכִּין וְהִשְׁכִּין כְּבוֹד	עֲלִיּוֹן בְּהָדָר וְהוֹד	אִים וְנוֹרָא מָאד,	בֵּינֹת מְעֻנִּיָּה.
³⁰ וּבִמְקוֹדֶשׁ רִוְזִים	הַפְּקִיד, וְסוֹד נִוְנִים	וּמִשְׁרָתִי כִּתְנִים	נָתַן נְתִינִיָּה
חֲמֻדַּת יָקָר נַעֲמָה	חֲמֵד, וְאֵת לוֹחֲמָה	לְחֵם, וְהִגְדִּיל שְׁמָה	עַל כָּל שְׁכֻנִּיָּה
וְלִחֵם וְרֵב רֵב, וְרֵב	חֲצִיו וְעֵרֶף קָרֵב	עַל רֵיב אָדוֹם וְעָרֵב	וּמָדוֹן מְדֻנִּיָּה
מִפְּתוֹדָהּ נִכְנָעוּ	קָמִים, וְהִתְרוֹעְעוּ	הָעֵת אֲשֶׁר שָׁמְעוּ	קוֹל פְּעֻמוֹנִיָּה.
נִגְהָ כְּאוֹר שְׁחֵרִית	לְעַד לְיוֹם אַחֲרִית	שְׁלוֹם וְכָרַת בְּרִית	בֵּינִי וּבֵינִיָּה
³⁵ כָּל זֶה, אֵהָה נַעֲצֹר	עֵתָה, וְאוֹר וְצָר	הַחֲשִׁיף וְנִחַשְׁבַּ כָּצֹר	עַל רֵב עֲוִינִיָּה.
פִּשְׁעָהּ כְּמוֹ עֵשׂ יָבֵל	גִּוֶּף וְטוֹבָהּ יָכֵל	הַסְתִּיר כְּבוֹדָהּ אָבֵל	וְלֵהָ קְלוֹנִיָּה
הִלַּכְתָּ עָלַי כָּל גִּילִל	גוֹיִם כְּאוֹכֵל בְּלִיל,	וּלְעוֹבְדֵי הָאֱלִיל	נָתַתָּ נְדֻנִּיָּה
חֲשַׁבְתָּ לְמִשְׁפַּט אֱהוֹב	הָרַע וּמָאֵס בְּטוֹב	וּנְטַשׁ אֲמַת וְעוֹב	מוֹסֵר חֲזוֹנִיָּה
שָׂוָה תַּחֲמִדִּי מִסָּגֵר,	בְּאֶבֶד אֲמַת מִסָּגֵר	לִבָּהּ, וְנִשְׁחַת חֲגוֹר	צָדֵק בְּמַתְנִיָּה.
⁴⁰ אֲנִישֵׁי אֲמַת גְּעִלָה	נִפְשָׁהּ, וְשׂוֹא פְּעִלָה	עַד כִּי לָרֵב מַעֲלָה	הִלָּאתָ תְּאוֹנִיָּה
מָדַד לְתוֹף שַׁעֲלָהּ	תַּגְּמוּל כְּפִי פְּעִלָהּ	הָרַע, וְעַל סִבְלָהּ	הִקְשׁוּ מַעֲנִיָּה
מָאֵס מְקוֹם אֶהְלָהּ,	נָתַן בְּיַד שׁוֹלְלָהּ	חִילָהּ, וְצוֹר חוֹלְלָהּ	חִלָּל צַפּוֹנִיָּה
עָבִיר נְהִי הַעֲנִין	וְשָׂאֵר וְנִכְד וְנִין	הַכְּרַת, וּבֵינֹת צָנִין	הִשְׁלִיף פְּנִינִיָּה
עַל מַחֲלָה שְׁחִקוֹ	צָרִים כְּצוֹר חֲזִיקוֹ	שָׁרְקוּ וְשֹׁן חֲרָקוֹ	יָרְקוּ בְּפָנִיָּה
⁴⁵ הָיָה מִשְׁנֹאֵף לְרֹאשׁ	וּלְשֹׁר, וְרַע יַחֲרֹשׁ	תְּמִיד, וְגַם יַחֲרֹשׁ	עַל גֵּב גְּאוֹנִיָּה
יִקְלָה בְּגִיב לְצוּז	נִכְבֵּד רֹאשׁ פּוֹחֲזוּ,	יִבְזֶה לְחֻזִּי תּוֹז-	נִיף כְּזוֹנִיָּה
גִּוֶּף בְּזִיקִים וְחַח	תַּחַת גְּזָמִים וְחַח,	שָׁמוּ, וְרָסוּ וְחַח	עַל אֶף סְרִנִּיָּה
כֶּף יַחֲלֹפוּ בְּנֵי	קָשָׁת, וְעֵבְרוּ בְּנֵי	רָשָׁף, וּמִשְׁלֹו בְּנֵי	זָרַע זְנוּנִיָּה
וּמַתִּי יָקָר קִמְטוֹ	חֲתוּ וְהִתְמַטְטוּ	בְּנִדּוֹד, וְשֵׁם נִמְרָטוֹ	זָקְנִי זְקִנִּיָּה.
⁵⁰ מָטָה וְגַם מַעֲדָה	רִגְלָם, בְּיוֹם וְלִכְדָהּ	נִפְשָׁם, וְאִזּוּ אִכְדָהּ	בֵּינָת נְבוֹנִיָּה
עֲתָקוּ וְגַם גָּבְרוּ	חִיל, אָבֵל עֵבְרוּ	תּוֹרוֹת וְלֹא עֲצָרוּ	כַּחַת חֲסִנִּיָּה

³² לפי שופטים יא, כה: הרב רב עם ישראל אם נלחם נלחם במ; ורב חציו, לשון רובה קשת, כלומר רב (קיצור מרבה) חציו.

³⁴ לעד, נ"ב: יעד.

³⁵ ישעיהו ה, ו: והנה חשך צר ואור חשך; עתה ואור וצר המשקל כאן לקוי, אחרי ואור חסרה תנועה. [אולי צ"ל: ואורה].

³⁶ אבל=אהבה.

³⁷ גליל גוים, ישעיהו ח, כג.

³⁹ מסנור, יותר מזהב (אויב כח, טו); מסנור לבך, הושע יג, ח.

⁴⁰ יחזקאל כד, יב: תאנים הלאה.

⁴⁵ משנאך, נ"ב מקנאך.

עיר מועדך חרבה	ובמקדשך ערבה	שמשך, ולא ערבה	שנה לעיניך.
כנפי פרוב, סוככו	על גודדים, המכו	בגדוד והתהלכו	ארחות דדניך.
הלכו שבי, נדחו.	שחו והשתוחחו	רוזנים, אשר נמשחו	ראשית שמניך.
נהפך למספד מחול	מחול, וקדש לחל	היה, ורבו כחול	חבלי המוניך.
נפשו, אהה, מחנק	תבחר, בשוב הענק	גמד, והורד ענק	מצוארניך.
10 רוח בכי יעצר	בך, עד אשר יעבר	שרשך, בהוביש מקור	מי מעיניך.
יונקות יקר נקטפו,	ושדי יבול נשטפו,	יען אשר נטפו	מי רוש עניך
ענפי הדס נגדעו	ונצי שדה נטעו,	ובבץ וטיט הטבעו	יחד אדניך.
נגלה והגלה בראש	גולים קצין עם וראש,	ומקום עצי הברוש	צצו ציניך
פארות פאר פארו	קורות ברש יקרו	עקרו, וקיר קרקרו	קורות זמניך
15 ראשך אלי כל חלי	נכון, והוסר חלי	כתמך, ושיר מחלי	מספד יעניך
תנות לתנות בדי	כנה, אהה, יעדו	תמיד, עדי למדו	קינים לנוניך
גדול ורם קול בנות	יענה, ושח קול בנות	השיר, כאחת בנות	ערי מכוניך
אבל ואמלל בציר	כרמך, ויבש קציר	גוף, ואבד קציר	ראשית דגניך.
תחת דגניך כרי	קש וחשש תצברי,	ויעשו לך פרי	כחש גפניך.
20 בין יערה לענה	ובמר-דרור צחנה	עלתה, ופג תאנה	חנטו תאניך.
צוירך מכה ביד	רודך במרדך, וצד	צעדך, וישם בסד	רגלי רצוניך.
הרחיק זמנך ששון	ישעך, והקריב אסון	נפשוך, והניא רצון	כל מעיניך.
אם תשאלי לעלות	תרדי שאול עד כלות	ותאספי משאלות	רוח בתפניך
אל פעמך הזמן	רשת פרושה ימן,	עד כי שתיל נעמן	שב קמשוניך
11 תחת היותו תמול	חונה והולך למול	חפצך, כאמן גמול	ילדי אמוניך.
היה כאב רחמן	להם ואח נאמן,	ודבש וחלב ומן	מלאו עטיניך.
יסד בספיר ודר	שכנה מאד נהדר,	ובפוף ונפף ודר	הרביץ אבניך
נתן בראשך כליל	יפי וחדוה וגיל,	גום באף, ונעיל	זהב באוניך

6 ובמקדשך, נ"ב: ובמזרחך: ערבה - ערבה, חרוח משוחף.

8 חבלי המוניך, נ"ב: אבלי המוניך.

10 בכי יעצר, מליצה חידורית לישעיהו טז, ט: על כן אבכה בבכי יעור; יעבר, נ"ב: יעקור.

12 שדה, כך צריך לנקד לשם המשקל. 13 נגלה, נ"ב: נקלה.

17 כאחת בנות (לשון ירושלים ובנותיה), נ"ב: באחר בנות.

22 והניא, נ"ב: והביא. 28 וחדוה, נ"ב: בחרוה.

וְהָאִירָה חֲשָׁכִי	וַיֵּשֶׁר אֶת דְּרָכִי	וַתְּרַצֶּה חֵין עָרְכִי	כְּמוֹ חֶלֶב אֵילִים
וְצוּר צֶדֶק לִבִּישׁ	הָיָה מַחְצִי חֹבֶשׁ	וַחֲטָאתִי כֹבֵשׁ	בְּגִבְכִי מִצְלֹלִים
וְאֵל תִּפְקֹד עָלַי	כְּרַע מַעֲלָלִי	וְהֵט חֶסֶד אֵלַי	וְאֹתִי אֵל תִּכְלִים
וְהִפֵּק לִי רָצוֹן	בְּטוֹבָה אֵל עָלִיךְ	בְּיוֹם יִקָּר פְּדִיךְ	קִטְנִים וּגְדֹלִים
הֲלֹא נִשְׁמָתִי לָךְ ⁵⁵	וְהַגּוֹף מִפֶּעֶלֶךְ	לֹאֵט נָא בְּעַמְלֶךְ	כְּאֵב עַל עוֹלָלִים
חֲבֹשׁ נָא מַכְתִּי	וְרִפְּא מַחֲלָתִי	וְקַבֵּל שִׁיחָתִי	בְּעָרְכִי פְלוּלִים
פֶּשְׁעֵי אֵל כִּפֹּר	וְכַעֲסֶךָ הָפֹר	וְהַמָּצָא לִי כִפֹּר	הִכִּי מַעֲשֵׂי קָלִים.

לב

מרתיה.

יסדתיו על חרבן הבית לתמרור ציון תשאל.

אִיכָה, עֲמַרְתְּ צָבִי,	עָדוֹ עֲדִינִךְ,	וּבְכוֹר שְׂאוֹן הַשָּׁבִי	קָצוֹ קִצִּינֶךָ.
אִיךָ נָהִי לַהֲדוֹם	רָגַל לְעוֹץ וְאָדוֹם	וּבָבֶל וְאַנְשֵׁי סָדֵם	כְּסָאוֹת סִגְיֶךָ?
אִיךָ צָר וְצוֹק נִפְגָּשׁוּ	בָּךְ, עַד אֲשֶׁר רָעִשׁוּ	הָרִים וְהַתְּנַעֲשׂוּ	מִקּוֹל שְׂאוֹנֶיךָ?
אִיךָ בֵּית מְשׁוֹשֶׁף רָצוֹן	תִּיגָה, וְאַרְוֶה בְּסוֹף	נְהַפֵּךְ, וְנִפְתַּח וְצוֹף	אֵל רֹאשׁ פְּתִינֶיךָ?

54 רצון, ב'ר: חביון.

55 והגוף מפעלך, נוסח ב'ר: והגוף הוא פעלך.

56 בערכי, ב'ר: כערכי.

לב.

לתמרור, כלומר לנינון הקינה הידועה של ר' יהודה הלוי. ציון הלא תשאל לי שלום אסיריך; ואולי אין כאן כיוון לנינון אלא לצורת הקינה, כלומר, שהמרתיה כתובה בדרך הקינה ושפתה הפיוט שאוב מתוך כ"י אדלר בניו יורק והיא נתפרסמה על ידי חיים ברודי מתוך כ"י ברלין – מכון במחברותו של ר' שלמה דאפפירה, ברלין תרנ"א עמוד 31. המחבר מרבה להשתמש בפיוט זה בלע"ל ובצחות המליצה כמעט בכל בית ובית ונמנעתי מהעיר עליהן בכדי שלא להללות על הקורא.

1 עדינך, ברודי (להלן: נוסח ברודי=ב') מנסח, אדוניך או אדניך ותיקון זה קשה לקבלו; שתי המלים האלו נמצאות בשיר להלן ואין זה מדרכו של המשורר להשתמש בשיר באותן המלים פעמיים. נראה איפוא נוסחו של כ"י אדלר ופירושו: עדי=סרו, נעלמו ולשון מעדה בנד ביום קרה, משלי כה, כ) – עדינך, יפיעך והדרך, לנע"ל; זה מתאים לחתימת הסוגר קצו=כלו, בא קצם=קצינך, גם כן לנע"ל.

4 נהפך כסוף, נהפך בא במקרא תמיד בחיבור עם, אל' או, ל', אבל נמצא פעם גם בקישור עם, כמו' או, כ', (איוב כה, ה: נופך כמו אש; תהלים עח, נו: נהפכו כקשת רמיה); סוף – צוף, לפי דמיון הביטוי של סמך וצ'רי אצל הספרדים.

בְּכֵן נַפְשִׁי עוֹרִי	וְעוֹד לֹא תַעֲבֹרִי	וּמִשְׁדֵּי גֹרִי	וְסוּרֵי מִהֲבָלִים
וְעַבְדִּי אֶת יוֹצֵרְךָ	בְּעוֹדְךָ בְּמִגְדָּרְךָ	וּמִרִית אוֹרְךָ	אֲזִי בְּמִאֲפָלִים
וּמִשְׁוֹעָךְ דָּאָגִי	וְעַל חֲטָאֲךָ שְׁאֵגִי	וְעַל בּוֹרְאָךְ עֲרֹגִי	כְּעֶרְגַּ אֵילִים
וְאַל נָא תַעֲצֹלִי	וְאוֹלִי תַנְצֹלִי	בְּיוֹם אֵל אַל תַּעֲלִי	לְהִשָּׁב מְלוּלִים
וְסוֹת אֵימָה לְבָשִׁי	וְיָצֵר רַע כְּבָשִׁי	וְעוֹד לֹא תִנְקָשִׁי	בְּרַע מַעֲלָלִים
אֲנִי אֶעֱנֶה עֲזוֹת ³⁸	לְנַפְשִׁי בְּרָמוֹת	וְהִנֵּה הִיא עַל זֹאת	תְּשִׁיבֵנִי מְלִים
הֵיטֵב לָהּ מַעֲלָל	יִצִּיר חֲמַר אֶמָּל	וּבְעוֹן חוֹלָל	וְיִלֵּד לַעֲמָלִים
וְכָל הַיּוֹם נַעֲנֶה	מִדְּכָה וּמַעֲנֶה	וְיִנּוֹד כְּקִנָּה	דְּחִסּוּהוּ גִלִּים
בְּנַפְשׁ הוֹמִיָּה	לְבַקֵּשׁ לֹא נִהְיָה	וְכָל תַּאֲוָה נִהְיָה	לְמִלֵּאת וּלְהִשָּׁלִים
וְאִיכָכָה יִכָּשֶׁר	לְכָבוֹ אוֹ יִישַׁר	וְיִצְרִי בּוֹ נִקְשָׁר	מַעֲרָב בְּכִסְלִים
וְיַעֲמֹד בְּמִכְמָן ⁴⁰	בְּכָל רִגְעַ וּזְמָן	וְעַל דִּרְכּוֹ טָמָן	מְצוּדִים וְחֻבְלִים
וְסוֹת מְרִי עֲטָה	וּמִנְתִּיב שְׁטָה	וּלְרִהֲבִים נָטָה	אֲשֶׁר אֵין מוֹעִילִים
וְהַמּוֹסֵר יִפְרַע	וּמִיָּשָׁר נִגְרַע	וְכָל הַיּוֹם רַק רַע	וְיָשִׁים מְכֻשׁוּלִים
וְטָהוֹר מִשְׁמָא	הַתֵּתֵן, אוֹ יִדְמָה	לְפָקֵחַ סוּמָא	וְאוֹר צַח לְאַפְלִים
לְזֹאת מַעֲדוֹ מִתְּנִי	וְתַצְלִנָּה אֲזִנִּי	וְתִרְדְּנָה עֵינִי	דְּמַעּוֹת כְּנֻחָלִים
וְאַשְׁחָה אֶת אַפִּי ⁴⁵	וְאֲזִיל עַפְעָפִי	וְתִמִּיד סִרְעָפִי	תְּמָהִים נִבְהָלִים
וְעַרְבָה שְׁמִחָתִי	וְכַבְדָּה אֲנַחֲתִי	וְתַהֲמָה נִשְׁמָתִי	בְּקִרְבִּי בְּחִלְלִים
וְיִשְׁבְּתִי דוּמָם	וְלִבִּי יִשְׁתוּמָם	וְלִיל גַּם יוֹמָם	קִרְבִּי בִּי חָלִים
וְלוֹלִי כִּי שִׁבְרִי	בְּךָ שְׁתִּי צוּרִי	לְרִפָּא אֶת שִׁבְרִי	אֲחֻזּוֹנִי חִילִים
חֻזְלָתְךָ מִי לִי	בְּכָל אַפְסֵי חֲדָלִי	אֶכֶּל אֶתָּה חִילִי	מֵאֲמָץ נְחֻשָּׁלִים
חֲמוּל עַל עֲבָדְךָ ⁴⁶	כְּגִדֵּל חֲסִדְךָ	בְּעִמְדִי נִגְדָּךְ	וּפְנֵי מִשְׁפָּלִים

32 ומשוער, ב'ר: ומפשעך.

36 הייטב לה, ב'ר: היטב לי.

30 ועוד לא תעבורי, ב'ר: ומדרכך עברי.

ועל בוראך ערני, נוסח ב'ר: לצורך תערגי.

33 תעלי, ב'ר: תולי.

38 לבקש לא נהיה, נוסח ב'ר: לבקש לו מחיה.

וכל תאוה נהיה, נוסח ב'ר: וכל ימצא נהיה.

41 וסות מרי עטה, ב'ר: והוא מרי עטה.

ולרהבים, ב'ר: ולארהבים.

47 אחרי חרו זה ב'ר מנסחים חרו החסר במקור שלנו:

וְעִצְמוֹ שְׁאֵנוֹתִי

וְרָבוּ תוּגוֹתִי

וְנִחוּנִי גִילִים

וְעַל רֵב חֲטָאתִי

וַיְסֹף כְּנָגְלִים	וְכָל טוֹבוֹ עֵתָק	לְרֹאשׁ פֶּתֶן יַעֲתָק	וְאֵם בִּפְהַ יִמְתָּק
וַצִּירִים וְחִבְלִים	וּפְרָץ וּצְנֻחוֹת	מְסֻכִּים בְּאַנְחוֹת	וּבוֹ גִיל וְשִׁמְחוֹת
יְצוּרִים מִזְכָּלִים	אֲשֶׁר אֵלָיו מָחַר	וְזֶן הִבָּא אַחֲרֵי	הַטּוֹב כִּי זֶה יִבְחַר
לְכָל הַמְשָׁכָלִים	הִכְיֵנו שׁוֹכֵן עַד	לְכָל יִמּוּט לְעַד	לְמַרְוֹעַ נֶעַד
וְחִפְץ אֵל הַשָּׁלִים	לְכָל הַכִּין לְבוֹ	אֲכַל צָפוֹן טוֹבוֹ	וְכָל עֵמֶל אֵין בּוֹ
יִרְאִים גַּם זֻחָלִים	אֲשֶׁר הֵם מִפְּנֵיו	לְחֻסְיוֹ לְאַמּוֹנִיו	לְהִנְחִיל מִעֲדָנָיו
בְּרִשְׁפֵי גִחְלִים	וְנִפְשׁוֹ גִבְלָעָה	יְהִי שָׁם לְזוּעָה	וְכָל עֹשֶׂה רִשְׁעָה
כְּרָקִים וְכִסְלִים	וְעוֹד לֹא שׁוֹכְבָתִי	וְעָרְלַת לֵב מִלְתִּי	הֲלֹא טוֹב לִי שְׁבָתִי
וְחֹק אֵלֵי אֲשָׁלִים	וְאֶבֶן לְאַשׁוּרִי	וְאֶכְבֵּשׂ אֶת יִצְרִי	וְאֶבּוֹשׁ מִיּוֹצְרִי
וְעֵינִי לֹא אֲעָלִים	וְאֶכֶן מַעְגְלִי	וְאֲשִׁיר מִפְּעָלִי	וְאֵיטִיב מִעַלְלִי
וְנָסוּ הַצִּלְלִים	בְּטָרֶם בֹּא שְׁמִשִּׁי	עָלִי גֹדֶל טַפְשִׁי	וְתִנָּחַם נַפְשִׁי
יְחִידָה מִכְּבָלִים	וְתִצָּא לַחֲפֵשׂ	וּמִרְפָּא לְנַפֵּשׁ	וְאִזּוֹ אֲמַצָּא נַפְשִׁי
כְּנִי אֵל בְּזִבּוּלִים	גִּנְחָה מְנַחֶה	בְּהִשְׁקֻט וּבְכֻטָּה	וְשָׁבָה לְמִנּוּחָה
בְּחִסְדּוֹ לֹא הִכְלִים	וְכָל שֶׁב מִרְשָׁע	לְעַבְדּוֹ שֶׁת יִשָּׁע	וְאֵל נוֹשָׂא פֶשַׁע
וְעוֹד לֹא נִכְשָׁלִים	וּמִחֲטָאֵם שָׁבִים	אֲשֶׁר דָּרְכָם עֲזוּבִים	כְּבִשָּׁר שׁוֹכְבִים
יְשִׁימִם גִּנְאָלִים	וּמֵאֵשׁ קוֹדֶחַת	וְיִפְדִּים מִשְׁחַת	לְהַמְצִיאֵם נַחַת
כְּבֹא יוֹם תְּגִמּוּלִים	וּמִי זֶה יַעֲזֹר־לִי	אֶהְיֶה, נִפְשִׁי, מִי לִי	וְאֵם אֵין אֲנִי לִי
וּמִסְתַּרֵי גִלְלִים	בְּהִחְשָׁף סוּדִי	וּמִי יִלְיֹץ בְּעַדִּי	וּמִי יִסְמֹךְ יָדִי
בְּחִקְרוֹ מִפְּעָלִים	וּמָה אֲשִׁיב שׁוֹלְחִי	וְחִטָּאתִי נִכְחִי	וְאִיךָ אֲרִים מִצָּחִי

11 וכל טובו עתק, ב'ר: וכל טובו נתק.

12 אחרי חרוז זה בנוסח ב'ר נמצא חרוז החסר אצלנו:

וְהִמְנוֹת יִקְרַב וְיִשָּׁב בְּמֵאֲרָב
וְגַם צָעִיר וְרַב בְּמִקְרָתוֹ נִפְלִים

13 יבחר ב'ר: אבחר. 14 המשכילים, ב'ר: המשכילים.

16 לאמוניו, ב'ר: נאמוניו. 17 חללים, ב'ר: חלים.

20 אחרי חרוז זה ב'ר מביאים חרוז החסר בכה'י שלנו:

וְאֲשִׁיב אֶל לְבִי בְּעוֹד נִשְׁמָתִי בִי
וְעֵינִי עַל חוּבִי דְּמַעוֹת הֵם נוֹזְלִים

21 טפשי, ב'ר: כחשי.

22 ואז אמצא נופש – ותצא לחופש. נוסח ב'ר: אזי אמצא נפש ויצאה לחפש.

23 יסמוך, ב'ר: יחמך.

24 בחקרו, ב'ר: בחקי.

לא

תוכחה.

עשיתה ליום הכפורים.

עדי מתי יצרי	יהי נד על יוצרי	ויבחר רע ומרי	ודרך מהתלים
ואקשה את רוחי	ואעז את מצחי	אסלף את ארחי	ואעזב מסלולים
ונפשי לזקחת	משוכה נצחת	ובמאד נאלחת	במעשים נגעים
ועיני נפקחות	ורעיוני טוחות	ומני נדחות	והכל מהגלים
5 חרקה בי שיכה	ועודי במשוכה	וסרתי מנתיבה	לעקש מעגלים
ולא אגור מיום	אשר אין בו פדיום	אכל כל יום ויום	פשעי נכפלים
ועולם זה אדרש	אשר מתקן מי רש	ואחריתו לשרש	ומחמדיו כלים
ושמחתו אבל	ותמדתו הכל	כציץ יצא נובל	ונדף פעלים
וכנר הוא נחשב	לכל יהיה תושב	וכל עובר ושב	כגרים נמשלים
10 בהכלו יוגיעם	ומות סוף ירעם	ברסן שוא יתעם	היות בו נכשלים

לא.

שיר זה אינו נמצא בכ"י מכוון ונמצא רק בדיואן דאפיירה כ"י אדלר שבספריה של בית המדרש לרבנים בניו יורק. שיר זה נתפרסם בראשונה על ידי שניאור זקש ב, שירי שלמה' בתור שיר של שלמה בן גבירול ומשם נכנס להוצאת ביאליקרבניצקי (דהלן: ב"ר) אלא שזקש ייחס את השיר לגבירול בלי שום חיזוק של כתבייד או מקור אחר ומסך רק על הרגשתו והשערותיו. לו היה כה"י אדלר לפני עיני זקש כי או בוודאי שלא היה רואה כל צורך ל,שער' ול,יחסו' ל,שלמה' אחר. דוידון, אוצר השירה והפיוט', כרך שלישי עמוד 253 סימן 112 מעיר: ,משום שנמצא רק באחד מכ"י דאפיירה יש להטיל ספק במחבר, בכל זאת עדותו של כתבייד חזקה מהשערת זקש'. חששו זה של דוידון ברור שאינו מיוסד. שאם כן, הלא יש להטיל ספק בבעלותו של דאפיירה בנוגע לרובם המכריע של שירייהקודש שלו הנכללים רק בכתבייד אחד, בזה של ,המכון'. ונראה שאחרי כן ביטל דוידון את חששו זה משום ש,בנוספות חדשות' שלו בספר שביעי, מלואים III עמוד 84 ב"ר מעירים בשם דוידון, שפיוט זה נמצא בכ"י דאפיירה ואם כן אינו לרשב"ג. ואף על פי שבעלותו של דאפיירה היא כאן מחוץ לכל ספק כדאי להעיר על המליצה בבית 5, וזרקה בי שיכה ועודי במשוכה, וסרתי מנתיבה לעקש מעגלים'. ברור שהמשרור מתוודה שגם לעת זקנתו עדיין לא חזר בתשובה שלמה, מליצה מורה מאד בפי גבירול שעד כמה שירוע לנו מת בגיל של שלשים שנה ואחת. – וב"ר ב,נוספות חדשות' שם מביאים שורה שלמה של שניינינוסחאות בין נוסח זקש ובין כה"י של הספריה הממלכתית בפ"ב (לנינגרדא).

- וראה את ביאוריהם המבהירים של ב"ר לשיר זה, רשב"ג, כרך שני, שירי קדש, עמוד 59 ואילך.
 ■ כציץ יצא נובל, וב"ר מנסחים: כעץ יבש נובל.
 9 וכנר הוא נחשב לכל יהיה תושב, ב"ר מנסחים: וכנשר נחשב לכל יהיה נושא.
 10 ומות סוף ירעם; נוסח ב"ר: ומות סף ירעם.
 היות בו נכשלים, נוסח ב"ר: היותם בו כושלים.

- 35 אַל-נָא תְּהִי לְקַלְסָה וְשִׁמְצָה
וְלִיּוֹעֲצֵי שְׁלוֹם לֵאמֹר: עוֹצֹ עֲצָה
לְמִי הִילָדוֹת כָּצַל בּוֹרַח
הַתַּחֲשֵׁב הַיּוֹתֶה שׁוֹקֵט וּבּוֹטֵחַ
רָאָה גַם רָאָה קֶץ כָּל-בֶּשֶׁר נִרְשָׁם
בְּטָרָם תִּלְךָ אֶל מָקוֹם אֲשֶׁר שָׁם
40 הוֹשַׁע אֲדָנִי עִמָּה נִחַלְתָּה נִחַלּוּ
חוֹכֵי יִשְׁעָה נִחַלּוּ וְלֹא נִחַלּוּ
חֲנוּן חֲנוּן יִרְאִיָּה עוֹשֵׂי רִצּוֹנָה,
הַנּוֹעֲדִים לַעֲשׂוֹת כָּל הַיֵּשֶׁר בְּעֵינֶיהָ
45 זְכוֹר יָמוֹת עוֹלָם אֲמַת גּוֹרֶת
כֵּן תַּעֲשֶׂה וּמִכָּל אֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתָּ
קִרְא דְרוֹר לְנִפְזֹר מָזָה וּמָזָה
בֵּיד כָּל-נְבִיא כָל-חֲחוּהָ
מִלְכִּי, לְפָנֶיהָ יִשְׁפֹּר מִלְכִּי
כֹחַ עֲזוֹנִי הַכְשִׁיל כֹּחִי וְאֵין בִּי כִי
50 הַסִּבַּת וְשִׁמְעַ שְׁוַעִי מִמַּעֲוֹנָה
מִיִּשְׁרִים תַּחֲזִינָה עֵינֶיהָ וְאֲזַנֶּיהָ
בִּינָה הִגִּי תַחֲנוּנִי וְחַנּוּנִי,
טָרָם אֶקְרָא מַצָּרָה לִי תַעֲנִי
בַּה' אֶהְלֵל דָּבָר.

36 לאמר=שיאמר ליועצי שלום.

41 נחלו - זחלו - בחלו, נחלו, לנעיל.

47-48 כלומר, ההבטחות שהבטחת לו על ידי הנביאים עדיין לא נתקיימו.

49 דניאל ד, כד: להן מלכא מלכי ישפר עליך.

39 עודך=בעורך.

- תַּעֲם הַנִּכְלָמִים כִּי לֹא מָלְאוּ אַחֲרֶיהָ
 שׁוֹקְדֵי דְלִתּוֹת דְּבִירָה לְשַׁחֲרָהּ
 לֵב טְהוֹר הִכִּינוּ כִּי לֹא בִשְׁעָרֶיהָ
 יָבֹא טָמֵא לְכָל דְּבָר. (ד"ה ב' כג, יט)
- 15 בְּרַחֲמֶיהָ אֲדֹנִי מִחֲלָנוּ תְּכַלְכֵּל
 יְדִעְנוּהָ בּוֹחֵן לֵב יֵשֶׁר וְנוֹכֵחַ
 דְּבָרָיו בְּמִשְׁפָּט תְּכַלְכֵּל וְתִשְׁפֹּל
 מִן מִצָּא דְבָר. (דניאל ט, כה)
- נֶעֱזַב נְתִיבָנוּ וְנוֹדָה חֻבְּנוּ
 וְאַלֶּיהָ נִשְׂא לְכַבְּנוּ
 שָׂר חֲעָף עַל הַדְּבָר. (מ"א כא, ד)
- 20 מְזַבְּלָהּ פָּנֶה אֶל תַּפְּסֶלֶת עֲמָהּ
 וְאִישׁ אֵין בְּאַרְצָהּ יוֹכֵל מִמָּהּ,
 לְשַׁעֲהָ שָׁב אֵלֶיהָ שׁוֹב וְרִצּוֹא
 וְגַם הוּא לֹא יִחְדַּל מִמִּצָּא
- לְגִדֹר פָּרָץ וּלְשׁוֹבֵב נְתִיבוֹת
 אֲתָהּ לְבִדְדָה מִסִּבָּב הַסְּבוֹת
 25 מִמַּעֲזֵן קִדְשָׁהּ תִּשְׁאֵג כָּל־בֵּיא
 קֵץ פְּדוּת גַּעֲלָם, וּמִדּוּעַ יִסְתִּיר אָבִי
- דְּבָרֵי עֲזוּנוֹת וְדוֹנוֹת וְחֲטָאוֹת
 מִנִּסְתָּרוֹת נִגְסָם כִּי מִי יִבִּין שְׁגִיאוֹת,
 אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּהָ פִּגְעָתִי
 30 אֱלֹהֵי לִי אִם רָשַׁעְתִּי
- פָּנֵנוּ אֵלֵינוּ שְׁבִי פֶשַׁע וְהִנֵּשְׁעוּ
 עֲבָדוֹהָ בְּכָל־לֵב וְאַל תִּגְרָעוּ
 יְלֹדֵי יִלְדֵי יוֹם, פִּי מָלָה שְׁמִרָה!
 הִתְתַּבַּרְךָ בְּלִבְכָּה אֲזַל לֵאמֹר:
- 14 כִּי, חֲסֵר בְּאוֹכֵס.
 15 אֲדֹנִי, חֲסֵר בְּכִי אוֹכֵס; מִכָּאן עַד סוֹף הַפְּיוּט הַנוֹסֵחַ מִתְּפִרְסָם כָּאן רַק לִפִּי כִּי אֲדַלֵּר.
 26 כְּלִבּוֹא, לִשׁוֹן אֲרִי; לְבִיא=לְהִבּוֹא, לִנְעִל.

ל

אחר לימים האלה.

סימן: אני שלמה בן משלם דאפיארה חזק.

נָא בִּאדְנִי אֶהְלֵל דְּבָר	יְדִבֶּר־נָא עֲבָדָה דְּבָר
לְעֵצִים וְדוֹנִי נִבְהֵל וּמִשְׁתָּאָה אָדָם בְּדָבָר. (ישעיהו כט, כא)	אֱלֹהֵי אֲרוֹמְמָה בְּלֵב גְּלָאָה וְנִכְאָה יִשְׁפִּיל הָרִי הָרְהוּרִי רְעִינִי מִחֲטִיאֵי
לְקִרְאָת בְּנֵי עֲמָה יָצְאוּ גְדוּדִים מִרְעִידִים עַל הַדְּבָר. (עזרא י, ט)	לְנוֹעְדוֹ הַמוֹנִי פּוֹשְׁעִים וּמוֹרְדִים וְעָלוּ וּבָאוּ בְּבִיתָה תַּרְדִּים
וְהוֹצִיאָנוּ מִרְעָה אֶל רְעָה לֹא גּוֹכֵל לַעֲשׂוֹת הַדְּבָר. (בראשית לד, יד)	5 לְצִרְנוּ יַעֲצָנוּ לְדַבֵּר תּוֹעָה וְהָעֵת שְׁכַלְנוּ יוֹרָה דְּעָה
בְּרִאשִׁיתוֹ אִתּוֹ תָּלִין מִשְׁנֵגְתוֹ יִיָּד לְדַבֵּר דְּבָר. (דברים יח, כ)	שׁוֹכֵב הַלֵּךְ וְשֹׁב בְּמִרוּצָתוֹ גִּילָף הַלּוֹךְ וְגִדּוֹל וּבִצְחָרִיתוֹ
שָׁכַט עֲבָרָה גִּאֲוָתוֹ יִשְׁפִּיל הוֹכַח בְּדָבָר. (איוב טו, ג)	לִי חֲסֹר לֵב גִּלּוֹז וּמַעֲפִיר 10 בְּדָבָרִים לֹא יוֹסֵר וּמָה יוֹעִיל
וְלִשְׁמַע בְּקוֹלָהּ לֹא אָבִינוּ לְפִשַׁע בְּדָבָר. (עזרא י, יג)	מִצְוֹתֶיהָ אֲמוּנָה צִוִּית אָבִינוּ דְּבַרְנוּ דְּפִי וְהִרְבִּינוּ

ל.

פיוט זה אינו נמצא בכחבי"ד מכון ושאבתיו מכ"י אדלר וגם הוא נתפרסם על ידי במאמרי ב. חרבוץ' הנזכר בהערה לפיוט כט לעיל. בכ"י אוכספורד ממעל לשיר זה רשום: "אחר להה"ר שלמה דאפיירה ו'ל לימים לתשובה".

2 נוסח אוכספורד: ישפיל הרהורי רעיוני וילאה מחטאי אדם בדבר.

3 נוסח אוכספורד: נועדו המוני פשעים ומרדים (ונוסח זה צריך לקבל); יצאו גדודים=לקטרג על ישראל.

4 נוסח אוכס.: ובאו ועלו.

5 נוסח אוכס.: לבקש תועה.

6 נוסח אוכס.: לעשות דבר.

8 הלוך וגדול. אוכס.: הלוך וגדל.

11 אוכס.: מצותך; אבינו - אבינו, חרח משותף.

12 והרבינו, אוכס. מנסח והעלינו.

פִּדְוִי, אָבִי, מִשְׁבִּי חוֹבִי וְרָשָׁעִי מְרוּדִי בְּמִרְדִּי וּפְשָׁעִי בְּפִשְׁעִי	וְהִי כֹפֶר בְּצָעִי נוֹדִי וְנוֹעִי אֲדוֹנִי יִחְשָׁב-לִי. (שם, מ, יח)
צַמְתִּי וְאֶבְכֶּה וְשִׁמְחָתִי תוֹגְתִּי לְמַחֹל לִי, וְדַבְרִי שְׂאֲגָתִי	אוֹנִי לְזִדְנִי וְדֹאגָתִי וּמְשׁוֹנָתִי זְמִירוֹת הָיוּ לִי. (שם, קיט, נד)
קָצַפְתָּ עָלַי, יֵצֵר גּוֹכֵל, וְהֶאֱשַׁמְתָּנִי מִיּוֹם הַנִּלְדִּי לְמַפְנֵעַ לָךְ שְׁמָתִנִּי	כַּח לְהַכְשִׁיל בְּכַשִּׁיל אֹלֶת הַלְמָתִנִּי וַעֲתָה הַצִּיחָה לִי. (שמות לב, י)
רְעִינִי רוֹחָה טָמְנוּ לִי מוֹקְשִׁים וְאֵת בְּתִי וְנִקְדָּשִׁים	גִּרְשִׁנִּי מִהַסְתַּפַּח בְּנַחֲלַת קְדוּשִׁים הֵם מִקְדִּישִׁים לִי. (ויקרא כב, ב)
שׁוֹכֵן עַד, שְׁעָה אֲמַרִי פִי וְנִשְׁמַת רוּחַ חַיִּים בְּאִפִּי, עַל אִפִּי	זְכוֹר פִּי תֹאנֹת יָמֵי חָרְפִי וְעַל חֲמָתִי הֵיטָה לִי. (ירמיהו לב, לא)
תִּאֲנִתִּי לְעִבְדְּךָ בְּנַפְשִׁי וּמֵאֲדִי אֲשֶׁר נָתַתָּ עֲמָדִי לְכַבּוּדִי	לִוְלִי חֲמוּדַת זִמְנִי מֵעוֹדִי וְתָהִי לְחֶרְפוֹת לִי. (תהלים סט, יא)
שָׁמַע לְחַשׁ וְשָׂא לְכָל-חַטָּאתִי אֲשֶׁר פָּצוּ שְׁפָתִי	מִבֶּן הַיּוֹנִי וּמִקְשִׁיב תַּחְנוּתִי וְדַבֵּר פִּי בְּצַר לִי. (שם, סו, ד)
מִלְכִּי הִקְשִׁיבָה נֶגֶשׁ וְנַעֲנָה טָרִם יִקְרָא אֶתָּה תַעֲנָה	לְכָבוֹ פּוֹנָה כִּאֲשֶׁר יַעֲוֹד תַּקְנָה הִנְנִי פִי קָרָאתָ לִי. (שמואל א' ג, ה)

חֲנִנִי, ה' כִּי צָר לִי.

35-36 [חנותי - מוסר כליות שאני מרגיש - הוא היא שמחתי. והמשורר הולך ומפרט: צערי - אוני - על דבר זדוני (ולדוני) ודאנתי על דבר משונתי (למשונתי - קרי') למחול לך]. המשורר אומר: על ידי תשובה ותפלה נהפכה חנותי (על חטאות נעורי) לשמחה, ושיעור הסוגר הוא: צערי (אוני) ודאנתי על זדוני ומשונתי נהפכו למחול לך; ומפני כך תפילותי (דברי שאנתי) וזמירות היו לי.

37 האשמתני=עשיתי לחוטא ואשם להכשיל כחי (איכה א, יד); ה' למתני בכשול אולת (תהלים ער, ו). הכשיל - כשול, לנעיל.

39-40 הדברים בשני הטורים עדיין מוסבים ל'יצר הנוכל'.
41-44 הנפש ביסודה תאוה לאלהים אבל ה'יצר הנוכל' שהחטיא את חוה (חמורת זמני=האשה אשר נתת עמדי (בראשית ג, יב)=תענוגי החיים) מכשיל אותה.

42 אָפִי - אִפִּי, לנעיל.

- 15 תְּמִידָת יִצְרִי שְׂכַחְנִי דָת יוֹצְרִי
וּבְרָבוֹת לְחָבִי כְּאֲבִי וְצִירִי, צָרִי
נַחֲשׁ סְכָלִי נִשְׁךְ שְׁכָלִי בְּאַף וְחָרִי
גִּלְעָד אֶתָּה לִי. (ירמיהו כב, ו)
- טָפְלוּ עָלַי יָדַיִם בְּעֶבְרִי מִצֹּתָךְ
בְּאַפָּם עֲשָׂקוּנִי וְאוֹלָם עֲנֹתָךְ
וּרְעִיּוֹנִי לְבִי אֲסִירִי תִקְוֹתָךְ
הִיא נִתְּנָה לִי. (בראשית ג, יב)
- לְמִי נִנְעָכוּ וְרוּחִי חֲבָלָה
וְהֵעַת אֶקְנֶה רְפוּאוֹת תַּעֲלָה
וְלִרְעַ פְּעָלָה תִּסְלַד בְּחִילָה
חֲבָלִים נָפְלוּ לִי. (תהלים טז, ו)
- כְּבֹד עֲוֹנִי לִקְוִי אֶתְּוֹדָה וְאוֹדָה
וְזֹדוֹךְ לְבִי אֲשֶׁר נִפְשִׁי צוֹדָה
בְּרָאנִי יוֹשֵׁב אֶהְלִים וְלֹא אִישׁ שָׁדָה
הוּא תִצָּד צִיד וְיָבֵא לִי. (בראשית יז, לג)
- לֵב הוֹתֵל בְּבִגְדֵי צַעֲדֵי צָדָה
הַפֶּה לְאַבָּל כְּנוּרִי וְלִחְרָדָה
מִיַּעֲרַת דְּבֶשׁ לַעֲנָה רָדָה
נִשְׁף חֲשָׁקִי שָׁם לִי. (ישעיהו כא, ד)
- 25 מַעֲטָה מַעֲלִי עֲטִיתִי כְּמַעֲלִי
אֶךְ בְּאַפְלִי אֵל אֹר לִי וּבְמוֹט רִגְלִי
מִכְתִּי וּמִנִּיתִי נִסְמַכְתִּי בְּהִבְלִי
אֲדֹנִי מִשְׁעֵן לִי. (שמואל ב' יט, כב)
- נִבְהַלְתִּי מִרְאוֹת צְבָאוֹת תְּלָאוֹת
וְלֹא אָדַע עַד מָתִי קֶץ הַפְּלָאוֹת
נַעֲוִיתִי מִשְׁמַע צְבָאוֹת מִשְׁוֹאוֹת
וְגַם אֶתָּה לֹא הִגַּדְתָּ לִי. (בראשית כא, כו)
- 30 סָפוּ תִּמּוֹ אֲמוֹנִי אֲדֹנִי צְבָאוֹת
אֶצֶּל כָּל פְּנוֹת תַּחַת שְׁוֹאוֹת
וְכִי אֶקוּ עַת לְכֹנוֹס קְצוּצֵי פְּאוֹת
הִלֵּא אֶצִּלְתָּ לִי. (שם, כז, לו)
- לָעוֹן יִלְדוּתִי לְרֹאשִׁי הִרְכַּבְתִּיו
וְאִם מִנְעוּרִי חֲשַׁבְתִּיו אֶהְבֵּיתִיו
לָעֵת וְקִנְיָה נִשְׁתָּחִיו עֲנוּבְתִּיו
כִּרְעַ כְּאֵחַ לִי. (תהלים לה, יד)
- 17 ורעיוני לבי מקוים לחסדך וסליחתך.
15 נחש – נשך – סכלי – שכלי = לנע"ל.
20 חבלים, לשון יסורים ולא כמובן הכתוב.
21 אלהי בראני לשם תורה ומצוות (יושב אהלים) ולא לשם גשמיים ולתענוגי עולם הזה.
23 בבגד, לשון בגידה = חטאי.
26 נוסח מכון: אך באפלי אל אור לי.
27 צבאות תלאות, נוסח מכון: מראות תלאות; צבאית משוואות, ומכון מנסח: המוני משוואות.
29 קצוצי פאות, לפי ירמיהו ט, ועוד.
32 ואם = אולם בנעורי חשבתי = החשבתי את העון והייתי מסור אליו.

כט

מסתגאב לימים המיוחדים לתשובה.

סימן: אלפא ביתא, שלמה.

(עשר תנועות ויא תנועות)

תנני ה' כי צר לי.

אֹדָה עָלַי פִּשְׁעֵי וְאוֹדָה אֶת שְׁמֶךָ	וְשֹׁכֵר לִבִּי בְּקִרְבִּי בְּעֹזִי נֶאֱמִירָה
שְׁמֶשׁ זְמַנִּי שִׁנְפַּתְנִי וּבָצַל רַחֲמֶיךָ	אֲחִישָׁה מִפֶּלֶט לִי. (תהלים נה, ט)
בְּנִתִי לְרַעִי וַיִּצְרֵי מִבְּטָן קִרְאֵנִי	תִּדְרֹרִי הַבִּיאֵנִי וּבָצַל יְדֹו הַחֲבִיאֵנִי
מִמַּעַי אִמִּי הִשִּׁיאֵנִי הַסְטִיאֵנִי	וְהוּא צָוָה לִי. (שמואל א' כ, כט)
5 גָּבְרוּ מִנִּי עֲוֹנוֹת גִּיב שְׁפָתַיִם	וּפָעַל יָדִי לְהִיטִיב אֵין לִי יָדַיִם
וְאֶמְנֶם עַל הָרַע כְּפִיִּם	עָשָׂה יְדוֹת לִי. (שמואל ב' יט, מב)
דָּבָקָה נִפְשִׁי אִם בְּמֶרֶד וְאִם בְּמַעַל	שְׁפַת אֶמֶת לְחִפִּי סֶף רַעַל
נֶאֱמַר פֶּשַׁע לְרָשָׁע, וּדְבַר בְּלִיעַל	דְּבַר אֱלֹהִים לִי. (שופטים ג, כ)
לְהַצִּיחֵנִי וְהַרְשַׁעְתִּי וּבִקְשֵׁתִי תוֹאנָה	נַעַלְתִּי אֲנִשִּׁי אֲמוֹנָה וְסִגְנִי כְהֵנָה
10 וְאֲנִשִּׁי דָמִים וּמֶרְמָה וְשִׁטָּנָה	אֶקְדָּשׁ לְכַהֵן לִי. (שמות כט, מד)
וּבִכְנֵן אָבֹא אֵלֶיךָ בִּלְבָב נִשְׁכָּר	אֲשַׁפִּיל גֹּאזִן תִּאֲוֹתִי אֲשֶׁר גָּבַר
נִחְמַתִּי עַל הָעֶכֶר וּמִכָּל דָּבָר	רַע בְּעֵינֶיךָ אֲשׁוּבָה לִי. (במדבר כב, לד)
יָכוֹר יָמֵי קֶדֶם בְּיוֹם תּוֹכְחָה	תִּתֶּה לְעֹזֵן סְלִיחָה וְלֹאֲנַחָה הִנָּחָה
וַעֲתָה בָּבֹאִי לְבִקֵּשׁ לְצָרָה רוּחָה	כְּמוֹת תִּנָּחָה לִי. (שמואל א' כא, י)

כט.

הפיוט הזה נתפרסם על ידי ב. חרביץ שנה ז' (תרצ"ו) ספר ג-ד עמ' 339, מתוך כתביד אדלר הנמצא בספריה של בית המדרש לרבנים בניו יורק. בכתביד הצילום שב, מכון' הפיוט נפסק בשורה 28.

4 השיאני הסטיאני, וכי, מכון' מנסח: השיאני והחטיאני.

5-6 השיעור: עונות נברו מני גיב שפתיים=מלהביע כמו, לפי תהלים סה, ד. - וופעל ידי - להיטיב אין לי ידים אבל לעשות רע עשר ידות לך. ידי - ידים - ידות, הקבלות.

6 כפים, ובנוסח, מכון': ידים.

13 נוסח מכון: וזכרה לי ימי קדם.

14 נוסח מכון: ועתה בקשתי לצרה רוחה.

שְׁקַדְתִּי עָלַי דְּלֹתוֹת	תְּמוּדוֹת הַבְּלִי יָמִי
מִשְׁכָּתִּי בְּעִבּוֹתוֹת	הַשּׁוֹא בִּשְׁתַּעַלּוּמִי
בְּלִיַּח לְבִי תְּרוֹתוֹת	שְׁבוּעוֹת חֲקוֹת אֲשָׁמִי
וּמִתְּמוּרוֹת וּרְשָׁתוֹת	הַכִּינוּ לְפַעֲמִי
עַל זֹאת נִבְהָלוּ עַצְמִי	וּנְפָשִׁי נִבְהָלָה מְאֹד. (תהלים ו, ד)
לֵב הוֹתֵל הִשָּׁהוּ	זָמַנִּי עַל לֹא דָּבָר
מִעִיל מֵעַל יַעֲטָהוּ	עַל שְׁנֵי קִצּוֹתָיו וְחִבָּר
בַּעֲת נֹעַר פָּתָהוּ	וְאוֹלָם חָלַף עָבַר
יּוֹם שִׁיבוּ הָלָאָהוּ	וְכַח אֲבָד וְשָׁבַר
אֲזִי יִצְבֹּר רַעְיוֹן בָּרַ	כְּחוֹל הַיָּם הִרְבָּה מְאֹד. (בראשית מא, מט)
מָה יָפוּ לִי פַעֲמִי	בְּמִסְלּוֹל שׁוֹא דְרָכָתִי
וּמָה עָרְבוּ מִטַּעֲמִי	בֵּין רִקְחִי וְנִסְכָּתִי
אֲכֹן בְּקָרֵב בְּשָׁמִי	חֲמַת נִחַשׁ מִסְכָּתִי
בְּזִכְרִי כִי מַעֲט יָמִי	קוֹדֵר הִלְכָתִי
כִּי עַל כֵּן וְחִלָּתִי	וְאִירָא הִרְבָּה מְאֹד. (נחמיה ב, ב)
יְהִינִי בִּינָה אֲדוֹנִי	וְהַעֲבֵר נָא עֵוֶן עֲבָדֶךָ
רְאֵה כִּי עָזִי וְאוֹנִי	סָפּוּ מִפְּנֵי פִּחְדֶּךָ
זָכַר כִּי רוּחַ זְמָנִי	וְחִלָּדִי כְּאֵין נִגְדֶּךָ
וּלְכַפֵּר אֶת יְדוֹנִי	אֵין עוֹד מְלַבֶּדֶךָ
גְּדוֹל עֲוֹנִי וְחִסְדֶּךָ	גְּדוֹל יִתְרִי מְאֹד. (ישעיהו נו, יג)
נִלְכָּד בַּפֶּחַח חֲטָא וּמוֹקֵשׁ	בְּחִלָּאת מְשׁוּבוֹת מְנַאֵל
לֶךְ שׁוֹחֵר טוֹב יִבְקֵשׁ	רִצּוֹן וְכִפָּר יִשְׁאַל
בְּשׁוּבוֹ אֵל יְהִי גּוֹקֵשׁ	בְּפֻעַל כִּפּוּי גּוֹאֵל
הִסֵּר לְבַב עֲקֹשׁ	מְנֵהוּ, וְאוֹתוֹ תִּנְאֹל
אֵל תִּזְכֹּר עֵוֶן וְאֵל	תִּקְצֹץ אֲדָנִי עַד מְאֹד. (ישעיהו סד, ח)

יֹם בּוֹ יִסַּג כְּלָמוֹתָ?	אֹי יִקְרָא וְאִין עוֹנָה—
וְאוֹסְפֵי גִדּוּדֵי אֲשָׁמוֹת	לְחִנּוֹת עָלָיו מַחֲנָה
בְּמָה יִתְרַצָּה לְפָנַי	אֱלֹהִים הֲלוֹא בְּשׁוּבוֹ. (יחזקאל יח, כג)
הֲלִיכּוֹת עוֹלָם עֵינַי	רְאוּ וְשָׁמְעוּ אָזְנִי;
הֲלֹא מַעֲט יָמַי וְשָׁנַי	וְאֶכֶן רַבִּים שְׁאוּנִי,
וְאִמְצָא תוֹךְ בֶּן עֲדָנִי	עֵץ פּוֹרָה רֹאשׁ פִּתְנִי
וְזֹאת צִוּוּ רַעֲיוֹנִי	לְלִבִּי: שׁוּב מַעֲוֹנִי!
שְׁפוּךְ הַגֵּיחַן תַּחֲנוּנִי	מָקוֹם שְׁלָמִי קָרְבָּנִי
אֹי יִקְרָה אֲדָנִי	לְקִרְאָתוֹ אֲחֵרִי שׁוּבוֹ. (במדבר כג, ג)

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כח

סליחה.

סימן: שלמה.

(שש תנועות)

הִנֵּה נָא הוֹאֵלְתִּי	לְפָנַי אֲדָנִי לַעֲמֹד
וְרוֹם לְבִי הִשְׁפַּלְתִּי	וְנִגְדֹו יִקְדּוּ וְיִסְגְּדוּ
וְלִדְבָרוֹ הוֹחֵלְתִּי	לְתֵת לְשִׁמוֹ כְּבוֹד
וְאִם אָנֹכְךָ פָּעַלְתִּי	לֹא אוֹסִיף לַעֲשׂוֹת עוֹד
יְדַעְתִּי הִסְפַּלְתִּי	וְאִשְׁגָה הִרְבֵּה מְאֹד. (שמואל א' כו, כא)

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16 המליצה בנויה על איוב ה, א; מיכה ב, ו: לא יסג כלמות.

17 אוספי גידודי אשמות=חטאיו הרבים חונים ומקטרגים עליו כמו מחנה שלם (תהלים כו, ג).

20 כך דרכו של עולם: אדם ימיו קצרים ומעטים וצרותיו=שאוניו מרובים.

21 ראיתי ומצאתי שאפילו בימי שמחתי והצלחתי כבר טמון סביבי ראש פתן, שרש האסון המכין לי צרות ותלאות בעתיד, וזהו רעיון מרכזי חוזר בשירי דאפיירה.

כח.

השיר הוא מעין "יודיו" על חטאות-הנעורים. בימי נעוריו נפתה ונפל אל תוך מהמורות (תהלים קמ, יא) ורשחות החטא (שורה 9) אבל לעת זקנתו ככלות כחו רעיונותיו מתבררים והוא מכיר את שנינו (שורה 15).

כז

ליום הצום סליחה.

סימן: שלמה.

לנועם יצרי ראשית.

(שש תנועות)

וְחִמְדַּת עוֹלָם וְטוֹבוֹ	שְׁאֵן יָם יָמִים וְלַחֲצֵץ
לְטַמֵּן עֲוֹנוֹ בְּחָבוֹ,	לְכִבִּי יִטּוֹ לְחִפְצָם
לְשִׁים אֲרָבוֹ בְּקָרְבוֹ	וְעָלְיוֹ דְּרָכּוֹ חֲצָם
לְהִיזֹת חוֹמָה סְבִיבוֹ –	וְקִמְתִּי לְגִדֵּר פְּרָצָם
תִּמְדֵּךְ אֲשׁוּרֵי נְתִיבוֹ	לְחִבֵּשׁ עֲצָבוֹת מִחֲצָם
הָאוֹכֵל לְהַשִּׁיבוֹ. (שמואל ב' יב, כג)	וְאוֹלָם לְזֶה אֲנִי צָם
טַמְנוּ פֶּחַ מְצִידָתוֹ	לְכִב שׁוֹכֵב אֲשָׁמִיו
שְׁלַחוּ בָבָא חֲרָדָתוֹ,	עֲלוּמִי יָד בְּשִׁלּוּמִיו
הַשְׁלִיכוּ חֲמַדָּתוֹ	וְקִמְיוֹ בְּלִבֵּב יָמִיו
חֲתַרְתִּי לְהַעֲלוֹתוֹ –	וּמִתְהוּמִיו לְמִרוּמִיו
יְהִי יִשְׁקָף לְפָדוֹתוֹ	וְאוֹלֵי מַמְעוֹן שָׁמִיו
מִיָּדָם לְהַשִּׁיבוֹ. (בראשית לו, כב)	לְמַעַן הַצִּיל אוֹתוֹ
לְלֵב הוֹתֵל וּמִתְעַנֶּה	מִתְקִיו רִגְבִי אֲדָמוֹת
וְכֶסֶף קָצָף מְשֻׁנֶּה,	וְיִרְהֵב בְּזִהֵב מְרָמוֹת
לְמִי מְקִדּוּשִׁיו יִפְנֶה	וְלֹא זָכַר יוֹם חֲמוֹת

כז.

לנועם ה. סליחה' של ר' יהודה הלוי, יצרי ראשית צרי / התעני כשכור, / ומה יתרון לדברי / דבר עונות לזכור'.

1 שניהם, ים השאונות=הצרות של הימים=הזמן וכמו כן חמדת עולם=תענוגי העולם הזה גורמים שלבי יהיה משועבד להם ולחפצם ולבל אשוב מדרכי הרעים; ולכן קמתי ובאתי לגדור פראם ולהגן על עצמי מפניהם בצום ובתפלה.

■ עלומיו=כמו בושט עלומיו, חטאת נעוריו; חרדתו=יום המיתה. יד וכו' עפ"י תהלים נה, כא.

■ וקמיו=חטאיו השליכו את נשמתו=חמדתו אל עסקי מים לאבדון.

13 לב האדם הטועה והתועה (ישעיהו מד, כ) נעימים לו רנבי אדמות=תענוגי העולם הזה התפלים; כסף משנה (בראשית מו, יב) כסף – קצף, לנעיל.

אֵלֶּן אֲמַרְתִּי נִגְרַתִּי בֵּין רַבִּים קָמִים עָלַי,
כָּל פֶּקֶדִי כֹל יִשְׁרָתִי גַּם לֹא נָעוּ מִעֲגָלִי

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אִם אָבְלוּ נִפְּלוּ עָלַי,
מִפֶּקֶדִיךָ לֹא סָרְתִּי
לִישׁוּעָתְךָ שִׁבְרָתִי,
אֲמַרְתִּי אַתָּה מַחְסִי. (שם, קמב, ו)

בֵּן מְשֻׁמִּים לָזֹאת מִצָּרַת חֵיל יָד קָם אֶל תְּשׁוּמִים –
וְכָרוּ אָבֵד בָּלוּ וְנָכְרַת סָף יִהְיֶה אוֹן זִוְמִם
עֲתָה יָקוּם יְרוּמִם.

25

עֲתָה יִנָּשֵׂא בֶן פֶּרֶת,
כִּי בָא צִיר בֵּית לָחֶם אֶפְרַת
וּלְעִירִי וּמַחֲזֵז רִבְצִי;

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וּלְעַם צוֹעֵק, צוֹר מַחְסִי,
בְּאַמָּת וּבְתַמִּים וּבְיִשְׁרָת
לִבָּב בָּר, הִקְבֵּה לִי עֲוֹרָת
צִדְקָתוֹ לְאוֹר אוֹצִיא!

19 רבים קמים עלי, לפי תהלים ג, ב.

20 כל פקודי – תהלים קיט, קכח. משלי ה, ו: נעו מענלתיה לא חרע.

21 נפלו עלי, מלשון ועלהו לא יכול, תהלים א, ג.

22 בן פורת, כנוי למשיח.

כו הברלה.

סימן: שלמה בן משלם חזק.

(ח' תנועות ח' תנועות)

שְׁנֵעַת בֵּת עַמִּי הַקְּשִׁיבָה, צוּרִי, וּפְנֵה אֶל לְחָצִי,
צִיחַ בְּרִצּוֹנָה הִיטִיבָה, וְנַחֲנִי לְמַחֲזֹחַ חֶפְצִי.

מַחֲסִי! רַפָּא אֶת מַחֲצִי
וּמְקוֹם אֶהְלֶךְ הֶרְחִיבָה,
וּזְמַן קֵץ יִשְׁעִי תִקְרִיבָה
לְמוֹעֵד מוֹעֲדִים וְחָצִי. (דניאל יב, ז)

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לֵב נִדְכָּה וּמִפְסָה דְמָעָה, וּמַחֲכָה עֲתוֹת יֵשַׁע
יֵאֱמָן שׁוּא, בְּשׁוּא לֹא נִתְעָה, וּבִהְבִּלִי אֲנָשִׁי רִשְׁעִי
נוֹשֵׂא עוֹן וְפָשַׁע!

שְׁלַחָה גּוֹאֵל יִרְהַ דְּעָה,
יֵשָׁא קוֹל רָנָה וִישׁוּעָה
לְאַסָּף נִדְחֵי וּנְפוּצֵי. (ישעיהו יא, יב)

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כֹּה אֲשִׁיב דְּבַר לְמַבִּישִׁי, חֶרְפוֹנִי תִמְיֵד לְאִמְרִי:
מִדּוּעַ לֹא בָא בֶן יִשִּׁי, לְרִאוֹת אֶל הַר הַמּוֹרִי?

וּבְכָל זֹאת חֲקִיקָה אֲשַׁמֵּר,
כִּי עוֹד חֲזוֹן אֶל מַקְדָּשִׁי,
אֲזַל לְמוֹרָא יוֹבִילוּ שִׁי

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לְמַקְוָמִי וּגְבוּל אֶרְצִי. (תהלים עו, יב)

כו.

3-4 מחסי - מחצי וכן גם מחסי בשורה 24 לפי שויון ההברה של סמ"ך וצד"י אצל הספרדים.
7-8 עפ"י איוב טו, לא. השיעור הוא: לב נדכה ומחכה עתות ישע אשר לא נתעה בשוא ולא בהבלי
אנשי רשע כלום יאמין בשוא=ותקות גאולתו תישאר מעל? נאולי מוטב להעמיד סימן השאלה לאחר
י'אמן שוא? וכתשובה על השאלה: בשוא לא נתעה וכו' .

15 חוקיק, ברי' חוקק בלשון יחיד.

17 תהלים עו, יב.

18 מקדשי, בלשון רבים, לפי ויקרא כא, כג.

קץ לַעֲדָה עֲשׂוּקָה,	צַר וְשָׁמָּה שְׂאִיָּה,
קץ לַכֶּהֱן פֶּאֶרָה	וַעֲנֹק חֵן וְלִיָּה.
לֹא לַתְּקָה מְשׁוּכָה	אוּ לְקֶשֶׁת דְּרוּכָה
אַחֲרֵי, כִּי עֲרוּכָה	אַל מְצוּקִי אֲרוּכָה,
בְּחֶלֶף יוֹם מְבוּכָה	לִי מְלוּכָה נְסוּכָה.
לֹא בְדֶרֶךְ רְחוּקָה	אוּ בְמִדְבָּר וַצִּיָּה,
כִּי בְלִבִּי שְׁמוּרָה	אוֹת בְּרִית לִי לְמַחֲיָה.
מִמְעוֹף צוּק זְמַנִּים	וְהַמּוֹן קוֹל רְנָנִים
לֹא יַחֲלִין נְבוּנִים	אוּ יַגִּילוּן אֲמוּנִים –
בֵּין שְׁשׁוּנִים אֲסוּנִים	בֵּין צְנוּנִים פְּנִינִים.
עַתָּה לְמֶרְחָב וְצוּקָה,	עַתָּה לְחֶפֶשׁ וְשִׁבְיָה,
יוֹם לְאַפֵּל וְאוֹרָה,	יוֹם לְמִשׁוֹשׁ וְלִיָּה.
הִלְלוּ אֶל בְּקֶדְשׁוֹ,	הִלְלוּהוּ אֲמוּנָיו –
כָּל לִשׁוֹן שֶׁר בְּרַחֲשׁוֹ	יַעֲרֹף לוֹ רְנָנִיו,
וְאַסִּיר פֶּחַ בְּמוֹקְשׁוֹ	בוּ יֵשׁוּ מַעֲנִיו;
הַחֲפָצִים לְדָבָקָה	בוּ בְּנֶפֶשׁ רְצוּיָה
שִׁיר יְדִידוֹת חֻמְרָה	שׁוֹרְרוֹ, הִלְלוּיָהּ!

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- 7 הכהנים והלויים (כהן – ולויה) ישובו לדוכנם ולעבודתם; קץ=כלומר גאולה תהיה לכהן ולויה, ואולי צ"ל ללוייה.
 8 תקוה משוכה, כמו תוחלת ממושכה.
 9 ערוכה – ארוכה, לנעיל.
 12 אות ברית=הבטחת הגאולה אין היא רחוקה, כמו, לא בשמים היא' אלא קרובה מאד, היא נמצאת אצלי ובלבדי. רעיון מרכזי שאוב משירתו של ר' יהודה הלוי.
 14 נבונים, אמונים, כנויים לישראל.
 15 כאן המשורר שוב מביע את אותו הרעיון שבשורה 12 שבשיר הקודם.
 17 לויה=הלויית המת. המשקל דורש לנקד: וְלִיָּה.
 18 ר=מתפלל.
 20 במקור: במוקשי.

מְדַמִּי עֲנֵבִי עֲסִיסִים	אֵשֶׁת וְאֶשְׁכֶּר יוֹם מְשׁוּשִׁי,
אֶכְלָה מִשְׁמָן וְאִשִּׁים	כָּל מִנֵּת כּוֹסֵי בְּכוֹסֵי,
וְאֶרֶוּ נֶפֶשׁ עַמּוּסִים	עַד יְבוֹסוּן שׁוֹר אֲבוֹסֵי;
יוֹם הַדָּפָה סוֹת תְּהִלָּה	לְבָשָׁה, הַעֲמֵק שְׁאֵלָה –
תַּת לַעֲמָה עַל נִקְלָה	אַחֲרֵי נִמְכַּר גְּאֻלָּה.
הִנֵּנִי בְּרִבּוֹת תְּלָאוֹת	אֲבִטָּחָה לֹא אֲשַׁאֲלָה אוֹת,
בְּחִזּוֹן מְרָאוֹת נְבוֹאוֹת	חֹלְפוֹת דֵּי אוֹת לְבָאוֹת,
עוֹד מְעַט יִלְבַּשׁ קְנָאוֹת	יֵה לְהַחֲיִשׁ קֶץ פְּלָאוֹת
עַם אֲשֶׁר בָּחַר וְהִפְלָה	לְהִיּוֹת חֶלֶק וְנִחְלָה
לוֹ, יְהוּדָה לְתַפְלָה	וְעָלִי מִקְרָא וּמִגְלָה.

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כה

פזמון.

סימן: שלמה.

לחן יש ארוכה.

יֵשׁ לֵאל יָד חֲזָקָה,	יֵשׁ לִטֵּל יְיָ נְטוּיָה –
לְאַסֹּף שָׁה פְּזוּרָה	בֵּין כְּפִירֵי לְבִיָּה.
לְשַׁחֲרֹנֵי תַעֲזוּדוֹת,	תּוֹלְדוֹת יוֹם וְקוֹרוֹת –
לְמַדְנֵי לְהוֹדוֹת	יֵה בְּהִמִּיר תְּמוֹרוֹת,
כִּי בְּמַחֲשֶׁךְ חֲרָדוֹת	אֶחָזָה אוֹר יְקָרוֹת.

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- 14 כוסי=גורלי, בכוסי=לשתייה. 17-16 השווה לזה שורה 5 ושורה 21 שבשיר הקודם.
 18-20 למרות רוב צרותי אין אני מבקש אות לגאולה הקרובה, שכן ברברי הנביאים הקדמונים
 (חולפות=שעברו) ישנן די אותות והבטחות לימי הגאולה הבאים. – קנאות, רמז למשיח.
 22 נחמיה יא, י: יהודה לתפלה.

כה.

לחן, לניגון השיר, יש ארוכה ומרפא יש צרי אל כאבי' לר' יהודה הלוי.
 « תמורות=חילוף הזמן ומאורעותיו.
 5 בעצם החשך של הפגעים והצרות אני רואה את ניצוץ הישועה הקרובה לבוא.

כד

פזמון לפורים קודם קריאת המגילה.

סימן: שלמה.

לנועם נרד וכרכום.

סוד יִשְׂרָאֵל עִם סִגְלָה,	יִשְׂרָאֵל סִלּוּ מְסִלָּה
מִפְעֻלּוֹת נֹרָא עֲלִילָה.	גִּדְלוּ עַל כָּל גְּדוּלָּה
אָז וּפֶחַ טָמְנוּ לְנַפְשִׁי,	שְׁאֵאֲנוּ עָלֵי כְּפִירִים
וְעָקַר שְׂרָשִׁי וְחִרְשִׁי,	נוֹעֲצוּ יַחְדָּו לְהַחֲרִים
צוֹרְרִים הִפִּיל בְּמוֹקְשִׁי;	גִּזְאֵלֵי חַי קָם וְצָרִים
אֹר לְכֵן יֵאִיר וְתַחֲלָה	אָז יֵרֵד שְׂרִיד וְנִגְלָה
וְעִטְרַת פֹּז גְּדוּלָּה.	סוֹת יָקָר עֵטָה כְּשִׁלְמָה
אָב מֵיִסֵּר סָר לְבָבִי,	לֹא בְמֶאֱסָר צָר וּמוֹסָר
אֲשַׁכְנֶה אֶבְטַח כָּלִבִּיא,	הַבְּמַחְנִים אִם בְּמִבְצָר
לֹא יִנְיָאוּן מִחֲשָׁבִי;	בְּחִלָּף מִרְחָב וּמִצָּר
קֶץ לְכָל עֲצָב וְגִילָה,	קֶץ לְכָל תַּקְוָה וְתַכְלָה,
יֵשׁ בְּכָל מַחְלָה תַּעֲלָה.	יֵשׁ בְּכָל נֶגַה אֶפְלָה,

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כד.

לנועם של אותו הפיוט הרשום בשיר הקודם.

« וחרשי, ואולי צריך לנקד [וחרשי.

6 בן יאיר=מרדכי.

8 בבית הזה נמצא כמה פעמים לשון נופלת על לשון; למרות מאסרי ביד הצר הצורר ולמרות

מוסר אלהי לא סר לבבי ממצותו.

9 במדבר יג, יט: ומה הארץ אשר הוא יושב בהנה הבמחנים אם במבצרים – בכל מקום אני בוטח

בה' ומקוה לנאולתי.

10 בחלוף, כלומר, כשהששון והיגון מתחלפים זה בזה אין חילוף – גורל זה מחריר אותי.

12 הרעיון שבכל דבר ויצירה ברנע הוולדם נוצר גם היסוד שכנגד להם והמחריב אותם הוא

חביב על ר' שלמה דאפיירה והוא עובר כחוט השני דרך הרבה משיריו, והשווה לזה שורה 9–10

בשיר כ"א.

הַעֲמֵק שְׁאֵלָה
מוֹפֶת וְהַגִּבָּה לְמַעֲלָה.

לְחוּץ בֵּינֵי צַר	מֵאֵז	בְּלִי אֶבְדֹן שְׁבוּתוֹ,
עָמְדוֹ בְּמַצַּר	מִחֲזִיק	בְּתוֹרֵת אֵל וְדָתוֹ,
אוֹת כִּי בָעַת צַר	יֵאֵין	וַיִּשְׁמַע צַעֲקָתוֹ,

וּלְעִיר תְּהִלָּה
לְשִׁיב אֲמוֹנִיו בְּבִתְחִלָּה.

לְמַעַן יִשְׁוּעוֹת	וְדָבָר	גְּבוּרוֹת צוּר וְנִדְרוֹ,
אֲמֵץ וְרוּעוֹת	צוּעֵק	וְחִבְשׁ אֶת מְזוּרוֹ,
יוֹחִיל שְׁמוּעוֹת	קִצּוֹ	וְכֵה יֹאמֶר לְצָרוֹ:

אֵל כָּל פַּעֲלָה וּלְכָל עֲלִילָה
קֵץ וְתִכְלָה!

הִנֵּה נִדְוִדִי	יָסִיר	עֹץ מְרִי וּמְרִדִי,
אִידִי לְרִידִי	תִּדְוָה	וְגִיל לִי יוֹם מְרִדִי,
יִגַּל כְּבוֹדִי	חוֹכָה	רְאוּת קִצִּי וּמוֹעֲדִי,

וּלְעַם סִגְלָה
תַּת אַחֲרֵי נִמְכָּר גְּאֻלָּה.

פלא (ישעיהו ז, א) שאף על פי שכנסת ישראל (שבות) נמצאת מאז ומתקופות קדמוניות לחוצה ביד צר ואויב עדיין לא אבדה? וישראל אף על פי שהוא נמצא במצור ובסבל לא עזב דת אלהיו? פלא זה 'אות' ו'מופת' הוא שנאוולתו העתירה וודאית. – והשווה לזה סוף שיר י"ח הכולל את אותו הרעיון. – בעת צר – בעת צרה.

11 כבתחלה, כך צריך לנקד לדרישת המשקל.

12 ונדרו = הבטחת הגאולה של צור ישראל.

13 ישראל צועק וקורא: אמצ' זרועות וחבש את מזורו.

14 קצו = קץ גלותו.

16 לפי תהלים קיט, צו.

17–18 גלותי תכפר על כל עוונותי; אירי נהפך לרדידי – לששני.

21 מליצת צחות לפי ויקרא כה, כח: אחרי נמכר גאולה תהיה לו.

נִזְעְדוּ יִצְאוּ גִדּוּדִים,	לִפְנֵי פֶחַד שְׁאוּנִי
נִפְזְרוּ שְׁבָעוּ גִדּוּדִים,	נִדְדוּ הִלְכוּ הֶמוּנִי
צוּר יִשׁוּבֵב לֵב תִּרְדִּים,	אֶךְ בַּעַת רְצוֹן לְעִינִי
קוֹל יִשׁוּעָה וַהֲנַחָה,	בַּעֲבוּר קוֹל מַמְעוֹנִים
קוֹל לְהִגִּים כָּל אֲנַחָה.	קוֹל מִשְׁמַח מְרוּדִים
יָד אֱלוֹהַּ נִנְעָה בִּי	לְהַכְמַת שׂד יְרִיבִי
כָּאֲרִי טוֹרֵף וְלִבִּיא?	אִם כְּהָרֵג מַעֲצִיבִי
יָהּ, וַיַּחֲבֹשׁ אֶת כָּאֲבִי -	לֹא! וְרַק בַּעֲזוֹן עֲקָבִי
יַעֲלֶה לְתוֹר מְנוּחָה	עוֹד מַעֲט קֵט צִיר אֲמוּנִים
הִיָּתָה אוֹרָה וְשִׁמְחָה!	בְּאַמֵּר אָז: לִיהוּדִים

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כג

גְּאֻלָּה.

סימן: שלמה.

לנועם אל אל וטובו.

עֲלוֹת דֶּרֶךְ גְּבוּלָה!	בֵּית אֵל	סֵלֹו סֵלֹו מִסְלָה
וְאָרִים קוֹל גְּנִינוֹת,	אֶפְתַּח	שְׁפָתֵי רְנָנוֹת
בְּמוֹעֲצוֹת וּבִינוֹת,	יְהִי	יְדֵי אֲמוּנוֹת
וְהָאוֹתוֹת נְתִינוֹת,	נִגְלוּ	כִּי הַצְּפוֹנוֹת

18 הכמכת, בה'א פתוחה לפי ישעיהו כו, ו.

20 לא ורק נ לא א - נדרש לפניו: לא! אין אלהים מכה אותי כשנא; ו רק - נדרש לאחריו: ו רק בעוני הוא מכה אותי, וע"כ יחבש כאבי. לרעתי המשורר עונה על שתי השאלות שבשני הבתים הקודמים. לא, אין האלהים רוצה לעשות כלה עמנו כמו ששונאינו זוממים, הוא יענישנו, רק בעון עקבי, לפי חטאי ועונותי אבל הוא גם ירפא לנו, ויחבש את כאבי; והמשורר כותב, ורק' לצורך המשקל.

21 לתור, במדבר י, לג.

כג.

לנועם, חה פיוט. אהבה' לר' אברהם אבן עזרא המתחיל, אל אל וטובו יפחד וינהר עם קרובי. ברוח וברעיון שירו של דאפיירה קרוב הוא עד למאד ל, אהבה' זו.

4-10 המשורר מונה כאן את, הצפונות' ו, האותות' הנלוים המבטיחים את שיבת ציון. כלום אין זה

כב גאָלע.

סימן: שלמה.

לנועם נרד וכרכום.

אָם שְׁאוֹן ים הַזְּמַיִם	בָּא כְּאַלְהַ שְׁלוּחָה,
עוֹד יָקוּוּ הַשְּׂרִידִים	אַחֲרֵי צָרָה רָוָחָה.
שֶׁד וְשֶׁבֶר כְּתֻרֹנִי	וְאַנִּי תָרַד וְזוּחַל,
צָר וּמָצוּק בְּעֵתוֹנִי	וְאַנִּי נֶאֱלָם כְּרָחֵל,
אַךְ שְׁעָפִי יִסְרוֹנִי	וְאַנִּי תָמִיד אֵיחָל,
עֵת עֶצֶם עֵינֵי סְאוֹנִים	עֵין תְּבוּנָתִי פְקוּחָה
יָד לְאֵל תּוֹשִׁיב יַחֲדִידִים	בּוֹ לְבַד וּנְפִשִׁי בְּטוּחָה.
לֹא לְחִיל לּוֹחֵם וְנוֹחֵץ	יִחְרַף לְבִי בְּעוֹדִי,
אִם תְּמֹרֹת כּוֹנֵנוֹ חָץ	לֹא יַפְלַח אֶת כְּבֹדִי,
יָד לְאֵל רוֹפֵא וּמוֹחֵץ	לְחַבֵּשׁ אִיִּדִי וְשָׁדִי,
עוֹד יִחְדָּשׁ עֵת עֲדָנִים	לִי, וְעַת הַשְׁקֵט וּבִטְחָה
יַעֲלֹז מִקְהֵל חֲסִידִים	בּוֹ וַיִּשְׁשֻׁ בְּשִׁמְחָה.

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כב.

הפיוט שאליו רומז הנועם⁶ = הניגון הזה הוא, נרד וכרכם צץ בגני / קמשן יאל וקמל' לפייטן בלח: ידוע בשם נחום הנדפס ב, מבחר השירה העברית' לברודי-ווינר עמוד רצ"א. צונץ, ליטעראטור ג. עמוד 492 רושם עליו שהוא חי לא יאוחר משנת 1300 ולפי השערה קרובה היה חי בדרום ספרד או בפאס, וראה עמודי העבודה' ללנדסהוטש עמוד 278 וצונץ שראה בכמה כתבייד כמה פיוטים לנחום זה מעיר עליו: משורר בעל כשרון מחוץ לשורת הרגיל. הפיוט, נרד וכרכם' נושא הוא גם כן תקות הנאולה הקרובה והוא חותם בחרון:

אוֹהֲבֵי רֵאָה בְּעֵנִי - עֲלִמְעוֹנוֹ חֵס וְחֶמֶל
בָּא דְרֹר וְזֶמֶן נְאוּלִים אֶל־אֲסִיר תִּקְוָה - וְנֶאֱלָ.

1 שאון ים הזמנים=פגעי המקרים שהתחוללו במהירות כמו אילה שלוחה.

6 עין תבונתי=בשכלי אני רואה שקרוב זמן סוף הסואנים=קץ התלאות.

7 יד לאל=ביר ה', חידור, לאל ידי. ■ ונוחץ=מסחר; בעודי=בעודי בחיים.

■ לא יפלה את כבדי, כלומר, אינו מביאני לדמעות ובכיה, מליצה רגילה במובן זה בפיוט העתיק.

מַיּוֹם גְּלוּת שָׁה בֵּין זָאֲבִים נָדָד דְּרוֹר וּשְׁבַע מְרוֹר
 הוֹדוּ, לְתַנְרַת יַד מְרִיבִים לֹא סָר מִקֶּנֶה לְדְרוֹר
 הָאֵם צָרוֹר בֵּינוֹת רְגָבִים יִכְלֶה? וּבְצָרוֹר מֵר דְּרוֹר?
 לֹא נִצְבָּה יְתֵד תְּקוּעָה? מִשְׁפָּט וְחָק לֹא יַעֲבֹר:
 לְשׁוֹב שָׁאָר גּוֹלָה וְצוּעָה לְחַבֵּשׁ פָּאָב נוֹדָה מְזוֹר.
 הֵן לוֹ יְהִי כְדָבָר מְשֻׁנָּאִי: אִין קֶץ וְתִכְלִית לְנָדָד!
 לֹא יִחַרְף לְבִי בְכִלְאִי אִם יִרְחֲקוּ רַע וְדוֹד,
 בְּבְרִית אֱלֹהֵי כָל צָבָאִי, חֲזָק וְאַמְיִץ אַעֲמֹד,
 יוֹם בָּא לְצוּלְעָה וְתוּעָה, יוֹם מוֹסְרוֹת עָלָה שְׁבֹר –
 לְשׁוֹם מְרוֹם גִּבְעָה לְבִקְעָה, דְּרָךְ גְּאוּלִּים לַעֲבֹר!

15

20

- 13–14 לא סר, וכ"י אדלר מנסח: לאסור. – למרות תנרת יד השונאים לא סר הודו של ישראל ועדיין הוא מקוה לדרור. – דרור=צפור דרור. דרור, בכ"י מכון. כדרור, נגד המשקל ולכן בחרתי בנוסח אדלר. [אולי צ"ל: נד כדרור].
- 15 האם, כך הניקוד במקרא במדבר יו, כח ואיוב ו, יג. אין מקומו של ישראל בין העמים האכזרים והטמאים. כלום כדאי לו לצרור המור שיכלה בין רגבי ארמה שפלה? וכלום ישקע מר דרור שריחו טוב בין צרור עפר נבוה?
- 16 לא נצבה יתד תקועה, כלומר, כלום לא ניתנה לישראל הבטחת הגאולה על ידי נביאי ה'?
- ובנוסח אדלר לו נצבה, ואז אין מקום לסימן השאלה ונראה ישעיהו כב, כה.
- 18 הן לו, אפילו אם יצדקו שונאי האומרים שאין לנו תקוה להגאל, לא אפחד ולא אירא מדבריהם.
- 19 אם ירחקו=נס אם יתרחקו, כלומר, גם אם אשאר בודד ועווב.
- 20 אעמוד, ובנוסח אדלר: יעמוד.
- 22 עד שמרום הגבעה יהיה לו לישראל לבקעה שפלה ישעיהו מ, ד; דרך – ישעיהו נא, י.

כא

גאָלָה.

סימן: שלמה לביא חזק ואמץ.

לנועם אשפיל לך.

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בֵּין מַאָסֶר צָרִים וּבּוֹר,	חֲזוֹמוֹת וְחַל אֲשִׁית יִשׁוּעָה
אוֹחִיל בְּנִקְיוֹן לֵב וּבֹר.	כֶּרֶת בְּרִית מָאֵז נְטוּעָה
לְבִי לִיָּאֵשׁ נוֹעֲדוֹ;	שָׁוְא שֶׁקֵּדוֹ עָלֵי מִשְׁנָאִים,
יִנְעוּ בְּדִי רִיק נוֹסְדוֹ;	יִנְעוּ בְּדִי אֵשׁ בִּי מִקְנָאִים,
אוֹחִיל וּמוֹעֵד יַעֲדוֹ.	קֶץ נִבְאוֹ חֶבֶל נְבִיאִים
הִיָּה מְקוֹם מַעֲזָן וּבּוֹר –	יּוֹצְרִי בְּאֶרֶץ לֹא זְרוּעָה
יְחִישׁ זְמַן יֵשַׁע וְתוֹר.	יִזְכֹּר בְּרִית יָקָם שְׁבוּעָה
לֹא מִפְּנֵי שׂד בֵּית מְרִי	לֹא מִפְּנֵי קִשְׁת דְּרוּכָה
בְּכָאֵב וּרְצוֹן בְּחָרִי,	יַחַת לְבָבִי, כִּי אֲרוּכָה
לִי מִחֲמַת נֶחֱשׁ צָרִי;	וּבְרִית שְׁמוּרָה וְעֲרוּכָה
דִּי לַחֲתָם חֲזוֹן וְצוֹר,	צִיר גָּאֻמָּן יִבִּין שְׁמוּעָה
דִּי לַעֲצוֹר חֲצוֹר וְצוֹר	קֶץ לְנִדְוִידִים עַת יְדוּעָה

כא.

ראה הערה לשיר הקודם: לנועם הפיוט, אשפיל לך לבי ועיני חפץ בלב שפל ושח' לר' אברהם אבן עזרא.

1-2 ישעיהו כו, א: ובר – בר, חרח משותף.

3 חבוק ב, יג: וינעו עמים בדי אש ולאומים בדי ריק.

4 אוחיל, נוסח אדלר: יבוא. שיעור הבית הוא: הקץ שנבאו חבל הנביאים והמועד שיערו אוחיל = אחכה לו.

5 השיעור הוא: בארץ לא זרועה היה לי יוצרי מקום (=במקום) מעין ובור.

6 ורצון בחרי, וכי אדלר מנסח: ונחת במרי.

7-10 בכאב נמצא ונכלל כבר יסוד ההבראה, בסמו של הנחש נכלל כבר יסוד הרפואה, רעיון חביב על המשורר והוא מביע אותו כמה פעמים.

10 יש לו לישראל ההבטחה האלהית שמחמת הנחש (צרות הגלות) תבוא לו הרפואה, ועל ידי רוב היסורים יזכה לגאולה.

11-12 די, כלומר, כבר בא הזמן לחתום סוד (דניאל ט, כד) ולשמרו (צור) ולביאת הנואל; די להם לחצור וצור (עמים זרים המזכרים במקרא) (לעצור) למשול עלינו.

11 (וצור-עפי' ישע' ח, טז: צור תעודה, והכוונה, כי כבר הגיע הזמן לגלות את החזון ולפתוח את התעודה).

12 קץ לנודדים, וכי אדלר מנסח: קץ לנודד עד עת ידועה.

- 5 מֶלֶח-טוֹב עֲנִי וּמְרוּדִי כִּי בּוֹ סָר חֲטָאוֹת מִרְדִּי,
אִם צָר שֶׁתַּעֲנִי נִשְׁעִי וְיִסּוּדִי – צוּר בֶּן רָעִי סִלְעִי יִשְׁעִי וּכְבוֹדִי.
- הַחֲנֹם הוֹתִיר שְׁרִיד בֵּין מַצִּיק מִטְרִיד מִפְרִיד –
וּבְלֹב רָכְבוֹ בָּא בּוֹ, לְבוֹ לֹא הִחְרִיד וּבִבֵּית כִּלְאוֹ שׁוֹנָאֹ שִׁיאוֹ לֹא הוֹרִיד.
- 10 בֶּן בִּינוֹת לֹא עִם בִּינוֹת כִּי מֵאֲנָה לַעֲנֹת
עַל אֶף זָרִים צָרִים תָּרִים קוֹל עֲנֹת שׁוּר דֶּל וְרֶשׁ נִגְרֶשׁ יֶרֶשׁ מִשְׁכָּנוֹת.
- בֵּת גְּדִיב, חֲכִי תוֹרֶךְ – תַּעֲדִי גִזְמוֹ עִם תוֹרֶךְ,
כִּי בָּא אוֹרֶךְ צוֹרֶךְ יוֹרֶךְ אוֹר וְהֶרֶךְ, רוֹצִי כְּצָבִי לְצָבִי, שׁוֹבִי לְדִבְרֶךְ.
- הָאֵל קְדוֹשׁ וּמִקְדָּשׁ הַכִּין מְקוֹם לְמִקְדָּשׁ –
שֶׁם שִׁיר יִשְׂרָאֵל יִכְשֶׁר יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּחְדָּשׁ יַחְזוּהוּ נַעֲמֹ עֲמֹ וְשִׁמּוֹ יִתְקַדָּשׁ.

- 6-5 הדלת והסוגר כנ"ל; כִּי בּוֹ סָר, נוסח אדלר: כִּי הוֹסֵר.
8-7 הדלת והסוגר כנ"ל; בֵּין מַצִּיק מִטְרִיד, נוסח אדלר: בֵּין רָגַשׁ מִטְרִיד.
9 הדלת כנ"ל; הסוגר: כִּי מֵאֲנָה לַעֲנֹת (שמות י, ג) ונוסח אדלר: מִקָּהּ מֵאֵן לַעֲנֹת.
10 הנוסח באדלר: צָא מִרְשָׁתָּה, נָשַׁת רָשָׁת מִשְׁנוֹת צָרִים גָּדְחוּ, בָּרְחוּ שָׁחוּ בְּמַעֲנוֹת.

- 12-11 במקום השורות הנ"ל כ"י אדלר מנסח את הבתים האלה:
לְבִיאוֹ וְלִישׁוֹרָבָּא בְּמַעֲנוֹךְ גְּעוּגָבָא
מִבֵּין זָרִים רוֹדִים אוֹבְדִים נִקְבָּצוּ מִתְּנִי קָמִים, רָמִים הוֹמִים יִמְחָצוּ.
- 14-13 במקום שתי השורות האלה כ"י אדלר מביא ארבע שורות הנוסחות את השיר:
הַצִּעִיר מִפֶּחַ שְׁעִיר צָא נָא לְלֶכֶת אֶל עִיר
דוֹדִי, אֲזָבִיר, אֲבִיר, אוֹקִיר בֶּן יִקִּיר בָּא צִיר מִהֵר מִצְהִיר, מִןהִיר אוֹר בְּהִיר
חֲנִיּוֹן קֶץ לַפְּדוֹת מִבּוֹר בֵּת גְּדִיב הַגִּיעַ תּוֹר
אֶהְיֶה עֲנִידִי, סִתְבִּדִי, שְׁבִרְבִּדִי בְּמִצּוֹר וְרַח אוֹרְכִי, אוֹרְכִי דֶרֶךְ יִשְׁכֵּן אוֹר.

- 6-5 עניי ומרודי בנלות גרמו לי טובה מפני שעל ידיהם ווקקתי ונטהרתי מחטאותי ואוכה לגאולה.
אם שונאי הצר שם את עמי וארצִי לעי מפלת הנה אל צורי, הבין לרעי (תהלים קלט, ב) ויביא לישראל את הישועה הקרובה.
- 8-7 כלום חנם, בלי תקוה לגאולה, הותיר הקב"ה את ישראל בין שונאיו ומציקיו? הצר הצורך בכל תחבולותיו ועריצותו לא החריד את לבו של ישראל בלוחו; לא הוריד, כך תיקנתי לפי נוסח כ"י אדלר, ובמקור של ה"מכון", שיאו לא החריד הוריד' בהכפלה, וניכר שזוהי טעות סופרים.
- 9 מאנת להכנע לפני שונאיך. 10 קול ענות (שמות לב, יח)=קול גבורה.
- 11 תורך – תורך, חרוו משותף, הראשון לשון זמן והשני לשון תורי זהב.
- 12 לצבי=לארץ צבי.

כ

קָדִישׁ.

סימן: שלמה.

לנועם האל העירה.

שורה ראשונה בדלת ובסוגר: ו' תנועות

שורה שניה בדלת ובסוגר: י"א תנועות.

שָׁר בְּשִׁירִים לֵב נִכָּאָה בְּשִׁבְי צַר, לֹא יִשְׁתָּאָה,

מְקוֹל צְבָאוֹת שׁוֹאֹת בָּאוֹת לֹא יִלָּאָה, כִּי עוֹד יִפֹּל מִעֲפִיל יִשְׁפִּיל כָּל גָּאָה.

לִוְלֵי הָאֲמִנְתִּי לְרֹאוֹת כִּימִי חָנַס נִוְרָאוֹת

כְּמַעַט סִפְתִּי חֲתִי מִתִּי לְתִלָּאוֹת – אֶךְ אֵל נוֹשֵׂא מִתְּסָה עוֹשֶׂה נִפְלְאוֹת.

כ.

השיר הזה, שר בשירים' וכמו כן השיר הבא (כ"א). חומות וחל' אומרים דרשוני. שניהם נחפרסמו על ידי ב. חורב' כרך ג' חוברת ה-1 עמ' 103-106 מתוך כ"י אדלר בניו יורק וממעל להם הרשימה, על הראשון: מאורה, זאת היא מהר"י שלמה נ' לביא' ועל השני: עוד נאולה, גם זאת לר'. בכה"י של ה. מכון' שני השירים האלה נכללים בין שאר שירי הקודש של דאפיירה, ולמרות רשימת כה"י אדלר קשה מאד להשתחרר מן ההכרה הוודאית שדאפיירה הוא מחברם. צריך להתחשב כאן עם העובדה שזה היה מנהגו של ר' שלמה דאפיירה לחבר שירים ב.שם' אחרים, וביניהם גם ב.שם' ר' שלמה נ' לביא, איש חסדו ומטיבו. הקורא יראה שיש שנויינוסח מרובים וחשובים בין שני המקורות האלה, אדלר ו. מכון', ומכמה חרומים אנו מקבלים את הרושם כאילו באמת רצה המחבר לכתוב שיר חדש. יש ידים להשערה שהשיר הנ"ל, כ', הוא המקורי והראשון כפי שחברו דאפיירה אלא שאחרי כן, כשהצטרך לחבר שיר לכבודו של ר' שלמה נ' לביא וב.שם' הכניס בו כמה שינויים יסודיים כדי לתת לו צורה חדשה, ויצא הנוסח של כ"י אדלר. הקורא ישים לב לסוגי ה. לשון נופלת על לשון' הרבים שבשיר זה.

לנועם, ובכ"י אדלר הנוסח. לנועם האל העירה וראה', וזהו ה. סליחה' לר' יצחק בן יהודה השנירי. האל העירה וראה צר על עם שפל גאה'. מענין הוא הדמיון והלך הרוח המשותף בין השיר הנ"ל ובין סליחתו של השנירי שלניגונה חיבר הדאפיירה את שירו הוא. הנה, למשל, חרנו אחד משירו של השנירי:

יִנְהוּ כִּי בִי תוֹחֵלְתִּךְ רְאִיתִי בְּשִׁבְי שְׁבִיתִךְ

נָאוֹן לְבָשִׁי חֲבָשִׁי וְנָשִׂי צוֹק עֲתִךְ

חֲבִי, בְּתִי, עֲתִי אֲמִי מִשְׁבֵּרְתִּךְ

וזה נוסח השיר בכ"י אדלר:

- 1 שָׁר בְּשִׁירִים לֵב נִכָּאָה בְּשִׁבְי מִחְרִישׁ מִשְׁתָּאָה
- 2 לְזִמְן קָצוֹ, לְמַצָּא חֲפָצוֹ יִרְאָה מִלְּאָד מִלִּיץ, יִפֹּץ כָּל גָּאָה.
- 3 הדלת=כנ"ל, והסוגר: אוֹת נִפְלְאוֹת נִוְרָאוֹת
- 4 הדלת=כנ"ל, והסוגר: וְלָרֹב מְרָאוֹת מוֹצָאוֹת שׁוֹאֹת הַצְבָּאוֹת

1 הלב הנכא הנמצא בשביו של הצר והשונא שר בשירים ולא ישתאה=לא יפול כרוחו ולא יבהל (איכה א. ה: הלכו שבי לפני צר).

2 צבאות שואות=צרות מרובות. 3 כימי חנס=ככימי יציאת מצרים.

שְׁדָדִים וְרוּדִים	נָשְׂאוּ רְדִידִים	וְשָׁלְלוּ
עוֹכְרוּ מְדָנִים	וְעָנְקוּ גְרוּנִים	וְנָצְלוּ.

לְתַקַּת שְׁרִידִים	מִהֶלְלִים
יָהּ, אָבֵל תַּרְדִּים	חֻזְתִּלִּים
מוֹעֲדִים יְעוּדִים	מִיחֻלִּים.

10

שְׁמִמּוֹ יְחִידִים	לְחֻזּוֹת עֲתִידִים	וְנִבְהָלוּ
נָשְׂאוּ נְבוּנִים	חוֹשְׁבֵי חֻזּוֹנִים	וְנִצָּלוּ.

מֵה לֶךְ בְּחוּנִי	בְּבוֹר עֲנִי
צַעֲקַת הַמוּנִי	לְמַעַנִי
עֲלֹתָהּ בְּאֻזִּי	וְהִנֵּנִי.

15

אוֹבְדִים מְרוּדִים	לֹא בָּאֵשׁ נְדוּדִים	יֵאָכְלוּ
נוֹצְרֵי אֲמֻנִים	לֹא בְּדָם מַעֲנִים	וְנִצָּלוּ.

הוֹלְכֵי תַשְׁכִּים	בְּבוֹר שָׁבִי
יִהְיוּ בְרוּכִים	בְּשׁוֹבְכִי
כֹּס יָקָר נְסִיכִים	לְהֵר צָבִי.

20

כָּל עֲמַל מוֹדִים	יִירָשׁוּ שְׁדוּדִים	וְיִנְחָלוּ
קָרְבוֹ זִמְנִים	מוֹעֲדִים וְשָׁנִים	וְנִצָּלוּ.

7 וענק גרונים, כלומר, כסף חהב.

11-12 יחידים, נבונים, כנויים לישראל ואולי המשורר ברמזיו. לחזות עתידים, חושבי חזונים' מתכוון למחשבי קצין' שבחקופה ההיא.

13 בחוני, מלשון הקימו בחוני (ישעיהו כג, יג) זה כנוי לישראל שהוא עפל וחומה;

מכאן המשקל בשורות האזור 13-15, 1-20: — — — | — — — — —.

16 אש הגדודים=הגלות לא תשמיד אתכם שכן אתם נוצרי דת אל, ידיכם לא נואלו על ידי

שפיכות דמים כמו שונאיםכם.

16] לא באש נדודים, יאכלו — רמו לאוטרדהפי.

17] לא בדם מעונים, — רמו לעלילות הדם.]

19 בשובבי=בהשיבי.

20 כס יקר, בחסרון תנועה.

הואל נקח, צורי, פרי שירי הכן נכאת וצרי אלי צירי
 אגיל לקץ מועדי בך, דודי, כי צוה מבית שבי פודי
 קרא דרור, קנה לך את שדי. (ירמיהו לב, ז)

יח

גאלה.

סימן: שלמה.

לנועם יש מזור וצרי.

(ח' תנועות ו' תנועות)

עם נע ונד בין העמים בינם לא יעמד משמים
 כי ארכו לו הימים.

שחר יעיר כנור לשיר שיר חוכה עת הנמיר ובשפה יפטיר
 כי עוד תמצא ידו כביר יבנה עיר היכל ודביר יראה אור בהיר
 עוד לא יהלך עליו איםם ולבבו רם על רמים
 ישאון כשאון ימים.

לבי חלל דבא אמלל על חטא ופשע עולל כמעט יתמולל
 אף בעמים הוא יתבולל לסבל עלם יתהלל וכמוצא שגלל
 רבים קמים עליו קמים אולם תמיד למרומים
 רעיוניו יהיו תמים.

10

12 צרי=רפואה, צרי=מחלה, ובא צרי=גואלי, לשון נופלת על לשון.
 14 דרור, בליקוי המשקל הדורש כאן תנועה במקום יחד. [אולי יש לחקן: קרא [לי] דרור,
 בהקבלה ל. קנה לך, עפי' ירמיהו לד, יז: הנני קורא ל כם דרור.]

יח.

יש מזור וצרי, שיר בהחלחה כזו לא מצאתי בשום רשימה.
 2 לשון הכתוב (בראשית כו, ח): כי ארכו לו שם הימים; והמשורר הצטרך להשמיט את המלה
 שם מפני המשקל.

7 לבי, כלומר, אני המשורר; עולל, לשון עשיה.

8 מפני סבלותיו בקרב העמים דעתו מתבלבלת עליו – ובכל זאת רעיונותיו נשארים אצלו תמים
 וישרים ונאמנים אל אל. [הבית הזה מוסב, כנראה, על האנוסים; אשר במעשה, התבוללו בעמים, אבל
 בפנימיותם, ברעיוניהם, נשארו נאמנים לעמם.]

9 קמים – קמים, הראשון שם (שנאים) והשני פעל.

יז

נאָלָה.

סימן: שלמה.

לנועם יודעי הפיצוני.

שורה 1: --- ~ --- ~ ---

שורה 2: --- ~ --- ~ ---

כֹּרְתִי בְרִיתִי, שְׁחָדוֹ בְּעָדִי מִפְחָכֶם לַחֲבֹשׁ כָּאֵב נוֹדִי

וְלַעֲזֹר לְהִכִּין מִצָּעָדִי. (משלי טז, ט)

לְבִטִּי וּמִשְׁעֲנֹתִי בְּמִצְבֹּתַי, דְּבַרְתַּי בְּרִית קִשְׁתִּי בְּפֶחַח רִשְׁתִּי, אֵין קוֹל עֲנוּת עֲתִי מִבְּעֲתִי,

אוֹחִיל בְּיוֹם פִּיִּי וּפְרוּדִי כִּי עוֹד יֵרֵד שְׂרִיד בְּמַעֲבִידִי

וַיַּעֲזֹר וַיִּקְדָּשׁ בְּכַבּוּדִי. (שמות כט, כג)

5

לֹא סָף גָּאוֹן אוֹנִי לָרֵב אוֹנִי, לְבִי לָרִיב מוֹנִי וְשׁוֹד שׁוֹטְנִי שְׁלָם, וְתָם אָנִי בְּעוֹ קוֹנִי

יִיטִיב אֲדָנִי לִי בְּעַד עֲבָדִי אוֹתוֹ בְּכָל נִפְשִׁי וּבְמֵאֲדִי

וַיַּחְקֹר וַיִּכְיֹר מִעֲבָדִי. (איוב לד, כה)

מְיוֹסֵר כָּל־מִתִּי מִנַּמְתִּי וּדְבַר מְהוּמָתִי לֹא־שָׁמָתִי רוּחִי וְנִשְׁמָתִי בְּאֵימָתִי

רָגַזוּ וַחֲלוּ עַל עֹץ מִרְדִּי דוֹדִי רָדַפְנִי עָדִי אָבָדִי

10

וַיֵּאָסֵר אֲזֹזֵר חֲמַדַּת הוֹדִי. (שם יב, יח)

יז.

לנועם ה, אהבה' הידועה לר' יהודה הלוי, יודעי הפיצוני ימי עני לגור בבין עקרב וצפעוני.

1 כֹּרְתִי בְרִיתִי, רמז לשלשת אבות שעמם כרת ה' את הברית; מכחכם - איוב ו, כב; כאב נודי = צער גלותי. בלי עזרתם ותפלתם של האבות אין לי תקוה להגאל.

3-4 שבטי, כך תיקנתי (ובכתי' שבת') לפי תהלים כג, ד; מצבתי = נועי, כלומר בוטח אני בנועי = זכות

אבות (ישעיהו ל, יג) כי הברית שכרת עמם הוא קשתי ומנני בפח רשתי = גלותי; וקשת אולי רמז לבראשית

ט, יג: את קשתי נתתי בענן; ולכן קול ענות = שאון הזמן (שמות לב, יח) אינו מפחיד אותי ואפילו ביום

פירי ופרודי בצרת גלותי אני מיחל ומקוה שישראל (שריד) עוד ירד בשונאי (שופטים ה, ג). - והשווה לזה

מה שהמשורר אומר בשירים כ, כא וכב ולעיל בשיר טו.

5 ויעצר, לשון שלטון ושליטה (ש"א, טז, יז).

6 אוני - אוני, הראשון לשון כח והשני לשון צער; לריב מוני, למרות ריב שונאי אני שלם עם אל

ואני מחכה לחשועתו.

9 מנמתי, כמו נגדי, שאיפתי, לפי חבקוק א, ט: מנמת פניהם קדימה; דבר מהומתי, כלומר, אני

חושב על טעותי אני נפחד ונדהם.

10 גם אם רדפני דודי, יגאלני ויבנה בית מקדשי (חמרת הודי).

לְמָה לְרִגְשָׁת בֵּית מְרִי יִתְנַעֲשׂוּ מִקְהֵל קְדוֹשִׁים?
אִם יִרְוֹנוּ מִקּוֹל מְרִיא אִו מִחֲמוֹן צָאן חֵיל לְיֹשִׁים -
וְזָאב בְּיַד יִקַּח צָרִי אִם יִחַרְד לְקִרְאָת נְחָשִׁים?

אִם עַז גָּאוֹנִי רַד

בְּשָׁבִי, אֲנִי עוֹד רַד

עִם אֵל, וְלֹא אוֹסִיף לְדַאֲכָה!

מָה נִמְלְצוּ חֲבֵלֵי חָרִי וְעָמִי בְּפֶח חֲבֵלֵי וְרִשְׁתִּי,
מִה נִחְלָשׁוּ שְׁנֵי אָרִי נוֹהֵם, וְאִם הַכְּבִיד נִחְשָׁתִי,
יַעַן יִשׁוּעוֹת יוֹצְרִי מוֹל צוֹרְרֵי חֶרֶב־י וְקִשְׁתִּי,

כִּי אֶשְׁכְּנָה בְּרַד

אָקוֹם וְאֶתְעוֹדֵד

בְּטַח לְהִלָּף בְּרַחֲבָה.

הוֹכֵן בְּחֶסֶד בֶּס יָקָר נֶצַח לָךְ שׁוֹמֵר אֲמוּנִים,
עוֹד וְזֹעָה לֹא נֶעְקָר עֲנֹפֵי הַדְּרָךְ רַעֲנָנִים,
קֶץ הַפְּלָאוֹת נִחְקָר, קוֹם קַח צָרִי מֶרֶאשׁ פְּתָנִים

מִחֵיל מְשֻׁנְאִים עַד

שָׁלַל תַּחֲלֵק עַד

תִּשִׁית מַעֲנוֹתָם לְחֶרֶבָה.

חֲזָקוֹ, שְׁבָעִי מִמָּוֶר, חוֹכֵי דְרוֹר מְבוֹר יְרִיבִים,
וְהֵב הַיּוֹעֵם אוֹ צָרוֹר הַמּוֹר יִדְבֵּק בֵּין רִגְבִּים?
הַתִּנְעָרוּ מִתּוֹף צָרוֹר עֶפֶר, עָלוּ סִתְחֵי נְדִיבִים,

וּבָהָר צָבִי נִחְמָד

לָכֶם יְהִי מַעֲמָד

לְעַד לְיַחַד יְהִי בְּאַהֲבָה!

13 חבלי חרי, מלשון חבלים נפלו לי בנעימים.

16 כי-נם כי.

■ יקח צרי, לפי ירמיהו נא, ח.

15 ישועות יוצרי הן חרבי מול צוררי.

18 להלך ברחבה, תהלים קיט, מה.

21 נחקר, מלשון נקבע ונקצב; נדהף לנחרץ. השווה לזה שיר יד שורה 25.

27-25 השווה לזה שורות 27-25 בשיר יד.

הַפֶּלֶה אֲדֹנִי לִי לְהִיּוֹת לְאוֹת

לְשֹׂאת חֲלִי שְׁבִי מֵאֵין לְאוֹת

15

כִּי עוֹד בְּטוֹב צָפוֹן אֶזְכֶּה רְאוֹת

בְּהִיּוֹת כְּבוֹד נְאוֹר לִי אוֹר בְּצָר.

וַיִּכְבְּדוּנִי אֲזַעֵם עַז וְצָר

טז

אהבה.

סימן: שלמה חזק.

לנועם ארון בעז.

שורה 1-3: --- ~ --- ~ --- ~ --- ~ --- ~ --- ~

שורה 4-5: --- ~ --- ~ --- ~ --- ~ --- ~ --- ~

שורה 6: --- ~ --- ~ --- ~ --- ~ --- ~ --- ~

שֹׁכֵב בְּרֹאשׁ חֶבֶל בָּלָב יָם הַנְּדוּד הוֹלֵךְ וְסוֹעֵר,

רוֹבֵץ בְּמִשָּׁא גוֹי שְׁלִי שׁוֹאֵג כְּאַרְיֵה חוֹמָה וְנוֹעֵר,

כּוֹאֵב לְצוֹק עֵתוֹ בָּלָב דּוֹאֵג כְּאֵשׁ לוֹהֵט וּבּוֹעֵר,

אוֹלָם בְּאַפְסֵי יָד

יָרִים יְנוּפֵי יָד

5

בְּחֻזֹן בְּרִית תִּקְנֶה כְּתוּבָה.

14 לי, נ"ב (מנוקד): לו.

15 לשאת חלי שביי, נ"ב: לתתי חלי וורשימה בצד: חילי) שב (1).

16 לאות, לשון נלאיתי נשא. 17 נאור, נ"ב (מנוקד): נאור לי וצר. נגד המשקל.

17 גם שונאי החוקים יכבדוני אז; כבוד נאור=כבוד אלהים; אור וצר, לפי ישעיהו ו, ל.

טז.

לנועם, לניגון השיר כמו לעיל בשיר י"ב וי"ד, ושם הראשון, אופן' והשני, מאורה'.

1 משלי כג, לד: והיית כשוכב בלב ים וכשוכב בראש חבל.

2 מצרות הגלות - ים הנדוד - ישראל שואג כאריה. ואולי המסורר מתכוון לשונא בתור, האריה, השווה לזה להלן בית 14. שליו, לפי ירמיהו מט, לא: גוי שלי. נשואנ... ונוער - עפי' מאמר ר"א (ברכות ג, א): ועל כל משמר ומשמר יושב הקב"ה ושואג כארי... וסימן לדבר משמרה ראשונה חמור נוער.]

3 אש, בלשון זכר, לפי תהלים קד, ד. הקורא יראה שבשיר נכללים כמה פעמים לשון נופלת על לשון, הקבלות וחרוזים משותפים (תגנים) כמו: בלב ים - בלב דואג, יד - יד, רד - רד, עד - עד, ומענינת היא גם ההקבלה החרחית, בלב - שלי' שאינה מדקדקת בהתאם המלים והאותיות בסופי החרוזים.

טו

מאורה.

סימן: שלמה.

לנועם מה לך צביה.

יְתֵר שְׁאֵת יְתֵר עוֹז וְהָדָר דְּבִרַת בְּרִית בְּצֵר לֹא נַעֲדָר.
 שְׁתוּ מְשֻׁנָּי עָלַי בְּשָׁבִי,
 שְׁתוּ בְּשָׁמִים פִּיהֶם וְכִי,
 לַעֲנֵנִי לְחֻקֹּתַי שׁוֹב לַצֵּבִי –
 וְאֲנִי בְּכָל זֹאת לֹא נֶאֱסָף וְסָר כְּחִי וְאִם אֶשְׁכֵּן זַעֲף וְסָר
 לֹא מַעֲדוּ רַגְלִי אִם אֶחָדוּ
 עֲתוֹת פְּדוּת, וּמְשֻׁנָּי גָּבְרוּ
 אִם יֵשְׁבוּ צָרִים בִּי נִדְּבָרוּ
 לְטָמֵן לְנִפְשִׁי פַח בְּמֶאֱסָר, שֵׁם אֵל אֲמַת אֲשִׁים מַחֲסֶה בְּצָר;
 מִקּוֹל שְׁאוֹן עֲתִים לֹא אֶחָדָד
 כִּי עוֹד בְּאֲדִירִים שְׁרִיד יִרָד
 יִצְמִית וְיִסִּיר אֲבִיר לֹא בִיד
 אֶכֶן בְּרוּחַ אֵל הוּא נִעְזָר, בְּשִׁמּוֹ לְבַד יִכְטַח כִּי לֹא בָזָר.

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טו.

לנועם, שירים בהתחלה. מה לך צביה? רשומים ב, אוצר השירה והפיוט' שנים, אחד לראב"ע והשני לר' יהודה הלוי אלא מכיון ששירו של הלוי ידוע לנו בתור. אהבה? בשעה שראפיירה מציין את שירו בתור. מאורה? צריך לשער שהכיוון הוא לשירו של הראב"ע. מה לך צביה מה תעצבי ואני בתוכך שוכן בשבי'.

השיר הזה נמצא גם בכ"י בודליאנה 2769 (Ms. Heb. f. 11, pp. 187a-187b) — וישנם בו כמה שנויי נוסחאות מאלה שבכ"י אדלר שבניוירק, ואלה הם:

1 והדר, כך צריך לנקד לפי המשקל, (עפ"י בראשית מט, ג, ומשלי לא, כה.)

5 וסר=ולא סר כחי (שופטים טז, יז); וסר=קשה רוח.

11 שופטים ה, יג.

11 באדירים, נוסח בודל. באבירם.

12 לא ביד=לא בכח, (עפ"י זכריה ד, ו.)

12 אביר, חסר בנוסח בודל. נדר המשקל.

13 בור=באל זר. 13 יכטח, נ"ב: אבטח.

מָה לִי וְלָכֶם כּוֹכְבִי שָׁחַק לְהָאִיר עַל אֲדָמָה?
 לָנוּ מְאוּרִים יוֹשְׁבֵי תִּבֵּל, דִּמּוֹת סֶהַר וְחִמָּה –
 מִהֵר יִקְרָם חוּצְבֵי זֹהַר, כְּסִיל עִם עֵשׂ וְכִימָה!

15

לָנוּ כְּרוּבֵי הוֹד
 נוֹשְׂאֵי כָלִיל כְּבוֹד
 פּוֹרְשֵׁי כָנָף מַעֲלָה וּמַשְׁרָה!

הֵן הוֹמָן מִשְׁפָּט לָקוּ יֵשִׁים לְגִלּוֹת סוּד עֲמוּקָיו,
 כִּי עוֹד מַעַט לֵב חוֹשְׁקָיו יִרְנִין וַיִּצִּיל אֶת עֲשׂוּקָיו,
 בָּא עַת אֲסִיר תִּקְוָה יָקוּ מֵאֵז, לְכַנֵּס אֶת רְחוּקָיו –

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כִּיּוֹם לְבֵית יוֹסֵף,
 אֲדָר יָקָר יוֹסֵף,
 אֶף נִחְלָה עֲרֻכָּה וְשִׁפְרָה.

חֲזָקוּ מִחֲכֵי קֶץ דְּרוֹר, חֲזָקוּ מִקְוֵי קֶץ הַפְּלָאִים,
 קוֹמּוּ וְעוֹפּוּ בְּדְרוֹר, קוֹמּוּ צֵאוּ מִבֵּית כְּלָאִים,
 דִּי עַת שְׁכֵן רֹאשׁ מֵר דְּרוֹר בֵּין גּוֹשׁ, וּבֵין גּוֹרִים טְלָאִים,

25

קֶץ בָּא וְהִגִּיעַ
 מוֹעֵד לְהִרְגִיעַ
 גּוֹלִים, וְהַיּוֹם יוֹם בְּשׁוֹרָה!

30

19 סוד עמוקיו=נבואת הגאולה.

21 עת, בלשון זכר, לפי יחזקאל ז, ז ויב. רחוקיו, כך ניסחתי בצורת מלא אבל במקור המלה היא

בצורת חסר והמשורר אולי רצה לומר רַחֲקָיו לפי תהלים עג, כז: רַחֲקִיךָ יֶאֱכְדוּ.

27 ראש מר דרור, טלאים. כנויים לכנסת ישראל; והמשורר משתמש בשם, דרור' בשלשת מובניו.

יד

מאורה.

סימן: שלמה חזק.

לנועם אדון בעזו.

שורה 1-3: ---|---|---

שורה 4-5: ---|---

שורה 6: ---|---

שָׁלוֹם לִירְחֵי הַנְּדוּד! שָׁלוֹם לִירְחֵי הַנְּדוּד!
 חֵן מִן לְנִדְחִים וְאוֹבְדִים! שָׁלוֹם לְאַחַ יְדוּד וְדוּד -
 חֶבְרָה וְהָיוּ לְאַחֲדִים, בָּם יַעֲרֹב עֵת תַּעֲמֹד

לִילִי אֲשֶׁר נִהְיָה

יָגוֹן וּמֵאֲפָלִיָּה

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לֹא עֲרַבְהָ שְׁמִיחָה וְאוֹרָה.

לֵב נָד, עֲלֹזוּ כִּי הִזְמַן זָמַן לָךְ אַחֲרִית וְחִקְנָה -
 נָשָׂא פָרִי עֵץ נַעֲמָן הַתְּנוּהָ בְּשִׁלּוֹהָ עֹז וְחִדְוָה;
 הִיכַל וּבֵית נֶאֱמָן יוֹסֵד בְּרִב אֶהְבָּה וְאַחֲנָה,

מִפְּנוֹךְ וּמִלְשָׁם

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נִבְנְהָ לְאוֹת וּלְשֵׁם

טִירָה מִפֶּאֶרָה וּבִירָה.

יד.

לנועם, כמו, הלחן' ל. מאורה' בשיר הקודם.

2-1 שיר על הנאולה הקרובה. המשורר אומר ברכת־הפרידה לנלות יירחי הנדוד) ולפרוד הידידים
 (כנוי לישראל); שלום לכם אחים נדחים ואובדים.

3 תערב להם שמחתם כשיתאספו בני הגולה והיו לאחדים (יחזקאל לו, יז).

4-6 אחרי הינון והחשך נעמו ביחוד השמחה והאור.

10-12 הפוך והלשם שמהם יבנה בית המקדש ואוצר כלי המקדש עולים ביפים ומאור זהרם על

כוכבי השחק, כסיל עש וכימה.

12 טירה=בית המקדש; בירה=בית הבחירה, לפי ובחים קד, ע"א: מקום יש בהר הבית ובירה שמו

וריל אמר כל הבית קרוי בירה.

מָה לִּי וְלָכֶם, נוֹשְׂאֵי רִדְדִי,	בְּיָמֵי מְרֹדֵי שִׁיר אֲעֲנֶה –
בְּקֶצֶה נְדֻדֵי יָגֵל כְּבוֹדִי	כִּי עַז יִסּוּדֵי רוֹם יִחְנֶה;
פָּרַשׁ מְצוּדֵי רוּדֵי וְצוּדֵי	הָהָא בֵּית מְצוּדֵי לִי יַעֲנֶה:
אֲרָאָה בְּעֵינֵי לַחֲץ הַמּוֹנִי	בְּבִנֵי בַחוּנֵי יוֹם בְּחָרִי
וּבַעֲת רְצוֹנִי יִרְאֶה הַמּוֹנִי	לְעַד בְּצֹאנִי יִרְדַּךְ בְּחָרִי.
דִּהְיָה לְקָמִים רָגָשׁוּ יִבְקָשׁוּ	נַפְשִׁי שְׁעִיפִי לֹא נוֹאֲשׁוּ,
חוֹרְשִׁים בְּגִבֵּי חָרָשׁוּ וְחָרָשׁוּ	רַע, אֵךְ בְּמוֹקְשֵׁם לֹא נוֹקְשׁוּ;
לֹא הַפְּרִדּוֹת עָבָשׁוּ וְיִבָּשׁוּ	יוֹם בָּא וְלִי גוֹיִם יִדְרָשׁוּ.
לֹא יִהְיֶה אִזּוּ בְּנוֹה מְכוֹנִי	שְׁמֶשׁ לְאוֹר לִי אִזּוּ סְהָרִי,
כִּי צוֹר מְעוֹנִי מִלְכִּי וְקוֹנִי	אוֹר זְהָרִי בְּמִלְאֵת טְהָרִי.

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14 בקצה נדודי=בסוף גלותי.
 15 מנאי פרש עלי רשת ומצודה אבל האלהים בחסדו הפך את מחשבתו ועשה לי מזה בית מצודה ומבטח.

יחנה – יענה, לפי דמיון הביטוי של אותיות ח"ת וע"ן בהברה הספרדית-ערבית.
 16 בחוני, רמו לאברהם אבינו; בחרי, לשון בחירה (יחזקאל כ, ה: ביום בחרי בישראל).
 17 ירד בחרי, לשון חרון אף. ומובנה של המליצה, לעד בצאני ירד בחרי מוקשה הוא מפני שלפיה יוצא שבעת הנאולה (עת רצון) יראה עמי (שהשונא) ישלוט עליו בחרי אף וזעם. ומפני כך צריך אולי לשנות את סדר הטורים בכדי שנקבל מובן ברור ביותר, לפי נוסח זה:

לעד בצאני ירד בחרי	אראה בעיני לחץ המוני
בבני בחוני יום בחרי	ובעת רצוני יראה הסוני

ירד בחרי מוסב לשונא, רוּדִי וצוּדִי הנוכר בבית הקודש. נאולי צ"ל, לא עוד' במקום, לעד'.]

19 לא נוקשו שעפי, כלומר, לא נכנעתי.

20 יואל א, ז': עבשו פרודות.

22 במלאת טהרי=כשימלאו ימי הצירוף והזוכך. ובה"י כנראה בטעות סופרים. במלאת טהרי; ואפשר שהמשורר בהשמיטו האליף הסתמך על, מלו הקנה' ביחזקאל מא, ח.

יג

מאורה.

סימן: שלמה.

לנועם יעלת אהבים.

אָבליג עלי שד חרדת שאוני בְּרִבּוֹת יְגוֹנִי לֹא שח גִּאוֹנִי,	כִּי אֲזַכֶּרָה פְּלֵאֵי יוֹצְרִי – וּבְרַעְיוֹנִי יֵשׁ לִי צָרִי!
שׁוֹכְנִי בְּחֲנִי סֶלַע הַיִּרְאָה עַל עֵב הַיִּרְכָּב נִחָעב, הַיִּדְאָה גִּמָּא בְּלֹא בָצֵתוֹ הַיִּנְאָה	כִּי לֹא לְפָנָיו שׁוֹט יַעֲבוֹר? נִכְאָה כְּנֹשֶׁר אוֹ כְּדָרוֹ? אָחוּ הַיִּשְׁנָא בְּלִמִּי יְאוֹר?
אֵיךְ יַעֲמֵד בִּי כְּחִי וְאוֹנִי לֹא אֶבְטָחָה עַל חִילִי וְאוֹנִי	בְּחֶלֶף כְּפֶתַע הוֹד יַעֲרִי – אֶכֶּל בְּאוֹנִי צוֹף יַעֲרִי.
לָרִיק יִיגְשִׁי אֶרְחִי וְרַבְעִי מִסְפֵּר צָעְדִי, אוֹרִי וַיִּשְׁעִי, אִתָּה תִצְוֶה נִגְעִי בְּכַצְעִי	אִם מִמָּה, צוֹר, לֹא נִתְכַּנֵּנוּ, מֵאֵת כְּבוֹדְךָ לֹא נִצְפָּנוּ, פְּצָעִי בְּפִשְׁעִי כִּי יַעֲנוּ.
לֹא עַל זְמַנִּי, רַק עַל עֲוֹנִי כִּי רַב זְדוֹנִי בָּא עֲצָבוֹנִי	אֶצְעַק חֲמָסִי, הוּא צוֹרְרִי! לְבִי יִרְיֵבִי, הוּא אוֹרְרִי!

יג.

- לנועם, יעלת אהבים שמחי ורוני כי עוד המונך ישקוט ונח, מאורה ליוסף (אבן אביתור?).
- 1-2 למרות יגוני הרב לא התיאשתי ולא נפל גאוני משום כשאני מתעמק במחשבותי אני בא לידי הכרה שקרובה ישועתי לבוא.
- 3 ישעיהו כח, טו-יח: שוט שוטף כי יעבור לא יבואנו.
- 5 איוב ח, ה: הינאה גמא בלא בצה ישנה אחו בלי מים.
- 6-7 הוד יערי, לשון עצי יער; צוף יערי, לשון דבש; אכל באוני, לשון צער ואבילות.
- 10 על ידי פשעי (בצעי) בא עלי ענשי (ננעי).
- 12 רב זדוני=ברוב זדוני. [לבי יריב=יצרי הוא איש יריבי, השווה לעיל שיר ז' שורה

לְכָבוֹד שְׁמוֹ אִזְ הָאֲצִיל
מְזַהְרֵי הוֹדוֹ שְׁכָלִים,
כָּלָם כְּלוּלִים מְכָלִיל
רוּחוֹ וּמִמֶּנּוּ עֲלוּלִים
הֶמָּה נְצִיבִים עַל גְּלִיל
שֶׁחַק לִיִּשְׂרָאֵל מִעֲנָלִים,

אֶחָד לְאֶחָד

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הוֹד חוֹלָקִים וְתַפְאָרָה
עוֹרְכֵי וּמִירוֹת שֵׁי לְמוֹרָא. (תהלים עו, יב)

מֵאִז רְקִיעֵי הַשְּׁחָקִים, מֵאִז לְבוֹשׁוֹ נִבְרָאוּ
מֵה נִפְסָאוּ כִּי יֵצְאוּ מֵה נִפְסָאוּ כִּי יֵצְאוּ
שְׁרָשֵׁי שְׁפָלִים נִמְצָאוּ שְׁרָשֵׁי שְׁפָלִים נִמְצָאוּ

15

רְצוּא וְשׁוֹב לְתַת
שִׁיחָה לְאֵל נוֹרָא
לָהֶם זְרוּעַ עִם גְּבוּרָה. (שם, פט, יד)

הַדּוֹת לְאֵל חֵי יִתְּנוּ כָּל חֵי כְּפֵי שְׁכָלוֹ וַיְכָלוּ,
אוֹלָם אֲמִנּוּ כֹונֵנוּ שִׁירוֹת כָּרֵב גְּדִלוֹ וּפְעָלוֹ,
אֲלִיוֹ קִדְשׁוֹת יַעֲנוּ שֶׁלֶשׁ כְּאֶרְאֵלִי וְבוֹלוֹ

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כָּלָם כְּאֶחָד, לוֹ
תוֹדָה בְּקוֹל זְמֶרָה
עוֹנִים בְּנִיב שְׁפָה בְּרוּרָה. (צפניה ג, ט)

ארבע הסבות: חומר, צורה, פועל ותכלית, ואלהים שהוא בלתי בעל חומר הוא: הפועל, הצורה והתכלית (ראה מורה נבוכים, שם). – ואותה השפעה רמב"ם ניכרת גם בדברי המשורר לעיל בשיר ח שורות 14–16.

7–9 שכלים=מלאכי השרת וזה ביטוי ידוע בספרותנו העתיקה; לכבוד שמו, בכדי שמלאכי השרת ישבחוהו וישמיעו תהלותיו. – עלולים, מסובבים, לשון סיבה ועילה.
השכלים הנפרדים הם המניעים את הגלגלים (מו"נ ח"ב, פ"ד).

13–15 המשורר מתכוון כאן למה שנאמר בפרקי דרבנו אליעזר פרק ז': שמים מאיזה מקום נבראו? מאור לבושו של הקב"ה. נרקיע השחקים- הם הגלגלים. בצורת העולם של הרמב"ם (מו"נ, נ, ח"ב, פ"ד, הל' מדע פ"ג) הגלגלים הם המתווכים בין השכלים הנבדלים שבהם שואבים את חיותם- חנועתם ובין השפלים- העולם התחתון- הטבועים בחותמם- יצוקים במצקתם.

19–20 כל חי מודה לאל כפי שכלו ומושגו אולם רק אמוניו, כנוי לישראל, יגדלוהו וישבחוהו כרוב גדלו ופעלו.

24 ככה"י ניכר בטעות סופרים בהכפלה ברורה ברורה.

הַלּוֹם מְהוּמָה	בְּאֵין עֹז וְעֶצְמָה	תִּישִׁיר מוֹמָה
בְּרוּחַ עֲנוּמָה	וְנַפֶּשׁ שׁוֹמָמָה	עַד אֲשֶׁר לֹא נוֹתְרָה בָּהּ נִשְׁמָה.
(מלכים א', יז, יז)		
חָרַד וּמִתְחַלֵּל	בֵּינָם עֲנוּ צוֹלֵל	מִתְנוּדָה וּמִתְפַּלֵּל
לְאֵל רַב, מְחַלֵּל	אֲשֶׁר לוֹ יוֹם וָלַיִל	כָּל הַנִּשְׁמָה תִּהְיֶל. (תהלים קנ, ו)
אוֹחֲלִים מִצָּר יוֹנֵם	וְאוֹיֵב יַעֲנֵם	יִשְׁמַע אֵל וְיַעֲנֵם,
חֲסִדּוֹ יַחֲנֵם	וְרוּחוֹ תְּכַנֵּם	וְנִשְׁמַת שְׂדֵי תְּבִינֵם. (איוב לב, ח)
קוֹרְאֵי עֶצְרָה	לֵאמֹר בְּקוֹל וְמָרָה	לְאֵל אִים וְנוֹרָא:
אֵין דִּי שָׁפָה בְּרוּרָה	לְתֵת תַּפְאָרָה	וְאֵלּוּ פִּינוּ מְלֵא שִׁירָה.

יב

אופן.

סימן: שלמה.

לנועם ארון בעז.

שורה 1-3:	שׁוֹכֵן בְּגִבְהֵי רוֹם וְבוֹל	וְשָׁב בְּסוֹד שְׂרָפֵי מְעוֹנוֹ,
שורה 4-5:	נִמְצָא בְּאַפְסֵי כָּל גְּבוּל	מְקוֹם וְאֵין מְקוֹם לְמִשְׁכְּנוֹ,
שורה 6:	דוֹמֵם וְחֵי עִם עֵץ יְבוּל	כָּלֵם יְצוּרִים מְרֻצוֹנוֹ,
	אִים וְנוֹרָא הוּא	
	וְשָׁמוּ לְבַד וְקָרָא	
	פּוֹעֵל וְהוּא תְּכָלִית יְצוּרָה.	

5

10 מחולל=יוצר.

11 ווחלים=מפחדים; יונם (לשון חרב היונה) - יענם - ויענם, לשון נופלח על לשון.

יב.

לנועם, הכיוון כנראה לפיוטו של ר' אברהם אבן עזרא. ארון בעזו יוצר אורה והוא בורא חשכה, שהוא גם כן. אופן' וענינו פלאי הברואה.

2 למשכנו, כך צריך לנקד להכרח המשקל. [ואולי: לשכנו, עפ"י דברים יב, ה.].
לפי המאמר במדרש בראשית רבה לסדר ויצא פרשה סח: ר' הונא בשם ר' אמי אמר מפני מה מכנין שמו של הקב"ה וקוראין אותו מקום שהוא מקומו של עולם ואין עולמו מקומו.
5-6 בנווד להפילוסופים שקוראים את ה'. סבה ראשונה' יקראו המדברים (מותכלימין) את ה' פועל', ראה. מורה נבוכים', חלק ראשון, ראש פרק סט; ויש כאן גם רמז להרעיון האריסטוטילאי על

5	מִנְהֶמֶת כִּינָה יֹאמֶר בָּבֶא זְמָנָה	בְּעִרֵי הַיָּנָה לַעֲקֶרֶה עֲגוּנָה	לֵאל גֹּקֶם וְקָנָא, לֹא יִלְדָּה: פִּצְחֵי רָנָה! (ישעיהו ג, א)
	הַלּוּמִי מִנָּה יוֹם בְּקִשׁוֹ חֲוִינָה	בְּכָל עֶבֶר וּפָנָה, וְהִפִּילוּ תַחְנָה	אֵל, נָא רִפָּא נָא, וּבַעַת הַחֲלוּ בְרָנָה. (דה"י ב', כ, כב)
10	חֲשׂוֹקָה כַּחֲוִינָה לְהָשִׁיב זְאֻנָּה	בְּעִדָּנָה חֲקָנָה כְּבִרְאשׁוֹנָה	תַּעֲרֹךְ נְגִינָה; כָּל הָאָרֶץ פִּצְחוּ רָנָה. (ישעיהו יד, ז)
	זְרוּיִם אָנָּה וְאָנָּה עָלוּ קִרְיָה נְאֻמָּנָה	לֶךְ כּוֹרְתָה אֲמָנָה וּגְבַעַת הַלְבוּנָה!	אָנָּה קָרָא נָא: מִבְּשָׂרִים בְּקוֹל רָנָה: (תהלים מב, ה)
	לְהִלָּה מְכָנָה עוֹד דֶּר מְעוּנָה	סִגְלָה וְכָנָה יִגַּל אֶהְבֶּה צְפוּנָה	נָאֹךְ עַדִּי נָא! יִגִּיל עָלֶיךָ בְּרָנָה, (צפניה ג, יז)
15	אֲנָשִׁי תְבוּנָה אֵין בְּפִינוּ נְכוּנָה	חֲקִנִּי כְהָנָה לְתַהֲלִתֶךָ הַגּוּנָה	מוֹדִים לֵאל אֲמוּנָה: וְאֵלוּ פִינוּ מְלֵא
		שִׁירָה כָּיִם וּלְשׁוֹנֵנוּ רָנָה. (תהלים ככו, ב)	

יא

אחר.

סימן: שלמה חזק.

נשמת.

(ארבע תנועות וחמש תנועות)

שְׂבִי פִשַׁע וְאַשְׁמָה לְמִבֵּין תַּעֲלוּמָה	כִּלְא שְׂפָתֵי מְרָמָה וְרוּחוֹ הַעֲצוּמָה	תְּהַנֶּה אֵימָה תְּחִיָּה כָּל נְשָׁמָה. (דברים כו, טז)
לְהַקֵּת שְׁבוּיִם יִתֵּן בְּרַחֲמִים רְצוּיִם	יּוֹדְעֵי חֲלָיִים לְפָגְרֵי הַדְּחוּיִם	תַּתְּחַן לְאַלֵּהִים חַיִּים, נְשָׁמַת רוּחַ חַיִּים. (בראשית ז, כב)
5 מוֹדָה מַעֲלִיו וּמַעֲתִיר בְּמַהֲלָיו	וְעוֹזֵב תַּתְּלִיו לְאַסֹּף בְּזוּבולִיו	לֵאל עוֹרֵךְ מַשְׁלִיו, רוּחוֹ וְנִשְׁמָתוֹ אֵלָיו. (איוב לד, יד)

7 מננה=מגינת לב (איכה ג, סה).

9 בחונה, לשון בחינה ונסיגות.

יא.

5 הוא עורך לאל את משליו=תפלותיו.

15	כְּתוּשִׁים בְּעֵלִים	סְחוּבִים בְּסֻחִים	אֶל שְׂדֵי תַחְנָן,
	יֹאמֶר לְפָדוּם	יְהִי כְּנֻהֲרוֹת וְדִכָּם	שְׁלוֹמֶךָ וְצִדְקָתְךָ כְּגִלֵּי הָיִם.
			(ישעיהו מח, יח)
○	סוֹעֲרִים בְּאַנְיָם	בְּלֵב יָם וְצִים	תִּשְׁחַר אֶל אֵל,
	יִבְיֹאוּ לְבֵית מְאֹנִים	אֲשַׁכֶּרֶם וְשִׁים	הַמֶּזֶן רַב מֵעֶבֶר לָיִם. (ד"ה ב', כ, ב)
	סִנְיֵי לָיִם	וְכִהְנֶם בְּמִנִּים	אֶל שְׂדֵי תַחְנָן,
20	יִבְנֶה עָרֵי עִים	וְיָשִׁיב שְׁבוּיִם	וְיִרְדֶּךָ מִיָּם עַד יָם. (תהלים עב, י)
	נֹצְרֵי צוּיִם	בְּאֶרֶץ שָׁכִים	תִּשְׁחַר אֶל אֵל,
	יִנְוִבִן בְּאֶרֶץ צָבִים	בְּעֵצִים רַבִּים	כְּחֹל אֲשֶׁר עַל שְׁפַת הָיִם.
			(שופטים ז, יב)
	מִגִּישִׁים לְחֵי וְקִים	מִנְחַת בְּטוּיִם	אֶל שְׂדֵי תַחְנָן,
	אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִסִּים	סְפוֹר שְׁבָחָיו עַל בּוֹרִים	וְאֵלוֹ פִּינוּ מֵלֹא שִׁירָה כִּיָּם.

סימן: שלמה חזק.

אחר.

נשמת.

(ארבע תנועות וחמש תנועות)

שׁוֹלֵמִית אֲמוֹנָה	בְּחִיק הָאֲמוֹנָה	תַּעֲתִיר לְקוֹנָה,
כִּי יִרְדֶּה הָמוֹנָה	וְחִלָּף שְׁשׁוֹנָה	וְתַעֲבֹר הָרֻנָּה. (מ"א כב, לו)
לְחוּצָה מְעוֹנָה	בְּפֶרֶךְ מְצוֹנָה	בְּהִיּוֹן לְשׁוֹנָה
תְּהִלּוֹת עוֹנָה,	בְּכָל עֵת וְעוֹנָה	בֵּית אֱלֹהִים בְּקוֹל רֻנָּה. (תהלים מז, ב)

15 עפי' משלי כו, כב: אם תכחוש... בעלי.

19 במנים, ובכה"י ספק, במנויים. הכיוון כנראה למנת הכהנים והלוים ד"ה ב, לא, ד.
וקרוב לודאי שצ"ל: בְּעֵנִים, דוגמת "בסחים", בארץ שבים'.

•

1 שולמית, כנוי לישראל; אמונה, מלשון האמונים עלי חולע, איכה ד, ה.

2 ולשון הכתוב ויעבור הרנה. 3 מעונה=מעונתה.

4-5 עונה - ועונה, כיונה - היונה בדרך החרוזים המשותפים (תננים).

ט

סימן: שלמה חזק.

(חמש תנועות וארבע תנועות)

נשמת.*

לְשׁוֹדִים בְּמִרְיָם	נְדוּדִים בְּקִשְׁיָם	תִּשְׁחַר אֶל אֵל,
כָּאוּ לְהַמְצִיא לְחַלִּים	וּלְצִירֵם צָרִים	יָדוּ נֹטָה עַל הַיָּם. (ישעיהו כג, יא)
לְכוּדִים בַּפַּח דָּחִים	לְשִׁלֵּם גִּשְׁיָם	אֶל שְׂדֵי תַחֲנֻן,
יִרְאֶה כְּמֵאֵז בְּכִים	וּדְמָעַם בְּלִחִים	בֵּין מַגְדֵּל וּבֵין הַיָּם. (שמות יד, ב)
מְקוּיִם בְּעֵנִים	לְהַשְׁבִּיעַ בְּטוֹב עֲדִים	תִּשְׁחַר אֶל אֵל,
הוֹלִיכֵם בְּעֲדִים	וְנוֹמֵם וְחִלִּים	בִּיבָשָׁה בְּתוֹךְ הַיָּם. (שם, טז)
לְשִׁכּוֹנֵי קִצּוֹי אִיִּים	בְּיַד עֲרִיצֵי גוֹיִם	אֶל שְׂדֵי תַחֲנֻן,
יִכְנֹס דְּחוּיִם	וְיִקְבּוֹץ זְרוּיִם	מִמְזֻרָח וּמִמְעָרֵב מִצָּפוֹן וּמִיָּם.
		(תהלים קז, ג)
חֹזְכֵי חֹזֶן מְקוּיִם	אֲשֶׁר עַד כֹּה חִים	תִּשְׁחַר אֶל אֵל,
הָיוּת קִשְׁתָּם וְחִלִּים	וּגְבָהֶם וְחִלִּים	מִקְלוֹת מִיָּם רַבִּים אֲדִירִים מְשַׁבְּרֵי יָם.
		(תהלים צג, ד)
זוֹעֲקִים בְּנֵהָדִים	בְּחֶמֶת קָרִים	אֶל שְׂדֵי תַחֲנֻן,
לְהַצִּיל עֲדֵרֵי שִׁים	יִשְׁאֵג כְּאַרְיִים	וְהָרַג אֶת הַמִּנְיָן אֲשֶׁר בֵּינָם.
		(ישעיהו כז, א)
קוֹרְאִים בְּדוּיִם	לְהַכִּין דְּגָנָם וּפְרִיָּם	תִּשְׁחַר אֶל אֵל,
יִמְלֵא שִׁפְקָם וְדִים	וְשִׁמְנָם וְשִׁקּוּיָם	מִבְּטָח כָּל קִצּוֹי אֶרֶץ וָיָם.
		(תהלים סה, ו)

ט.

* (המלה 'נשמת' חזרת ונשנית בראש כל בית ובית).

ה'ריפריין' של השיר הזה הוא הכתוב באיוב ח, ה: אם אהה תשחר אל אל ואל שדי תחנן. המשקל ברוב הבתים הוא — — — — — אלא שהוא מוזנח בכמה מקומות.

7 השכנוי, לפי שופטים ח, יא.

10 קשתם ותלים, לפי בראשית כז, נ: ותלים, מלשון כוכב חלי שהוא הגבוה ביותר, לשון נופלת על לשון. הנוסח בסוגר בכה"י הוא: מקולות מים רבים וכו'. והשלמתי לפי הכתוב.

כִּי כָל עוֹד בִּי לַחֲשִׁי
עוֹ פָּעַלְו אֶזְכֹּר וְלֹא אֲחַשֶּׁה
וְלֹא דוֹמְיָה נַפְשִׁי.

מִשְׁכֵּל עַל דָּבָר בּוֹ יִחְזֶה יוֹצְרוֹ וְעֵצְמוֹתוֹ,
כִּי שָׁכַל גָּבַר בּוֹ שָׁם בְּתֵת רִיחוֹ וְנִשְׁמָתוֹ,
עַל כָּל חַי גָּבַר מִיּוֹם הֵיוֹתוֹ עַל אֲדָמָתוֹ,

15

אֲצֵא לַחֲפָשִׁי
כִּי אֶעֱבֹד רֹאשׁ הַיְסוֹד –
מִפֶּחַ נְדוּד תִּנְצַל נַפְשִׁי;

הַיְסוּבִי דְרָכָךְ אֶבֶן יְסוֹד פֶּנֶת יִקְרָתִי,
מִמֶּאֱפֵל יִחְשַׁפְךָ שׁוֹבֵי לְרֹאשׁ מַחְצֵב צוּרָתִי,
וּבְנוֹיב חֵץ עֲרַכְךָ תְּמִיד כְּטַל תִּזַּל אֲמָרָתִי,

20

וּבְחֻצְרוֹת קִדְשִׁי שָׁם אֶפְגֹּשֶׁה,
הוֹד אֶלְבָּשָׁה, כִּי אֲדַרְשָׁה
שְׂאֵהָבָה נַפְשִׁי.

25

11-13 ולכן אני אדבר רק על פעולותיו של האלהים ומעשי פלאיו, אבל לא על האלהים בכבודו ועצמו; בנוע אליו הוא, נפשי מהללת אותו בדומיה לפי מושג הכתוב לך דומיה תהלה.
14-15 האדם המשכיל ישיר ויחזה בו (=בקדוש אלהים הנזכר בשורה 1) את יוצרו=אלהיו ואת עצמותו הוא של האדם בעצמו כי יחד עם הולדו נתן האלהים בו שכל ודעת וניכרת כאן השפעה פילוסופית מיימונית, השווה לזה שיר יב שורה 5-6.
17-19 ראש היסוד=האלהים; כשאעבוד אותו בשלימות אשיג את חירותי ונפשי תנצל מפח נדוד=מן המות (נדידה במובן חלוף ותמורה, נסיעה מן החיים אל המות). – ואותו רעיון מובע בחרמו של ר' יהודה הלוי:

עבדי זמן עבדי עבדים הם
עבד ה' הוא לבד חפשי

וזה אותו המושג המובע ב. כוזרי, סוף מאמר ה'. ועבודתו היא החירות האמתית.

20 אבן יסוד פנת יקרת=נפשי.

21 [ראש מחצב צורתי=עולם הנשמות.] כלומר, לכסאיהכבוד שממנו נוצרו הנשמות.

22 ערכך=תפלה.

ח

מִחְרָךְ.

סימן: שלמה.

לנועם שמעי בת.

תִּגַּל וּבִשְׁמוֹ יְרוֹם רֹאשִׁי!

חֲקַר אֱלֹהִים גִּבֹּה שְׁחַק.

הוֹדוּ וּבִסְפָּר לֹא יוֹחֵק;

בוֹרֵךְ לְהַשְׁתַּחֲוֹת מִמְּרַחֵק -

נִפְשִׁי בְּקִדּוּשִׁי

שְׁוֹא שְׁקֵד שׁוֹמֵר

מִי יִתֵּן אֲמַר

מֶה-יֹאמַר חֲמֵר

אֵיךְ יִגִּיד רַחֲשִׁי

אוּ מַעֲנֵי הוֹד שׁוֹכְנֵי

רוֹם, אִם אֲנִי לֹא אֲדַע נִפְשִׁי

תַּנְדִּיל יֶקֶר נוֹרָא בְּבוֹלִי

אֶל הוֹד בְּלִי גִידֵר בְּמַלּוּלִי

מְרוֹם וְהוּא יוֹשֵׁב מִמְּלִי -

לְשׁוֹן מִדְּבָרֶת

גִּדֵר גִּוְדֶרֶת

שׁוֹמֵר מִשְׁמֶרֶת

10

ח.

לנועם, הכיוון כנראה לפיוט, שמעי בת וראי' המיוחס על ידי צונץ ליטרטוריעש. 576 למחבר בשם יוסף (אבן אביתור?). ובשירו זה דאפיירה מראה השפעה מרובה מר' יהודה הלוי, השווה לזה, למשל, את שירו של הלוי, שם אלהים אודה בשיחי'.

2 לחנם שואף האדם להתעמק בחקר אלוה ולהשיג את גדולתו.

3 כיצד אוכל להביע כמו את הודו והלא אי אפשר לגמור עליו את ההלל=ובספר לא יוחק.

4 ויצור-חומר הבא להשתחוות ממרחק (מעומק שפלותו) מה יאמר ומה ידבר?

5-7 רחשי=תפלתי; מעני=שירי. הנה נפשי כל כך קרובה היא אלי ובכל זאת אין אני יודע ואין אני משיג אותה ואיך אוכל איפוא לשיר ולומר על הוד האלהים השוכן במרומים?

8-9 האדם שפל הערך בלשונו המדברת אין לו הכח והיכולת להביע כמו את הגדלות האלהית; כשהוא עושה את זה הריהו רק גודר גדר וגבול אל הודו של האלהים שאי אפשר להגדירו ולהגבילו במלים.

10 נראה שהמשורר רוצה להביע כאן רעיון שהוא ידוע משירי יהודה הלוי. טעות היא לחשוב שהמרחק בין האדם והאלהים הוא כל כך גדול, הלא האלהים נמצא בלבי. הוא אמנם שומר משמרת מרום ונמצא בשחקים - אבל קרוב הוא אלי והוא יושב ממולי (במדבר כב, ה).

לְבִי יְסֻדוֹ מְצָרוֹר	עֶפֶר, וְשׂוֹא יִחְפֹּץ גָּאֵל
נִפְשִׁי, וְאִם יִתֵּן צָרוֹר	כִּסְפוֹ פְּדוּת מִיַּד שְׂאוֹל;
אֶף מַעֲבָד יִצְרוֹ דְּרוֹר	בְּקֶשׁ, וְזֶה הֶרְחִיב שְׂאוֹל
זֶה כָּל פְּרִי הָסִיר חֲלִי	זֶה כָּל עֵנֶק, זֶה כָּל חֲלִי
רוּחִי, וּבְזֶה נִחֲלִי	כְּבוֹד וְעֶדֶן נִחֲלִי.
כֹּה תִהְיֶה, נִפְשִׁי, עֲלוֹת	גִּבְהִי מְרוֹמֵי יוֹצֵרָה?
מִה תִּרְגְּמִי מִיּוֹם וָלֹת	הוֹדֶךָ בְּבוֹר גּוֹ תַעֲרֶךָ?
הַתַּעֲתָדִי לַיּוֹם מְלֹאֵת	טָהֳרֶךָ וּבֹא אוֹר זִהְרֶךָ,
וּבָשׁוּב נִדְנֶךָ אֶל בְּלִי,	עַז תִּדְרָכִי, בֵּית אֵל עָלִי
וּפְרִי פְעָלִים תֹּאכְלִי	אֲזוּ, יוֹם פְּקַדֹת פּוֹעֲלִי,
הַתַּעֲוָרִי חֲמֻדַּת כָּלִיל	הוֹדִי, צָאִי מִבֵּית שְׂבִי,
קוֹמִי לְעוֹפֶף עַל גִּלִּיל	גּוֹיִם וְעַל קַל תִּרְכָּבִי,
עֲזָבִי עֲמַל שְׂוֹא וְאֵלִיל	וּבְכֶסֶּ יִקָּר וּצְבִי שְׂבִי;
וּבְקוֹם שְׂאוֹן חֵיל שׁוֹלְלִי	לֵאל כְּמַטֵּר יִחֲלִי
וּלְצוֹר יְסוּדֶךָ הֲלִלִי,	נִפְשִׁי, וְלִשְׁמוֹ גִּדְלִי!

- 10 לבי מבקש חופש ודרור משעבודו של יצרי הרע וזוהי שאלתו ובקשתו הרבה (שאויל לשון בקשה).
 11 ואני יודע שרק על ידי כך ארפא מחליי (חלי), ורק בזה תפארת רוחי נשמתי-חלי (קשוט), לשון נופלת על לשון.
 12 נחלי כבוד, לשון ירושה; ערן נחלי=תפארת נחלתי, לשון מנחה ונחלה, לנעיל.
 13-14 נפשי, מפני מה את מפחות כל כך מפני המות ולעלות למרומים? מפני מה את כל כך נרננת מפני היום שבו הודרך יהי גולה והגוף שלך יהיה נמצא בבור תערך=קברך (או: מה תרגמי למן היום שבו נשמתך (הודרך) גלתה אל הגוף (עו תערך), כלומר למן היום שנולדת); בבור, כך תיקונם של ברודיי ווינר ובכ"י מכון בבור.
 15 ליום, נוסח ברודיי ווינר: אל יום.
 16 נדנך=גוף שהוא נרחק לנפשך. כשישוב, גופך אל קברו (בלי), את תהי דורכת עוון וחעלי לבית אל במרומים (שופטים ה, כא; בראשית לה, א: עלה בית אל).
 17 פועלי, נוסח ברודיי ווינר: פְּעָלִי.
 18 מבית שבי - מן העולם הזה.
 19 המשורר אומר לנשמה: התרוממי מעל הגשמיות ואל תהיי כמו אומות השוא והאליל (ישעיהו ח, כג).
 20 בכס יקר=בכסא הכבוד.

5 הַיְיָדֵעַ לְאִישׁ דְּרָכָה וְעֶרְכָּה
 חֹסֶן עָלַי נִפְשִׁי וְתַחֲמֹל
 זְכֹר עֲנִיָּה וְשֵׂא מְרִיָּה כְּנֻשָּׂאָה
 קִרְבָּה אֶתָּה בַּעַת תִּרְחַק וְתַמְחֹל
 וְרוּחַ כָּל בָּשָׂר אִישׁ לֶךְ תִּהְיֶל
 וְכָל הַיָּצוֹר יִזְמַרְךָ וַיֹּאמֶר
 בְּלִי עֶזְרָה בְּלִי פֶשַׁע בְּעֹלָה?
 וְאַל תִּגְמַל כְּמַפְעָלָה גְּמוּלָה.
 בְּשִׁבְיָה עַל שְׁמֶךָ כְּבֹלָה בְּרִגְלָה;
 בַּעַת תִּמְעַל וְתַפְעַל שְׂוֹא וְתַפְּלָה,
 וְתוֹדָה כִּי לֶךְ נֶאֱוָה תִּהְיֶל,
 לֶךְ: קִרְבָּה אֵלַי נִפְשִׁי גְּאֻלָּה.

ז

מְחַרֵּךְ.

סימן: שלמה.

לנועם ישן בכנפי הנדוד.

5 נִפְשִׁי יִקְרָה, צִהְיֶל
 מִסְּלֹל וְדֶרֶךְ סִקְלִי
 שֶׁקִּדּוֹ שְׁעָפִי לְחֶקֶר
 שׁוּט יַעֲבֹר אִם יַעֲקֹר
 אוֹ אִם בְּבֵית הַבּוֹר מְקוֹר
 חֵץ כָּל יְקוֹם, סוּד כָּל יְסוֹד
 שְׁרָשָׁם וְגִזְעָם עַד אֲבֹד
 חַיִּים וְסוֹת הָדָר וְהוֹד?
 אֶמְצָא: בֵּיד שְׁכָלִי כָּלִי
 טוֹב פִּעְלִי אוֹ מַעְלִי
 שְׁחַת בְּלִי אוֹ רֹאשׁ תְּלִי
 יִגְהָה כָּאֵב אוֹ יַחְלִיא,

41 בעולה – אולי צ"ל: ועולה.

6 תהלים קה, יח: ענו בכבל רגליו; על שמוך – למען שמוך.

8 בעת תרחק (נפשי) קרב אתה (דברים ה, כד).

■ קרבה – תהלים סט, יט.

ז.

לנועם הפיוט, ישן בכנפי הנדוד נדרם בפאתי מאסר⁴¹, מאורה לר' יהודה הלוי; הפיוט נכלל ב, מבחר השירה העברית⁴² לברודיוויר, עמוד שכ"ב.

1 נפש יקרה (משלי ו, כו); צהלי קולך ישעיהו י, ל; בחוך האהלי (יהושע ז, כא).

3-5 ישעיהו כח, טו: שוט שוטף כי יעבור; אני מתעמק ברעיוני וחוקר בגילוי הסוד אם אחרי המות הכל הולך לאברון או הנפש עדיין ממשיכה את חיי הודה בקברה?

6 ומוצא אני כי בירי, בשכלי ובדעתי, הבחירה לדרת לשחת-בלי או לעלות למרומי כוכב התלי.

ה

אחר.

סימן: שלמה חזק.

שְׁחוּחַ לְכִי, נִפְשִׁי, אֲמוּנָה בְּחִיק אֲשֶׁמָּה שְׁחִי עַד שְׁאוּל וְעַלִּי עַלִּי מַעֲלָה רָמָה,
 לְהִבִּי יִסּוּד שְׂרָשֶׁף תִּנִּי לֵב לְקִדּוּשֶׁךָ בְּעוֹדֶךָ בִּפְח יִקְשֶׁךָ, הֲלֹא תִדְעִי עַל מָה!
 מְקוֹר מִחְצָבֶךָ רוּם שְׁחָקִים, וְגו' יְרוּם בְּרָקֵב, וְאִם יְרוּם, לְהִבֵּל וְרִיק דָּמָה;
 הַתִּדְעִי זְמַן נֶעַר בְּאֶרְבֶּה יְהִי נִנְעָר וְשִׁיבָה כְּאֵשׁ תִּבְעָר וְתִקְדִּיר בְּלֹא חֲמָה.
 5 חֲזוֹן קוֹל זְמַן תְּרַמִּית לְהַצְמִית לְכָל עַמִּית וּמֵאֵז דְּבַר מְרָמָה בְּפִיו הִיטָה שׁוּמָה;
 דְּרוֹרֶךָ וּמֵאֲסָרֶךָ בְּפִי מַעֲלֵל יִצְרֶךָ, בִּידֶךָ, רְאִי! דְּרֶךְ לְשָׁלוֹם וּמִלְחָמָה.
 בָּכֹן, יִשְׁרֵי דְרָכֶךָ לְנֹכַח פְּנֵי מַלְכֶךָ, וְהוּא, מְשׁוֹשׁ עַמֶּךָ, סְבִיבֶךָ יְהִי חוּמָה.
 וְעַת הַחַיִּית מִתִּי יִקְיֶמְךָ רְאוּת מוֹפְתִי, בְּקוּם יוֹרְדֵי דוּמָה בְּרוּחַ וּבְנִשְׁמָה.

ו

אחר.

סימן: שלמה חזק.

שְׁאֵל, נוֹאֵל, שְׁאֵל מֵאֵל סְלִיחָה לְפִשְׁעֶי רַב בְּנִפְשׁ מָה אֲמוּלָה.
 לְהַעֲבִיר אֶת עוֹן כְּסָלָה וְסִכְלָה וְאֵל תּוֹסֶף עֲטוֹת בְּמַעֲיֵל מַעֲיָלָה;
 מְרִי אִם הִרְבָּתָה יִרְבֶּה סִלַּח בִּיעֵן הַסְּלִיחָה הוּא פָּעֻלָה.

ה.

- 1 אמונה=האמונים עלי תולע (איכה ד, ה).
- 2 בפח יקשך=בעורך בחיים.
- 3 ירום כרקב – שמות טז, כ; ואם ירום=יתנאה.
- 4 ננער – תהלים קט, כג; ותקדיר – איוב ל, כח: קודר הלכתי בלא חמה.
- 5 הזמן הוא נביא שקר וכונתו היא רק להמית את האדם (העמית=הרע) – להצמית, לשון נופלת על לשון, [כל מי שנעשה ידירו של הזמן ומחמכר לתענוגותיו – הזמן משמידו.]
- 6 חירוחך ושיעבודך במעשיך.

ו.

- 1 יחזקאל טז, ל: מה אמולה לבתך.
- 2 ישעיהו נט, ז: ויעט כמעיל קנאה; כסלה – וסכלה, כמעיל – מעילה לשון נופלת על לשון.

ג

אחר.

סימן: שלמה.

אֶרֶץ בְּעֶצְמוֹתוֹ,	וַיַּעֲמִיד תָּמִיד	תָּבֵל בְּחֶכְמָתוֹ	שְׂרֵי אֲשֶׁר הִכִּין
יָשִׁים מְזֻמָּתוֹ,	לְכֵן מְנֻמָּתוֹ	כָּל אִישׁ הִכִּי נִכְבָּד	לְשִׁמוֹ לְבַד נִעְבָּד
הַצִּיב לְעֻמָּתוֹ;	מוֹסֵר כָּל־מָתוֹ	הוּא שֶׁחָרָו מוֹסֵר,	מִיּוֹם אֲנוֹשׁ נוֹצֵר
יָשׁוּב לְאַדְמָתוֹ.	רוּחוֹ לְאַשְׁמָתוֹ	גִּלְהָה וְהוֹדִיעָיו:	הָלוֹךְ לְהַרְגִּיעָיו
רוּחוֹ וְנִשְׁמָתוֹ.	הוּא יֶאֱסֹף אֵלָיו	אֶרְחוֹ וּמַעֲלָלָיו	אֵךְ אִם יִזְכֶּה אֵת

5

ד

אחר לסוכות.

סימן: שלמה.

זוֹכֵר יְמוֹת עוֹלָם לְבָדוֹ נְהִיָּה,	שׁוֹאֵג וְשֹׁאֲגוֹתָיו כְּמִים נִתְּכוּ
מִרְפָּא לְבַד לְקִרְא בְּשִׁמְךָ אֱהִיָּה,	לְוֹאֶה וּמִשְׁתַּאֲה לְצוֹק עֲתוֹ וְאֵין
יִפֹּל אָמַר לוֹ: קוּם וְחִיָּה תַחֲיָה;	מְזוֹר הִיָּה לְמִזוֹר יְגוֹן לְבוֹ, וְאִם
רֹאשׁוֹ לְמַחְסָה צֵל וְסִכָּה תַּהֲיָה.	הָעֵת לְחֶרֶב חֵם וְזֶמן יֶאֱלָה, עָלֵי

ג.

1 האלהים לא רק שיצר בחכמתו את העולם ואין הוא רק סבת היצירה אלא הוא גם הכח המתמיד את מציאותה של הארץ ומחזיק בה ומעמידה תמיד (משלי כט, ד).
 4 האלהים בחסדו מזהיר את האדם שבאשמתו הוא מאבד את רוחו (נשמתו) וילך לאדמתו=למיתה (תהלים קטו, ד) והוא מרגיע אותו (ירמיהו לא, יב) שאם ישוב מדרכיו הרעים (שם קיט, נט) נשמתו תשוב לחיות חיי נצח בעולם הנשמות (איוב לד, יד).

ד.

1 ישראל הזוכר ימות עולם (דברים לב, ו)=ימות אשרו והצלחתו כשהיה לבדו (=עם לבדר ישכן, במדבר כג, ט) שואג בדמעות.
 2 בשמך אהיה=שם אלהים: אהיה אשר אהיה.
 3 מזור=רפואה, למזור=מחלה; קום – מלכים ב', ח, י.
 4 יאלה=בשעה שיקונו על צרות הזמן (חורב וחוס) אתה האלהים תהיה למחסה עלי ראשו ולצל ולסוכה, לפי יונה ד, ו ולפי ישעיהו ד, ו.

קָטָן בִּינָה בְּעֶרְכָּךְ שִׁיר וְשִׁבַּח
חֲזֹק לְעֶצֶר בְּמַלְאִים, כִּי אֱלֹהִים
בְּרוּחוֹ יַעֲמִיד רוּחַ בְּשָׂר אִישׁ
מְקוֹם זָבַח עֲלֵי מִזְבֵּחַ אֲדָמָה,
בְּרוֹם שֶׁחַק וְאַתָּה עַל אֲדָמָה!—
וְאַמְרָתוֹ תַּחֲיָה כָּל נֶשְׁמָה.

ב

אחר.

סימן: שלמה.

אֲנִי אֶל אֵל אֲשַׁחַר בְּשִׁחְרִים
שֶׁלֶפֶף שִׁיחַ תְּהִלּוֹת עַל חֲסָדִים
לְהוֹצִיא אוֹ לְהַמְצִיא יֵשׁ בְּאֵין יֵשׁ
מִלְמֵד לְאַנּוֹשׁ דִּיעַת וּבִינָה
הַמֶּחֶן בֵּית אָב הַמֶּחֶן גֹּיִם, לְפָנִים
לְהוֹדִיעֵם יְסוֹד תּוֹרוֹת יִקְרוֹת
בְּחַיֵּיהֶם לְהָשִׁיב לֵב וּנְפֶשׁ
בְּקוֹל שִׁירִים חֲדָשִׁים לְבָקָרִים,
אֲשֶׁר גָּמַל אֱלֹהֵי כָּל הַיְצוּרִים,
וְצָר צוּרוֹת בְּצוּרוֹת בְּחֻמְרִים,
וְשׁוֹם שֶׁכָּל לִישָׁר כָּל הַדּוֹרִים.
בְּחָרֶם לְהִיּוֹת לוֹ סוֹד נִבְרִים;
וְסוֹד חֻקִּים וּמִשְׁפָּטִים יִקְרִים
וְאַחֲרֵי מוֹת נֶשְׁמוֹת לְפָנִים.

פ'א: שהדיבור לא יאסר ויותר ויאהב... באמירתו מצד הלשון שנעשה אבל מצד עניינו, שאם יהיה ענין השיר שהוא מעלה יתחייב לאומרו באיזה לשון שיהיה י'.
6-7 לפי מושג הכתוב ושלמה פרים שפתינו (שמות כ, כד) ולפי הכתוב קהלת ה, א: כי האלהים בשמים ואתה על הארץ; ועצור במלים (איוב ד, יב) לפי המושג לך דומיה תהלה; מובח אדמה - בראשית ד, ב; ואתה על אדמה, לפי עמוס ז, יז: ואתה על אדמה טמאה תמות.
הבית = חסר אצל ב'ר.

8 [בהקבלה לטור 7 שבשיר 2: משמעות הטור: רוח אלהים מעמיד את רוח האדם (איוב יב, י) בעודו בחיים ואמרת אלהים תחיה נשמתו לאחר מותו].

ב.

1 אל אל [עפ"י איוב ח, ה], כך תיקנתי לפי דרישת המשקל ובכח"י, אל אלהים.

3 וצר=יצר צורות חזקות וממשיות (בצורות) בחומר.

5 אב המון גוים=אברהם, בראשית יז, ה: סוד נברים=עדת ישראל.

6-7 בחייהם התורה היא להם משיבת נפש ועל ידיה הם זוכים לתחית המתים. וכן היא מליצת המשורר בשיר ו' בית 10 בדיואן שלו. לפי ברכת השחר הירועה.

ל"ט שירי קדש של שלמה בן משלם דאפיירה

א

רשות.

סימן: שלמה בן לביא קטן חזק.

לנועם שפל רוח.

לְאֹר עוֹלָם וְלִשְׁאֲרִית אֲדָמָה,	שְׁכִינֹת אֱהִי חֲרָשֵׁי אֲדָמָה
חֶמֶת שְׂדֵי וְאֵל תִּירָאִי אֲדָמָה,	לְכִי עֲבָדִי לְצוּר יוֹצֵרָךְ וְגֹרֵי
כְּפֶתַע אֲמַלְלָה אֲבָלָה אֲדָמָה	מִצֵּט מוֹעֵר וְזֶמֶן חֶלְדָּךְ, רְאֵי כִי
עֶבֶד צִוְּרוֹ וְהוּא עוֹבֵד אֲדָמָה?	הַיּוֹכֵל אִישׁ גְּמוּל חֶמְדָּת וְזִמְנִים
בְּכָל-לָשׁוֹן וְלֹא אוֹהֵב אֲדָמָה!	בְּגִיב לָשׁוֹן בְּאֵל יִשִּׁית אֶהְיֶי

א.

שיר זה נכלל על פי טעות על ידי בואליק-רבניצקי (להלן: ב"ר) בין שירי ר' שלמה בן גבירול (כרך שלישי, ספר ראשון עמוד 443) והעיר על זה דוידיון ב.אוצר השירה והפיוט* (כרך שלישי, עמוד 480 סימן 1153). ובתיקונים נוספים בכרך שביעי עמוד 100 ב"ר מתקנים את הטעות ומחזירים את השיר לשלמה דאפיירה. לנועם (=לחן), הכיוון לפזמונו של רשב"ג, שפל רוח כרך וקומה, אקדמך ברוב פחד ואימה*. נה.רשות* היא, רשות לנשמת*, דוגמת זו של רשב"ג. סימן לדבר: .נשמה* שבסוף*.

1 המשוור פונה לנשמה השוכנת בנוף האדם שהוא כחרש הנשבר (שופטים ח, יא: השכני באהלים; ישעיהו מה, ט: רב את יוצרו חרש את חרשי אדמה; שם, ס, יט: והיה לך ה' לאור עולם; שם, טו, ט: לפליטת מואב אריה ולשאריה אדמה); כלומר, שירדה הנפש למשכן החומר כדי לזכות במעשיה לחיי עולם ולשאריה נצח מן החומר הנפסד* (ב"ר).

2 ואל תיראי אדמה – יואל ב, כא.

3 אבלה אדמה – שם א, י.

4 האדם שהוא עובד אדמה (בראשית ד, ב; זכריה יג, ה) כלומר, מסור לנשמיות ולתענוגי העולם הזה, כלום הכח בידו להנר מתאוות החיים ולהתמסר לצורו? – גמול, לשון כגמול עלי אמו.

גמול חמדת זמנים, נוסח ב"ר: נשוא ילדי זמנים; צורו, ב"ר: שדי.

5 הבית הזה חסר בכ"י מכון והוא לקוח מנוסח ב"ר שהשתמשו בכ"י דוד ששון. שלמה בן לביא היה אביו של ר' בנבנשת בן לביא דילה קאבאליירה שזוכר למעלה ור' שלמה דאפיירה היה רגיל לחבר שירים בשמו של שלמה בן לביא.

דה"ב, כו, י: אוהב אדמה היה; וכיוון הבית הוא: בן־אדם, התפלל לה' ושים בו כל תקותך ושכח את הנשמיות (אדמה); בכל לשון, אין זה מן הנמנע שהמשורר מתכוון כאן למאמר התלמודי שמע בכל לשון שאחה שומע (כלומר, גם בלשון ספרד). נמסתר שמרמו לדברי הרמב"ם בפירושו לאבות סוף

טו.

-----|-----|-----

כא.

-----|-----|-----

כב, כד.

-----|-----|-----

כג.

-----|-----|-----

כה.

-----|-----|----- דלת וב' טורים:

-----|-----|----- סוגר:

לב.

ארבע תנועות וחמש תנועות:

ט, י, יא.

שש תנועות:

כז, כח.

שבע תנועות וי"א תנועות:

כ.

שמונה תנועות ושבע תנועות:

יח, כו.

עשר תנועות וי"א תנועות:

כט, לו.

שירים בלי משקל:

ל, לג-לה, לז-לט.

שירים בצורת „מושח“:

ז, ח, יב, יג, יד, טו, טז, יז, יח, יט, כא, כב, כג, כד, כה, כו.

רשימת המשקלים:

-----	א, ב, ו.
-----	ה.
-----	לא.
----- -----	שורה 1-3:
-----	שורה 4-5:
-----	שורה 6:
-----	יב, יד, טז.
-----	שורה 1:
-----	שורה 2:
-----	יז.
----- ----- -----	שורה 1-2:
----- -----	שורה 3:
-----	יט.
-----	ג.
-----	ד.
-----	ז.
----- -----	ח.
----- -----	יג.

- ערי מתי יצרי יהי זר על יוצרי לא
 עם נע ונר בין העמים בינם לא יעמוד משמים יח
 שאון ימים ולחצם וחמרת עולם וטובו כז
 שאל נואל שאל מאל סליחה לפשע רב ו
 שאלו לארני מטר המוני אמונים לך
 (נשמת) שבי פשע ואשמה בלי שפת מרמה תהגה אימה יא
 (נשמת) שדורים במרים נדורים בקשים תשחר אל אל ט
 שרי אשר הכין תבל בחכמתו ויעמיד תמיד בארץ עצמותו י
 שואג ושאגותיו כמים נתכו וזכר ימות עולם ד
 שוחר לאל מלך הגוים לערוך שלחן לאכל עניים לה
 שוכב בראש חבל בלב ים הנדוד הולך וסוער טז
 שוכן בגבהי רום זבול נשגב בסוד שרפי מעונו יב
 (נשמת) שולמית אמונה בחיק האמונה תעתיר לקונה י
 שועת בת עמי הקשיבה צורי ופנה אל לחצי כו
 שחוח לכי נפשי בחיק אשמה שחי עד שאול ה
 שכונת אהלי חרשי ארמה לאור עולם ולשארית ארמה א
 שלום לירחי הנדוד שלום לפרוד הידידים יד
 שעה שועת מצעק ממצולות יגונים לו
 שר בשירים לב נכאה בשבי צר לא ישחאה כ

רשימת הפיוטים לפי סדר א"ב:

" - סימן כוכב מורה שהשיר נמצא לא רק בכתב־יד. מכון", אלא גם באחד מכתב־יד היר האחרים או בכלם.

- אבליג על שור שאוני כי אוכרה פלאי יוצרי יו
 אדני אדוננו שוכן ארץ נותן מטר על פני ארץ לט
 אדני אליך אקרא ברוח נשברה לעתות בצרה לח
 אדני שמעה תפלתי אל תחרש לדמעתי לז
 *אודה עלי פשעי ואודה את שמך כט
 *איכה עטרת צבי עדו עדיך ובבור שאון השבי קצו קציניך לב
 אל אלהי הצבאות להראות לעמך נפלאות במזל טלה לג
 *אלהי ארוממך בלב נלאה ונכאה ל
 *אם שאון יד הזמנים בא כאילה שלוחה כב
 אני אל אל אשחר בשחרים בקול שירים חדשים לבקרים ב
 הנה נא הואלתי לפני אדני לעמור כח
 *חומות וחל אשית ישועה בין מאסר צרים ובור כא
 ידבר נא עברך דבר נא באדני אהלל דבר (ראה אלהי ארוממך)
 יעלזו חסידים וערת נגידים ויצהלו יט
 יש לאל יד חזקה יש לאל יד נטויה כה
 ישרו סולו מסלה סור ישרים עם סגולה כד
 יתר שאת יתר עוז והדר דברת ברית בצר לא נעדר טו
 כורתי בריתי שחרו בעדי מכחכם יז
 *נפש יקרה צהלי קולך בתוך האהלי ז
 נפשי בקדושי תגל ובשמו ירום ראשי ח
 סולו סולו מסלה בית אל עלות דרך גבולה כג

העמוסים וחדורים קריאה נלהבה לבלי להתיאש מפני תגרת יד אויב, כי ברית כרותה בין ישראל ואלהיו ויום הפרדות והישועה אף על פי שיתמהמה בוא יבוא. הבטחה אלהית זו הריהי כח נצחי והאמונה בקיום ההבטחה הריהי הערובה להתגשמותה. והיום ההוא לא רק שלא ירחק חק אלא שאורו כבר זרח וכבר נעמו על ההרים רגלי מבשר. מתעוררת השאלה מה ראה המשורר על ככה לפנות לקוראיו באכסלטציה נפשית מרוממה שגרמה לו להקדיש לנושא זה כמעט את החצי של יצירותיו הדתיות, הלא דבר הוא. ואין כאן קושי מיוחד למצוא את הפתרון. מתוך שיריהגאולה האלה מגיע לאזנינו הד קולם של מאורעות היסטוריים, של ימי הזעם והצער של גזירות שנת תקנ"א. זו היתה התקופה שבה חיבר הדאפיירה את רוב שיריו וזה היה דרכם ורוחם של כל משוררי הדורות שלנו: לחזק בימי צרות ותלאות את לבות האומה, להחזיקה ולעוררה בדברי תחנונים ובטחון למען תרבה אונים להתגבר על כל פגעי הזמן עד יעבור זעם. את השאיפה למלוי תפקיד זה, תפקיד המנחם והמעודד מפני צרות הזמן של תקנ"א אנו מוצאים גם בכמה משאר שיריו הדתיים, ואנו מכירים בכיוונו מכמה וכמה רמזים ומליצות, אלא שבשיריהגאולה טנדנציה זו היא בולטת ונראית באופן חי וחזק ובלתי־רגיל. ברעיון הגאולה ראו המשוררים את עונג־ההצלה לקיומה של האומה ובחזקת המשיחית את אותו הכח הנצחי הבטוח המנין עליה למען לא תפול בין הנופלים. על המסורת הפיוטית הזאת שומר דאפיירה בלב שלם ובכשרון נעלה ובמובן זה אפשר לציין אותו בתור החותם המפליא של "תקופת הזהב" של שירת ישראל בספרד.

עם הופעת דיואן שיריהקודש הנוכחי אנו מכניסים דבר חרש בהיכל ספרותנו. מאז נחתמה תקופת הזהב בספרד לא בא לירינו שום "מחזור" או אוסף שלם של פיוטים ותפלות מארץ השפאנים. ר' שלמה דאפיירה הוא המחבר הספרדי הראשון והאחרון שבא בתקופת סוף המאה הי"ד ותחילת המאה הט"ו להמשיך ולהחיות את השירה הליטורגית המסורתית של ארצו באופן כולל ובסידור מקיף. אוסף שיריהקודש זה מהווה איפוא תעודה מענינת ומאליפה גם מבחינה היסטורית־תרבותית בחייהרוח של קהילת ישראל בספרד.²¹

²¹ במבוא לדיואן של שירי החול של דאפיירה העירותי שדרכו של משוררנו לבנות את מליצותיו על פסוקים וקטעי פסוקים עד כדי יצירת מוסיקה תנ"כית מרהיבת עינים. בדרכו זו הולך דאפיירה גם בשיריהקודש שלו. ומכיון שקצר הגליון להכיל מראה מקום תנ"כי מלא משירי משוררנו הגבלתי את ציון הפסוקים למקומות שהמליצות בהם סחומות ודורשות ביאור. וישם נא הקורא לב לזה שבהביאי לשונות הכתוב אני נוהג להביאן בצורת "מלא" אף על פי שבכתוב הן בצורת "חסר".

האחרון: "... וענין הורדת הנשם יש בתלמודנו כמה צדיקים שעשו זה לכן היהודים תושבי טולידו, הנוצרים שואלים מהם שיביאו מטר ובתפלתם מורידין אותו¹⁸. והדבר השני שאנו מתרשמים ממנו בקריאת שיריהקודש האלה הוא הַטוֹן החדש והמיוחד שלהם. תפלותיו של דאפיירה הן יותר קרובות אל רוחו של היהודי הספרדי המשכיל והנאור מן סוף המאה ה"ד, אין הן מרחפות בשמים בצעקות ויללות ובבכיות שאין להן סוף אלא נאמרות בפשטות נימוסית והרגשה שקטה ואצילית. שפתם וסגנונם וכל הלך-רוחם של שיריהקודש האלה מוכיחים לנו שהם לא נוצרו בשביל ה"המון" ואולי גם לא בשביל ה"קהל" הרחב כי אם למען חוגים "אריסטוקרטיים" קטנים ובודדים – מי יודע, אולי בשביל ה"מנין" הפרטי שהיה לו לר' בנבנשת קבלריה האציל לבית ישראל בארמונו בסרקוסטה.

ורושם זה עוד מתחזק בקרבנו כשאנו שמים לב לדייקנות שבה דאפיירה שומר על חקי השירה הספרדיים המסורתיים בפיוטיו אלה. משלשים ותשעת שיריהקודש של דאפיירה, שלשים ואחד בערך כתובים לפי טהרת המשקל הערבי ומשתמש הוא בצורת "המושה", שירהאזור הערבי בששה-עשר פיוטים שהם יותר מהחצי של כל האוסף¹⁹. ניכרת כאן שמירה מעולה על ה"רוח" הקלאסיהערבי והתחשבות רצינית עם הלך-נפש ידוע בקרב השדרות הספרותיות ה"משכיליות" שבעדת ישראל בספרד. אבל יחד עם זה מפליא הוא באיזו השגחה קפדנית ועין פקוחה נשמרה באוסף הקטן הזה המסורת הפיוטית הישראלית בנוגע ל"חלקי היוצר". ה"יוצר" הפיוטני שלנו כולל בסך-הכל עשרים סוגים, כלומר, כל "קרובה" מתחלקת לכמה חלקים או משתלמת מכמה "חלקים" שונים כמו "רשות", "אהבה", "מנן" וכן הלאה. דאפיירה השכיל והצליח להכניס בשיריו הוא לערך שבעה-עשר ואולי שמונה עשר "חלקים". ברור הוא שהוא נגש ליצירתו זו בשיטה קבועה וערוכה מראש, סוף מעשה במחשבה תחילה, כפי שנראה לנו בעליל מהסדר הזה: (1) אהבה (שיר טז); (2) אופן (יב); (3) גאולה (יז, יח, יט, כא, כב, כג); (4) הבדלה²⁰ (כו); (5) מאורה (יג, יד, טו); (6) מנן (לד); (7) מחיה (לה); (8) מחרך (ו, ח); (9) מסתגב (כט, ל, לט); (10) מרתיה (לב); (11) נשמת (ט, י, יא); (12) סליחה (כו, כח); (13) פזמון (כד, כה, לו); (14) קדיש (כ); (15) רשות (א, ב, ג, ד, ה, ו); (16) תחנה (לז, לח); (17) תוכחה (לא). באמת חסרים אצלו רק שנים או שלשה חלקים כמו "כל עצמותי", ו"מי כמוך" להשלמת כל חלקי היוצר הנמצאים בפיוט שלנו וזהו דבר מענין ובלתי-רגיל ב"מחזור" קטן.

הופעה מענינת וראויה לתשומת-לב מיוחדת באוסף זה היא העובדה ששש עשרה שירים (ט, י, יג-כו), כלומר, קרוב לחצי של כל מספר השירים הם שירי "גאולה", שירים שבהם המחבר מבשר לבני עמו את גאולתם הקרובה ושבאי-הגאול עומדת כבר מאהרי כתליהם. השירים מצטיינים בדברי נחמה ועידוד לעם

18 ראה. שבט יהודה' לשלמה בן ווירגא, דפוס הנובר תרמ"ז. עמוד 109.

19 ראה להלן ברשימת המשקלים.

20 על מקומם וערכם של פיוטי ההבדלה בשירת ספרד ראה הערתו של זיכאל זקס, דיע

רעליז. פאקז. עמוד 223.

בספרר ההלה אז להתבלט שאיפה להתרחק מן ה"ישן" ולהתקרב אל היצירה העברית החדשה, לעזוב בשדה הספרות את "בית המדרש" ולבכר את ה"חול" על ה"קודש". דאפיירה, אפשר לשער, ראה צורך לעצמו "ללכת עם הזרם". הונית את הפיוט הדתי, ועל המעט שטיפל בו טבע את הצורה החילונית.

הנימוק השני, והוא אולי העיקרי, הוא שכתובת שירים היה חלק הגון ממקור פרנסתו, ומוכרח היה לכתוב בעיקר דברים שמתן שכרם בצידם. לפיכך היה מקדיש את רוב פרי עטו לכבוד ה"שרים", ה"גבירים", ה"הנדיבים" מבלי שניתנה לו האפשרות להתעסק בפיוט הדתי, וגם שירי הקודש המעטים שחיבר לא עסק בהם ל"שם" כי אם לשם "בעליו".

שימת-לב לשני הנימוקים האלה יש בה כדי למסור לנו מפתח לקביעת אפייה של שירת הקודש של דאפיירה.

שירי-הקודש של שלמה דאפיירה מושכים עליהם את תשומת לבנו מכמה בחינות. קודם כל ה"ריבוי" הגדול בערך של "תפלות-הגשם", שבעה במספר והמשורר ניכר שייחס למקצוע ליטורגי זה חשיבות מיוחדת, שכן הוא קורא לו "סדר הגשם". "שפע" זה כנראה התאים ל"דרישה" מצד הקהל שהיה להוט ביותר אחרי תפלות על עצירת גשמים^{15a}. יש יסוד לחשוב שהתמדתו של דאפיירה בחיבור התפלות האלו באה לפי בקשתם של ראשי משפחת בנבנשת בן לביא דילה קבלריה שאצלם שימש בתור "משורר החצר"¹⁶. דורשי רשומות בקורות ישראל בארץ השפאנים כבר העירו על זה שיהודי ספרד היו נוהגים להרבות בתפלות הגשם והיו כאלה שרצו לראות בזה טנדנציה מצד היהודים להשתתף באופן כזה עם אוכלוסי המדינה הקאטוליים שהיו מרבים לערוך פרוצסיות דתיות נגד עצירת הגשם, מנהג שעדיין הוא נשמר עם עד היום הזה¹⁷. וידוע הדבר שבני ישראל בספרד היו נוהגים לפעמים להתפלל על הגשמים לפי בקשתם ואולי גם ל"דרישתם" של שכניהם הנוצרים שהיו מאמינים שישנו כח מיוחד לתפלות היהודים להורדת גשמים. ככה מספר לנו החכם שב"ויכוח" שהתגלע בין המלך דון אלפונסו מפורטוגל ודון יוסף נ' יחיאל אומר זה

^{15a} נכמעט בפירוש נאמר זה בשיר האחרון (סי' ל"ט:10): "ושבו ושחרו בן אמונין לחלות ולשחר פנין קום קרא אל אליהן".

ההערה הזאת ושאר ההערות המסומנות במרובעים [] הן מירידי הד"ר ישעיהו זנא.
¹⁶ גדולי ה"דינסטיה" של משפחת קבלריה (de la Caballeria) שעמם היה שלמה דאפיירה קשור כמעט במשך כל חייו הארוכים היו ה"אב" שלמה בן לביא, ה"בן" בנבנשת בן לביא וה"נכד" דון וידאל יוסף בן לביא וראה עליהם מבוא ל"דיואן" עמודים 6-11. והשווה לזה את המאמר המלא והגדוש על תולדות משפחת קבלריה Aportaciones documentales para el estudio de la familia Caballeria de Francisca Vendrell Callostra של הנכרת Revista de la Escuela de Estudios Hebraicos, de Madrid, Sephard, fasc. I, 1943, pp. 1-40. החוקרת הזאת המשתמשת גם בכל החומר שנתפרסם בזמן האחרון בספרות העברית על הנושא שלה מביאה במאמרה, מניית יוחסין מדויקה (מפה גניאלוגית) שלמה של בני משפחת קבלריה החל משנת 1270 עד החצי הראשון של המאה החמש עשרה.

¹⁷ ראה. ספר מנורת המאור, הוצאת הלל גרשם ענעלאו, חלק ב', מבוא בשפת אנגליה.

רשם המשורר את שנת חיבורו. על היינות הרעים מבציר שנת ה' קע"ז¹¹, והוא נמצא אז בזקנה מופלגה, נראה בבירור שעדיין היה יהודי תמים וזה הלא היה כבר ארבע שנים אחרי ה"ויכוח" הטורטושי.

יש לנו **ס** שני עדים חשובים מבני דורו חמנו" שמתוך דבריהם אנו למדים ששלמה דאפיירה היה נחשב בימי הבינים למשורר גדול וכמעט "לאומי" ושבקרוב גדולי השירה היו מעריכים אותו בתור פייטן ספרדי מהולל. העדים האלה חיו **א** יותר ממאה וחמשים שנה אחריו אלא שמתוך דבריעדותם אנו שומעים את הדקול "המסורת" הפיוטית שעדיין היתה חיה בקרב גולי ספרד בארצות המזרח. הנה מה שאומר המשורר הגדול ר' ישראל נגארה: "וכתבתי אל החכם הר' יום טוב צהלון נר"ו על דבר אשר יום מיומים בא לבית מדרשי, והראיתיו מליצות מליצים כבדרשי, ומכה"ר שלמה דאפירו ומה"ר מאיר אלגוודישי¹² וראה בתוך מכתב הר' שלמה דאפירו מגילה, מגורת זהב כלה, ועל ראשיה והתהלותיה גולה ומלה, מתחלת בכ"ף תחילתה כ, אהלים נטע ה'¹³, על האלפ"א בית"א זרע קדש מצבתה. וכאשר הלך (ר' י"ט צהלון) לצפת תוב"ב כתב לי כדמותה, תחילתה אלפ"א בית"א בתשר"ק ומלת טוב אחריתה, ועניתי גם אני והשבתי שבותה, בכ"ף הרמיון תחילתה, ובאלפ"א בית"א משולשת תחילה וסוף ואמצעיתה ותחילתה מלת טוב"¹⁴. ומשורר גדול אחר מהמאה ה"ט, ר' דוד עונקניירה אומר בזה הלשון: "אמר דוד עשיתי כאשר ראיתי להר"ש דאפיירה ז"ל שיר א' המתחיל, בדבר מעשה תקפך"¹⁵ וכו', מיום ראיתי אותו נכסוף נכספתי לעשות לי כתבונתם ועשיתי אלה הבתים ושלחתים להחכם הרופא המשורר כה"ר משה עבאסי יצ"ו¹⁶. וכאן כדאי לשים לב לזה שאלבא דאמת יש לנו בנידון זה שלשה עדים חשובים ולא שנים, שכן נגארה מזכיר גם את המשורר הנעלה ר' יום טוב צהלון בתור אחד ממעריציו של דאפיירה ששאף ללכת בעקבותיו בדרך השיר. עלינו איפוא לבקש טעמים אחרים לבאר לנו מדוע ננעלו דלתות בתי התפלה בפני פיוטי דאפיירה. צריך לשים לב על שני נימוקים שכנראה התוו את דרכי יצירתו של המשורר, ואשר עליהם העירותי ב"מבוא" הנזכר.

הנימוק הראשון המסתמך על השערה המתקבלת על הדעת הוא שהמשורר היה מושפע במידה מרובה מרוח הזמן והסביבה ששרר במחצית השנייה של המאה ה"ד בספרד היהודית. ישנן ידיים להשערה די מבוססת, שבחוגי חובבי השירה העברית

11 הלא הוא ר' מאיר אלגוואדש Alguadez ראש הרבנים בקאשטיליה ורופא של אינריקו השלישי, ראה דיואן, מבוא, עמוד יב.

12 השיר נדפס בשלימותו בדיואן דאפיירה מהדורת ניו יורק, חלק א, עמוד 79.

13 ראה הספר, "מימי ישראל" לר' ישראל נגארה, מבוא. אני משתמש בטופס מדפוס וויניציאה

שנת 1600 עמוד קמ"ח.

14 השיר נדפס בשלימותו בדיואן דאפיירה מהדורת ניו יורק, חלק א, עמוד 44. הנוסח הנכון הוא, בדבר גבורת מעשה תקפך."

15 ראה מאמרו של הר"ר יוסף פטאי, שירי דוד עונקניירה, קבץ על יד, סדרה חדשה ספר ב' (יב), ירושלים תרצ"ז עמוד קיב; ומשה עבאסי זה אל להחליפו עם המשורר באותו השם שהיה ידירו ואיש בריתו של דאפיירה ובדיואן נמצא חילוף שירים ביניהם.

מקודם שאליו כנראה התכוון דאפיירה עונה לו ומגיד לו פשעו בפניו: אזה עזבת את השיר, חדלת מחבר דברי שיר חמר ולכן שכחוך ידידיך; חזור ושוב אל השירה ואז שוב תהיה נשכר, כלומר תבוא על שכרך. ואם מי שהוא מצא במלים, נפשך מעל אלהים ונתה' רמו לשמר אינו אלא טועה. **בש**, 'אלהים' או, 'אדון האדונים' היו המשווררים אז מצינים את, המשורר הגדול **א** את, השירה בת השמים ובריואן דאפיירה ימצא הקורא כנויים כאלה למשורר ולשירה פעמים רבות. מעצם התשובה, זונה כחי כנור ועורי ודברי שירות' הלא יוצא ברור מהי כונתה של המליצה, נפשך מעל אלהים ונתה'. בשני השירים הקצרים האלה אין איפוא כל זכר ורמז להמרת-הדת.

הפרופ. יצחק בער הנוטה לקבל את הרעה שדאפיירה נשתמד⁷ מסתמך על שני השירים האלה אבל ניכר ש**אז** עדיין לא היתה ידועה לו הרשימה שממעל לשיר בשאר כתביהיד. על התנכרות האוהבים⁸. אכן, הוא מסתמך **א** על שירו של שלמה בונפיד המתאונן על תמורתו של המשורר⁹ והשתמש בעוד כמה מליצות, חשודות¹⁰, אבל פלא הדבר שפרופ. בער אינו שם לב לזה שבונפיד בעצמו בראש שירו נותן לנו את כל הביאור הדרוש. הלא כה דבריו: 'לנוגני הזמן ומלכי השיר, חלפון חק הלשון הפרו ברית המליצה, הישיש המשורר אנשלמה דאפיירה והחכם דון וידאל בן לביא'. כלום אין זה ברור שבונפיד מתרעם על שני חבריו המשוררים על שהמירו¹¹ ללשון הקודש בזה שכנראה התחילו לחבר שירים גם בשפת ספרד והוא ממלא את כל שירו בדברי מחאה ומרירות. הנושא הוא כאן, המרת' לשון ולא המרת דת¹². לא רק מתוך שירו האבטוביוגרפי הגדול, באפס יד ינופף יד גאון¹³ אנו נמצאים למדים שלעת זקנתו המשורר היה נאמן לאלהיו ודתו והיה נמצא במחנה ישראל, גם משירו, צוחה על היין¹⁴ שבו

■ וראויה לתשומת לב היא הצעתו של מר פינחס טורברג במכתב פרטי אלי שכבר העירות עליה שאולי על ידי טעות סופרים או טשטוש שתי אותיות נהפכה המלה שהיתה כתובה לכתחילה, שנשתכח¹⁵ ל, שנשתמד¹⁶, והסופר קיצר או רצה לבאר וכתב, שנשתכח¹⁷ מה שמתאים למליצה על התנכרות' (האוהבים). – נשכרת, ויש נוסח אחר, נוכרת¹⁸, אלא שאפילו בנוסח אחר הכיוון הוא ברור, ידידיך יזכרו אותך ויסיפו לתמכך.

⁷ ראה ספרו, Die Juden im christlichen Spanien V. I. p. 797. בער מצטט מאותו המקור שהיה לעיני שד'ל זה האחרון, כפי שראינו, לא בא למסקנא זו על סמך החרוזים הקלים האלה. והשווה לזה מאמרו של הרב שמואל סאמועל במנטשריפט הברסלואי כרך 81 (1937) עמודים 481–446 המסכים לדעתי שדאפיירה נשאר נאמן לדת ישראל. 'נעי' ספרו החדש של בער: תולדות היהודים בספרד, כרך ב', תש"ה, עמ' 433, 568, הע' 78. שם הוא עומד בדעתו.

⁸ ידיעה טענינת על, מלחמת לשון זו נותן לנו שירו של דאפיירה, תנו תודה ללועזות בלעזם' (ראה דיואן, חלק א, מבוא לשיר סימן צ"א) שבו הוא מדבר קשות נגד מאישתרי רמוך (Rimoch) על שבקש את הסכמתו לקבל ממנו שירים בלשון לעז' (ספרדית). דאפיירה אף על פי שדחה באף את ההצעה ניכר שלכתחילה היה נוטה לקבלה מפני דרכי שלום. אבל מכתי מכון יוצא ששולח ה, בקשה' לא היה רימוך אלא ידידו הידוע הנוכר של דאפיירה דון וידאל יוסף בן לביא. אין זה איפוא מן הנמנע שזהו אותו ה, מקרה' שעליו שלמה בן ראובן בונפיד קורא תגר ומבקר בחריפות את שניהם את וידאל ואת דאפיירה גם יחד.

⁹ ראה דיואן, מהדורת ניו יורק, עמודים 1–10.

¹⁰ ראה, מבחר השירה העברית לברודי-ווינר, עמוד שכ"ח.

ידע ממציאותם. שכן עובדה היא שאין אנו יודעים אפילו אחד מהפיוטים היפים והגמלצים האלה שנכנס לאיזה "מחזור" או סדרת־תפלה בספרד או בחוצה לה. אפשר שאיזה פיוט מפיוטיו היה נאמר ומושר בא־אלו הודמנויות מיוחדות בבית תפלה זה או אחר עֲבָקְהֶלֶת סרקוסטה, אבל במחזורים הידועים לנו בדפוס או בכתב־יד אין אנו מוצאים שום תפלות ופזמונים משלו.

העובדה שבשום מחזור או סדור אין אנו מוצאים כל זכר לשום פיוט ותפלה של דאפיירה אומרת דרשוני. אולי יאמר האומר שמכאן ראיה מוכיחה שנכונה ההשערה שהובעה בספרותנו שר' שלמה בן משולם דאפיירה נשתייך לחד עם עוד כמה מגדולי הקהל וחשוביו לרגלי הגזירות שבאו כשואה על ישראל אחרי ה"ויכוח" הידוע בטורטושה בשנת 1413–1414, ולפיכך אפשר איפוא לשער, הורחק הפייטן ממערכות ישראל ושום סופר או "עורך" מחזור לא רצה להשתמש בשיירי הקודש שלו? אולם באמת כל ענין ה"שמד" של דאפיירה הוא להדגיש והריחו האשמה שאין לה כל יסוד.

שר"ל היה הראשון שהעיר על ידיעה זו שר' שלמה או ה"רן" שלמה דאפיירה נשתמד⁷³⁴ אבל אין הוא מוסר את זה בתור דעתו והשערותו הוא⁷³⁵. באוסף כתב־יד⁷³⁶ מצא בין שאר השירים של ר' שלמה זה את שני השירים הקטנים האלה וממעל להם הכתובת "שירים שלחם אנשלמה דיפיארה כשנשתמד לאחר שבעים שנה לידירו רון וידאל".

אם שְׁכַחְךָ בְּפֶשֶׁי, יְדִידִים עַד הַלֹּם	וַתִּהְיִי מִנִּי אֲמַת נַעֲדֶרֶת
שְׁבָעִים שָׁנִי חַיִּי כְּשָׁנִים נִשְׁכַּחָה	בֵּת צוֹר וּבִשְׁיִר הָיְתָה נִחְקֶרֶת
לְכֵן קָחִי כְּגֹר וְסָבִי עִיר וְשִׁיר	הַרְבֵּי לְמַעַן תִּהְיִי נִפְקֶרֶת.

תשובה מדון וידאל:

בֵּת צוֹר כְּזֹנָה נִשְׁכַּחָה תָּף לְקַחָה	בּוֹ סִבְכָּה עִיר לְהִיּוֹת נִפְקֶרֶת
כֵּן בְּפֶשֶׁךְ מַעַל אֱלֹהִים זָנְתָה	הָיְתָה כְּפָרָה סוֹרְרָה סוֹרֶרֶת
עַל כֵּן שְׁכַחְךָ יְדִידֶיךָ לְקַץ	שְׁבָעִים שָׁנֹתֶיךָ כְּמַתְנַפְּרֶת
זֹנָה קָחִי כְּגֹר וְעִירִי דְבָרִי	שִׁירֹת וְאוֹלֵי תִהְיִי נִשְׁכַּחָה

אלא שחשד ה"שמד" שנוסד על סמך ההרזים האלה לא האריך ימים וסוף סוף נתגלה שלפנינו כאן זעות קוריוזיות. נתגלו שני כתבי־יד האחרים של הדיואן של דאפיירה וגם שם נכללים שני השירים הקצרים האלה והנה ממעל לשיר נמצאת שם הכתובת: "למהר"ר שלמה דאפיירה על התנכרות האוהבים". תוכן השירים הוא איפוא ברור. המשורר דאפיירה מתרעם על ידידיו ואוהביו שהתנכרו אליו לעת זקנתו וחדלו מלתמוך בו, והרן וידאל יוסף בן לביא, איש חסדו ומיטיבו

⁷³⁴ ראה. אגרות שר"ל עמוד 734.

⁷³⁵ כתב־יד זה נמצא עכשיו בהמחיאום הבריטי.

דיואן שירי הקדש של שלמה בן מִשְׁלָם דאפיירה

(Solomon b. Mešullam da PIERA)

מאת שמעון ברנשטיין

ר' שלמה בן משולם דאפיירה שחי בסרקוסטה משנת 1340 עד 1420 בערך, מופיע לפנינו בתור משורר חילוני במלוא מובן המלה. בששת כתביהיד של הדיואן שלו, המכיל למעלה מארבע מאות שירים ומכתמים, מספר שיריהקודש הוא בין חמשה וששה. יוצא מן הכלל טופס ברליני המכיל שלשים ושמונה שיריהקודש, ולולא כתביהיד הזה לא היינו יודעים שדאפיירה שקד גם כן על הפיוט הדתי. הכמות הזעומה על שירי הקודש שלו אין לבאר מתוך נטיה פנימית של המשורר נגד היצירה הפיוטית הדתית. כבר העירותי על זה² ב.מבוא³ לדיואן שלו שכשנכתבונן בעין חודרת לשיריהחול של דאפיירה ונאזין באוזן מקשיבה למליצותיו וביטוייו, נכיר על נקלה שבנפשו פנימה חיבה יתרה היתה נודעת לו לשירת הקודש, אלא שמפני סיבות חיצוניות לא הקדיש לה הרבה מזמנו ומכתיצירתו. ובכל זאת עובדה היא שעקבותיהם על שירי הקודש של דאפיירה כמעט שנעלמו מן העין. שטיינשניידר, הראשון שפרסם את רשימת שיריהקודש של דאפיירה⁴, מתפלא על זה שצונץ עובר בשתיקה על השירים האלה מבלי להזכירם, בשעה שהוא רושם כמה משיריהקודש של בן זמנו ודורו, שלמה בן ראובן בונפיר. אבל שתיקתו של צונץ מתבארת פשוט מפני שפיוטי דאפיירה לא היו לפני עיניו וקרוב לוודאי שלא

1 זהו כה"י מספר 1059 ברשימת שטיינשניידר וצילום ממנו נמצא ב.מכון לחקר השירה העברית⁵ בירושלים. מתוך הצילום הזה העתקתי את שיריהקודש של דאפיירה המתפרסמים כאן והמלה. מכון⁶ במאמרי זה מסמנת את כתביהיד הזה.

2 בכל פעם שרשום במאמרי זה, וכבר העירותי⁷ או, וכבר התעככתי על זה במקום אחר⁸ הכיוון למבוא לספרי. דיואן של שלמה בן משולם דאפיירה⁹, חלק א, שירי חול, הוצאה חדשה ומתוקנה, בהוצאת "עלים", ניו יורק תש"ג. הפיוטים א-ו נכללו גם במאמרי בחוברת "עלים" ווינא תרצ"ח בלי ההערות והתיקונים, ומפני כך הקורא המעונין בחומר מתבקש להשתמש בו רק כפי שהוא ניתן בהוצאה הנוכחית. ידיעות והערות נוספות על הנושא הזה ימצא הקורא במאמרי: א) על המרת דתו המדומה של ר' שלמה דאפיירה, "ההד", גליון א, ירושלים תרצ"ה; ב) "שירי הקודש של ר' שלמה דאפיירה", "תרביץ", שנה ז (תרצ"ו) ספר ג-ד ושם נכללים השירים כא וכב המובאים במאמרי הנוכחי; ג) "שירי דון וידאל יוסף בן לביא", "תרביץ", שנה ה (תרצ"ח) ספר ג-ד.

3 ראה, המוכר¹⁰ כרך XVII (1976) עמוד 120.

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